Dieser Nachtrag betrifft dreierlei: 1. Es ist in den deutschen Medien Mode geworden, in Kategorien einer neuen Konfrontation zwischen Ost und West zu denken. Es gibt Ausnahmen. Eine davon war ein Kommentar in der großen Regionalzeitung „Die Rheinpfalz“ vom 20. Februar. 2. Auch in vielen Nachbetrachtungen zu den Ereignissen in der Ukraine wird so getan, als seien alle Demonstranten auf dem Maidan als Demokraten vom Himmel gefallen. Das ist nicht so. Wir stellen ein Dokument mit den Informationen zu den Zahlungen der US-amerikanischen Organisation NED an rund 60 verschiedene Empfänger in der Ukraine vor. 3. Lateinamerika hat eine lange Erfahrung mit dieser Mischung aus respektabler Hilfe zur Demokratie und Subversion durch die USA. **Albrecht Müller**.

1. **Der Kommentar aus der Rheinpfalz**
   Der letzte Absatz lautet zusammenfassend: „Der springende Punkt für einen Neuanfang ist, dass alle von Berlin bis Brüssel folgendes verstehen: Die Ukraine ist mit ihrem wirtschaftlich gewichtigen russischsprachigen Teil so verfasst, dass es kein “EU oder Russland”, sondern nur ein “Russland und EU” geben kann. Der russische Außenminister Lawrow hat in München eine Vision für alle Seiten formuliert: eine Freihandelszone vom Atlantik bis zum Pazifik.“ In der Anlage 1 ist der Text des Kommentars wiedergegeben.
2. **Der Protest in der Ukraine war gut und teuer organisiert.**
   Anm. am 26.2.2013: Der frühere Text enthielt bedauerlicherweise falsche Berechnungen. Er wird hiermit korrigiert, ohne dass sich in der Sache etwas an der Aussage zur Einflussnahme auf die innere Entwicklung der Ukraine ändert: Die US-Regierung hat in der Ukraine seit dem Umbruch 5 Milliarden $ „investiert“. Davon hat Victoria Nuland – Assistant Secretary of State for Europe and Eurasian Affairs – , also die Beauftragte der US-Regierung auch für die Ukraine bei einer Pressekonferenz am 13. Dezember 2013 berichtet. Die Wiedergabe des Videos ist so überschrieben: „*Regime Change in Kiev*, Victoria Nuland Admits: US Has Invested $5 Billion In The Development of Ukrainian, “Democratic Institutions” International Business Conference at Ukraine in Washington – National Press Club – December 13, 2013”. – Über die NED, die National Endowment for Democracy in Washington D.C., wurden 2012 3,5 Millionen Dollar in über 60 Zahlungen an knapp unter 60 verschiedene Einrichtungen in die Ukraine geleitet. NED berichtet hier darüber, welche Organisationen in den Genuss der Zuwendungen kamen.

   In Anlage 2 finden Sie eine Liste der Empfänger – leider in Englisch aber durchaus verständlich. Insgesamt haben 64 verschiedene Zahlungen stattgefunden, einige wenige haben zwei oder mehr Zahlungen erhalten. Insgesamt knapp unter 60 Einrichtungen sind es. Amerikanisches Geld gab es zum Aufbau von NGOs, zur

Beobachtung von Menschenrechtsverletzungen, zum Aufbau von Internetseiten, zum Aufbau von Gegenöffentlichkeit. Die meisten NGOs, Institute und Vereinigungen sind vermutlich extra zum Zwecke des Empfangs des US-amerikanischen Geldes gegründet worden, alles unter der Überschrift, Demokratie und Freiheit zu fördern. Einige der Zahlungen dienen der Vorbereitung von Wahlen. Bei einigen ist der PR-Charakter erkennbar. Einige Zahlungen dienten Reisen ins westliche Ausland.

Die Beträge schwanken von niedrigen fünfstelligen US$-Summen bis 359.945 US-Dollar. Diese große Summe ging an das Center for International Private Enterprise. Das National Democratic Institute for International Affairs kassierte 345.000 €. Ein International Republican Institute erhielt 2012 gleich drei Zahlungen im Umfang von insgesamt 380.000 US-Dollar.

Der US-Amerikaner Paul Craig Roberts hat im Zusammenhang mit den Protesten in der Ukraine auf diese Zusammenhänge hingewiesen, unter anderem hier: „Washington Orchestrated Protests Are Destabilizing Ukraine“. In diesem Artikel gibt Roberts auch den Hinweis auf die oben erwähnte Pressekonferenz von Frau Nuland und ihren Bericht über die Höhe der Zahlungen, die die USA zur Subversion anderer Länder, wie die einen meinen, oder zur Demokratieförderung, wie die anderen meinen, ausgeben.

Eines kann man allerdings aufgrund dieser Daten sagen: Es ist naiv zu meinen, der Protest auf dem Maidan wie auch die Unterstützung der NGOs durch ausländische Politiker sei spontan entstanden. Auch die Personalentscheidungen waren offensichtlich von langer Hand und systematisch vorbereitet worden. Darauf ließ das von uns in deutscher Fassung vorgestellte, abgehörte Gespräch zwischen dem US Botschafter in der Ukraine und Frau Nuland schon schließen. (Siehe dazu das Interview in Anlage 1 des NachDenkSeiten-Beitrags vom 19. Februar 2014).

Bemerkenswert an der Einrichtung des NED:

- So offen läuft die Indoktrination und Destabilisierung – andere würden sagen: Demokratisierung – eines Landes in der unmittelbaren Nachbarschaft zu Russland.
- Der Vorgang wirft ein eigenes Licht auf die vor einiger Zeit ruchbar gewordenen Proteste der russischen Autoritäten gegen die Tätigkeit der politischen Stiftungen Deutschlands in Russland.
- Die Indoktrination zum Roll Back läuft offensichtlich unabhängig von der Farbe

der amerikanischen Regierung. Was das NED seit Mitte der achtziger Jahre betreibt, ist ideologisch vermutlich sehr nahe an der republikanischen Ideologie, wobei die Spitze von NED sich den Anstrich einer sozialdemokratisch geprägten Linie gibt. Das hat aber aus meiner Sicht keine Bedeutung; es ist eher eine Camouflage.

3. **Lateinamerika ist ähnlich betroffen von der Destabilisierungspolitik, wenn auch meist noch härter durch militärische Aktionen. Schock-Strategie.**

   In Anlage 3 wird ein Licht geworfen auf die Aktivitäten der USA in Venezuela und in anderen Ländern der Region. Wir übernehmen „Jochens SOZIALPOLITISCHE NACHRICHTEN“ mit dem Hinweis auf ein „junge Welt“- Interview mit der Argentinierin Stella Calloni.

Anlage 1

Kommentar in der RHEINPFALZ vom 20.2.2014, Seite 2

Die Getriebenen
Von Ilja Tüchter

Legt sich die EU jetzt endlich eine konsequente Ukraine-Politik zu?
Bis jetzt ist davon nicht viel zu sehen.

Die neue Bundesregierung hat sich eine neue Außenpolitik auf die Fahnen geschrieben. “Deutschland muss bereit sein, sich außen- und sicherheitspolitisch früher, entschiedener und substanzieller einzubringen”, hat Außenminister Steinmeier dies am 1. Februar bei der Münchner Sicherheitskonferenz umschrieben. In derselben Rede äußerte er sich auch zur Ukraine: “Es darf keine gewaltsame Lösung geben. Präsident Janukowitsch muss die der Opposition gemachten Zusagen in vollem Umfang erfüllen.” Klare Worte, denen aber keine klaren Taten folgten.

Von Sanktionen war in München auch schon die Rede. So recht mochte aber niemand damit hantieren – bis vorgestern die Gewalt eskalierte. Nun, getrieben von den Ereignissen, überbieten sich EU-Politiker mit Sanktionsandrohungen gegen Kiew.

Das sieht nach Aktionismus aus, und das ist es letztlich auch. Ganz zu schweigen davon, dass doch niemand glaubt, die EU werde Präsident Janukowitsch zur unerwünschten Person

in der EU erklären. Immerhin ist er ein (wenn auch mit knappem Ergebnis) gewählter Staatschef. Die Konten der Oligarchen von Charkiw – also Janukowitschs Mafia – zu sperren, wäre ja wünschenswert. Aber wie ist das zu begründen? Kann ihnen nachgewiesen werden, die Erstürmung des Maidan befohlen zu haben? Soll gar die russische Regierung bestraft werden, was die Europaparlamentarier Brok (CDU) und Harms (Grüne) nahe legen? Harms schwadroniert, die EU könne doch auch ohne die neue Pipeline von Gazprom. Lächerlich! Und europäischen Interessen schädlich.

Die gestrigen EU-Reaktionen offenbaren einmal mehr, dass es seit November nicht gelungen ist, eine Alternative zum seinerzeit geplatzten Assoziierungsabkommen zu präsentieren. Viel wird geredet. Viel wird auch gereist. Im Dutzend haben sich Politiker aus europäischen Kapitalen (neben US-Kollegen) auf den Maidan begeben und sich letztlich auf die Seite der Regierungsgegner gestellt.

Sich mehr oder weniger einseitig zu positionieren, ohne etwas Neues anbieten zu können, ist das Gegenteil von “früh, substanziell und entschieden”. Schlussendlich kommt es auf diese Rechnung an: 15 Milliarden Dollar aus Moskau oder doch lieber 600 Millionen Euro aus Brüssel? Das sind die Fakten, an denen die Regierung Janukowitsch gar nicht vorbeikonnte. So großartig das Wort Assoziierungsabkommen klingt, es handelt sich um ein auf ein, zwei Jahrzehnte angelegtes Perspektivpapier, das einem Land, das hier und jetzt am wirtschaftlichen Abgrund steht, herzlich wenig nützt.

Russlands Präsident Putin hat die Interessen seines Landes mit einem äußerst substanziellen Angebot an Kiew verteidigt, während aus der EU nur das übliche Stimmengewirr zu vernehmen gewesen ist. Das liegt auch in der Natur der politischen Strukturen: Ein Nationalstaat, zumal ein autokratisch regierter, tut sich leichter mit klaren Ansagen als ein komplexes Konstrukt wie die EU. Klaffen Anspruch und Realität, Vision und Mittel aber derart auseinander wie bei der europäischen Ukraine-Politik, stellt sich die Frage, ob es nicht den Ukrainern gegenüber ehrlicher wäre, zuzugeben, dass die EU mit ihnen überfordert ist.

Der springende Punkt für einen Neuanfang ist, dass alle von Berlin bis Brüssel folgendes verstehen: Die Ukraine ist mit ihrem wirtschaftlich gewichtigen russischsprachigen Teil so verfasst, dass es kein “EU oder Russland”, sondern nur ein “Russland und EU” geben kann. Der russische Außenminister Lawrow hat in München eine Vision für alle Seiten formuliert: eine Freihandelszone vom Atlantik bis zum Pazifik.

Anlage 2:

National Endowment for Democracy

Washington D.C.

Ukraine

- **AHALAR Center for Humane Technologies**
  $35,230
  To increase civil society's influence on Ukraine's democratic transition by facilitating cooperation between NGOs and the media. Two training seminars for 40 representatives from the media and civil society will be conducted and a four-day study trip to Warsaw will be organized for 12 of the seminar participants. The study trip will focus on examples and best practices of cooperation between civil society and the media in the Polish context.

- **ANGO Resource Center**
  $30,086
  To educate and inform voters prior to the October 2012 parliamentary elections. The Center will conduct a small grants competition and award 10 NGOs with grants of up to $1,500 for nonpartisan projects aimed at mobilizing voters in the Cherkasy and Kirovograd regions of central Ukraine. To prepare local NGOs for the competition, the Center will organize six training seminars on proposal writing, project development and get-out-the-vote programs. An additional training on project implementation will be organized for the recipients of the small grants.

- **Association of Ukrainian Law Enforcement Monitors**
  $44,900
  To promote adherence to international human rights standards. The Association will conduct three trainings in Ukraine's regions for a total of 60 NGO activists, monitor human rights violations by the police, and publish the results in its annual report, as well as develop recommendations to prevent future abuses. Endowment funds will also support the printing and distribution of 300 copies of the report in Ukrainian and its translation into English.

- **Bakhchisarai Center of Regional Development "Top-Kaya"**
  $15,526
  To promote civic journalism and improve communication among young leaders and NGOs in Crimea. Top-Kaya will organize a six month training course on civic journalism for 50 young leaders and NGO representatives, create 10 websites for the

most promising participants, publish a handbook on civic journalism and hold a one-day BarCAMP that will allow participants to present their work and build partnerships. The civic initiatives portal www.ngocrimea.org will also be improved and modernized.

- **Bukovyna Partnership Agency**
  $48,295
  To strengthen public dialogue and promote local government transparency in Ukraine's southwestern region of Chernivtsi. The Agency will continue holding monthly public debates on the region's television station that reaches more than one million viewers. The broadcasts will focus on pressing local issues, including the October 2012 parliamentary elections. In addition, the Agency will develop an Internet TV portal offering local news as well as information on city and regional councils' activities.

- **Center for International Private Enterprise**
  $359,945
  To improve the ability of Ukrainian business associations and coalitions to advocate for their members' interests and to improve the institutional capacity, sustainability, and anti-corruption skills of Ukraine's regional business associations. During an important election year, CIPE will enhance associations' ability to effectively represent the concerns of the SME community through outreach to parliamentary candidates, technical assistance to associations to combat corruption, and intensive training to strengthen associations' capacity.

- **Center for Political Studies and Analysis**
  $27,940
  To educate voters and stimulate public debate and activism ahead of the October 2012 parliamentary elections. With members of the national coalition of electoral initiatives DZVIN (Bell), the Center will organize a nonpartisan program which will include a two-day training seminar for 24 regional partners, 80 local meetings throughout eight of Ukraine's regions, four educational videos and 5,000 brochures on the electoral process, and foster contact with voters through social networks and the DZVIN website.

- **Center for Progressive Young People "Apelsin"**
  $25,000
  To strengthen youth activism in Ukraine's Chernihiv region. Apelsin will create a network of youth organizations and initiative groups in 15 regional centers which will

organize a series of nonpartisan events ahead of the October 2012 parliamentary elections. After convening a conference to bring together activists from the Chernihiv region, Apelsin will organize 15 one-day seminars and a series of theatrical and musical performances to educate young voters. Some 300 activists will participate in organizing and carrying out the campaign, which will reach approximately 15,000 young people.

- **Center for Research on Social Perspectives in the Donbas**
  $39,776
  To continue disseminating independent information about and for Ukraine's regions. The Center will continue to operate its popular news website, OstriV. NED support will be used to cover the costs of three of the site's five correspondents in Donetsk region, who will produce analytical and informational items for the website, as well as the Center's basic operating costs.

- **Center for the Study of Social Processes and Humanitarian Issues**
  $30,060
  To continue producing independent news and information in the eastern Ukrainian city of Luhansk and the surrounding region. The Center will continue to operate the Ostriv web portal. Its three-person team of journalists will report on pressing economic and political developments in this key region in the aftermath of the October 2012 parliamentary elections.

- **Center UA**
  $26,920
  To increase the accountability of public figures. In an important election year, the Center UA will continue to operate its unique interactive website, Vladometr.org (Powermeter), which monitors, documents and assesses promises, made by politicians, officials and prominent public figures. Endowment support will cover the basic personnel costs of maintaining the accountability website.

- **Cherkasy Committee Voters of Ukraine**
  $34,993
  To educate citizens prior to the October 2012 parliamentary elections. The Cherkasy CVU will organize a civic coalition "Protect Your Vote" to conduct a voter education campaign. A meeting will be held to generate ideas and develop activities for the nonpartisan initiative. A web portal for coalition will be created, and the CVU will publish information about the electoral environment in the region. Eight observers will

be trained as monitors and a lawyer will provide legal assistance to voters. The CVU will also publish a series of bulletins and leaflets to inform the electorate.

- **Chernihiv Youth Educational Center "Initiative"**
  $27,930
  To continue strengthening civil society in the northern Ukrainian region of Chernigiv. The Initiative will organize a series of workshops and trainings for NGO representatives, journalists and members of district councils from six districts in the region to encourage intersectoral cooperation and facilitate the resolution of local problems. The Initiative will also publish six issues of its newspaper, support six local projects and convene a final conference.

- **Chernivtsi Committee of Voters of Ukraine**
  $29,920
  To continue promoting government accountability and transparency in southwestern Ukraine. The Chernivtsi CVU will monitor the activities of city council deputies in the Chernivtsi region and publish and distribute 2,000 copies of a brochure containing the results. The CVU will hold seven roundtables to foster public participation in self-governing bodies and relations between deputies and the public. It will also organize eight training seminars for deputies and launch an information campaign to promote public participation in local communities. During the campaign, the CVU will survey 2,000 people and disseminate 2,000 copies of a "how to" booklet.

- **"Civic Space" Information and Analytical Center**
  $31,535
  To improve communication and networking among civil society organizations. Civic Space will improve its webportal, www.civicua.org, and facilitate the creation of an online community for NGOs. To improve the outreach strategies of NGOs, Civic Space will conduct monthly reviews of press releases and other public announcements, provide a venue for organizations to post events, news and announcements, conduct over 20 interviews with civil society activists and community leaders regarding current projects and initiatives, and monitor proposed legislation that would potentially affect NGOs in order ensure that civil society is informed and can participate in shaping legislation.

- **Civil Initiative Support Center**
  $48,486
  To educate voters and stimulate public debate and activism ahead of the October 2012

parliamentary elections. Together with members of the national coalition of electoral initiatives DZVIN (Bell), the Center will organize a two-day training seminar for 30 regional partners, conduct 225 local meetings throughout 15 of Ukraine's regions, produce four educational videos and 5,000 brochures on the electoral process, and create and animate contact through social networks and the Dzvin website.

- **Democratic Initiatives Foundation**
  $73,464
  To stimulate informed debate and dialogue among civil society, government and the general public on issues relating to Ukraine's transition to democracy and 2012 parliamentary elections. Through more than three dozen surveys, roundtables and publications, DIF will help ensure that Ukraine's leaders are informed about public opinion, while at the same time informing the public about important policy debates. DIF will also monitor the October elections by conducting a nationwide exit poll.

- **Dniprovsky Center for Social Research**
  $25,000
  To promote dialogue between the third sector, media, and local government in eastern Ukraine. The Center will hold nine press club meetings, organize two training seminars for 30 local NGO activists, conduct two expert opinion polls, publish an analytical report on the results of the polling, and produce four issues of its bulletin with a print run of 500 copies on NGO activities in the Dnipropetrovsk region.

- **Dniprovsky Center for Social Research**
  $25,000
  To increase access to independent news and information in Ukraine's eastern region of Dnipropetrovsk. The Center will create an online newspaper with regional news and analysis in Ukrainian and Russian. It will also conduct monitoring of elected officials' campaign promises, an expert opinion poll, and three roundtables to strengthen the professionalism of 20 journalists. The results will be published and in a final analytical report with a print run of 500 copies. The Center will also maintain and update its website on NGO developments in the region, www.dcsi.dp.ua.

- **Donetsk Press Club**
  $39,810
  To continue educating journalists and monitoring the media in eastern Ukraine. In the aftermath of the October 2012 parliamentary elections, the Press Club will organize 24 meetings, covering important national and regional issues, for journalists and media

outlets throughout Donetsk region. At least 40 reports on the work of local NGOs will also be produced and published on the Press Club's website, http://pclub.dn.ua, along with press releases and audiovisual recordings from the meetings and the results of the media monitoring.

- **Donetsk Committee of Voters of Ukraine**
  $52,930
  To continue strengthening civil society in eastern Ukraine. In order to foster greater cooperation among NGOs and promote civil society development in the region, the Donetsk CVU will continue to maintain and expand its website. Endowment support will be used to purchase equipment, cover salaries and continue developing a section containing informational materials, including 200 video and photo reports highlighting 500 NGO activities and civic initiatives in the region. The Donetsk CVU will also add a section to its website to follow the October 2012 Parliamentary elections, which will include news, analysis and multimedia reporting regarding elections in the region.

- **East European Democratic Center**
  $78,969
  To continue assisting the development of local non-state newspapers in eastern and southern Ukraine. The Warsaw-based EEDC will organize four workshops for eight newspapers, four advanced workshops for four newspapers, and a week-long study visit to Poland for two of the most promising local publications. A total of 40 editors, journalists, and designers from eight Ukrainian newspapers will participate in the workshops.

- **East European Democratic Center**
  41,584
  To continue strengthening civil society in four regions of southern Ukraine and Crimea during an important election year. The Warsaw-based EEDC will provide a series of communications and capacity-building training seminars for approximately 56 local Ukrainian civic activists. EEDC will assist promising participants in implementing local projects through a small grants competition. Approximately 16 grants totaling $11,000 will be awarded.

- **Foundation for Promotion of Civil Activity**
  $27,130
  To foster civic engagement at the local level in the Kherson and Mykolaiv regions of Ukraine. The Foundation will organize eight regional roundtables, hold two press

conferences, conduct three sets of trainings, provide support for up to eight local initiatives through a grants competition, and convene an interregional youth forum bringing together 100 youth activists. The Foundation will also provide support to the NGO Kherson Messenger to hold nonpartisan candidate debates in five districts ahead of the October 2012 parliamentary elections and post them on a special, election-related regional website, vibory.ks.ua.

- **Garage Gang Collective**
  $37,637
  To increase the transparency and accountability of local and national government. The Garage Gang will foster cross-sectoral cooperation by engaging cultural organizations and representatives of independent professions in monitoring the performance of local administrations. These groups will also be mobilized to observe the October 2012 parliamentary elections. NED support will cover the training, fundraising and promotional costs of developing five local monitoring programs that will be replicated in different regions of Ukraine.

- **Human Rights Training Center**
  $19,370
  To promote human rights in Ukraine's southern Mykolaiv region. The Center will conduct two, three-day training seminars for a total of 40 regional activists to increase the human rights component in social advocacy programs being conducted in the region. Ten of the most promising participants will develop civic campaigns incorporating the newly acquired skills. The two activists carrying out the most successful campaigns will have their visa costs covered for participating in a Civic Exchange Program between Ukraine and the state of Minnesota.

- **Independent Association of Broadcasters**
  $39,271
  To raise awareness of human rights, protect freedom of speech, and educate youth about the role of media in democratic society. The Association will organize its third annual "Kinomedia" festival, which will include film screenings and public lectures in seven Ukrainian cities. The Association will also organize a short film competition for youth, focusing on media freedom, democracy and human rights.

- **Independent Center of Political Researchers and Journalists**
  $33,611
  To continue stimulating public discussion on and policy responses to threats to

democracy in Ukraine's Autonomous Republic of Crimea. The Center will continue to focus on identifying and fostering discussion on political extremism and ethnic conflict while developing and advocating for policy alternatives. Two roundtables, bringing together a total of 60 journalists, scholars, NGO activists and elected officials, will be organized during an important election year. The Center will print and distribute four issues of its bulletin, with print runs of up to 800 copies each, publish 30 articles in regional newspapers, and maintain its website.

- **Institute for Euro-Atlantic Cooperation**
  $48,120
  To promote Ukraine's compliance with international democratic norms and human rights standards during the country's chairmanship of the OSCE. An expert group will produce a road map for monitoring Ukraine's chairmanship. A series of one-day roundtables, bringing together up to 70 representatives of civil society, government officials and media, will be organized in Kyiv, Odesa, Kharkiv, and Lviv to promote and stimulate civic engagement on the plan. A website will be designed and social media employed to monitor government compliance with the road map. Twelve interns will be trained to coordinate the monitoring and reporting of the results at the regional level.

- **Institute of Mass Information**
  $34,470
  To analyze current and pending legislation on the media and monitor violations of press freedom and attacks on journalists during an important election year. The Institute will conduct independent field investigations in cases of extreme pressure or intimidation against journalists, publish an annual report on its monitoring, and convene four press conferences to disseminate the findings to media outlets and the public.

- **Institute of Political Education**
  $47,994
  To foster democratic local and regional government. The Institute will conduct five, three-day training seminars in Crimea, Donetsk, Chernihiv, Lviv and Kyiv for 125 newly elected local and regional councilors, promoting a better understanding of the role and responsibilities of an elected official and the formal rules of procedure.

- **Institute of the Republic**
  $29,990

To promote greater awareness of freedom of assembly in Ukraine. As part of a larger, national advocacy campaign to promote the right of freedom of assembly following the October 2012 parliamentary elections, the Institute will conduct two training sessions for 24 campaign activists, organize six roundtables and six lectures in the regions on proposed legislation regulating freedom of assembly and Ukraine's international commitments, convene three press conferences in Kyiv, and print and distribute 15,000 leaflets publicizing campaign events.

- **International Republican Institute**
  $250,000
  To strengthen the ability of Ukrainian political parties to be more representative and to compete effectively in the October 2012 parliamentary elections, IRI will provide an extensive program of campaign training on voter targeting, issue-based message development, strategy for candidate recruitment for majoritarian constituencies, and coalition building between democratic parties, and access to public opinion research.

- **International Republican Institute**
  $35,000
  To institutionalize democratic governance practices in city of Cherkasy. IRI will focus on developing the capacity of the municipality to implement best practices and then to serve as a model to promote such practices in Ukraine and beyond. IRI will do so through exposing the Cherkasy government to new and innovative reform ideas and mentoring it through the reform process, bolstering existing demand for democratic reform amongst the citizenry, and developing the advocacy capacity of civil society to channel that demand. IRI will also help share the Cherkasy model by organizing a study trip from municipalities across Ukraine. IRI will also broaden the reach of the model by bringing the mayor and key staff to Washington to meet and discuss democratic best practices with his counterparts.

- **International Republican Institute**
  $95,000
  To institutionalize democratic governance practices. IRI will focus on developing the capacity of the Cherkasy municipality to implement best practices and then to serve as a model to promote such practices across Ukraine. IRI will do so through continuing to expose the Cherkasy government to new and innovative reform ideas and mentoring it through the reform process, bolstering existing demand for democratic reform amongst the citizenry, and developing the advocacy capacity of civil society to channel that demand. IRI will then seek to highlight the successes of the Cherkasy model at a

forum in Kyiv which will include reform-minded mayors from other cities and national government officials.

- **Journal Ji Analytical Center**
  $34,981
  To promote free and fair elections in Ukraine. The independent journal will organize a series of three seminars in seven regional centers in western Ukraine: Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Ternopil, Lutsk, Uzhgorod, Chernivtsi, and Rivne. The one-day seminars, each gathering 50 participants, will stimulate public discussion about Ukraine's future in the context of the October 2012 parliamentary elections.

- **Kharkiv Human Rights Protection Group**
  $47,200
  To continue promoting and safeguarding human rights. During an important elections year, the KHPG will produce a series of publications on human rights in Ukrainian, Russian, and English; maintain a virtual human rights library on its website; and operate a separate website documenting and supporting victims of human rights abuses. It will continue monitoring draft legislation and providing recommendations to lawmakers. Finally, the KHPG will also organize a roundtable for government officials, a seminar for prosecutors, and several press conferences on human rights issues.

- **Kherson Association of Journalists "South"**
  $31,675
  To cover the partial costs of the Association's 9th annual human rights film festival, docudays.ua, which will take place shown in 22 regions of Ukraine. During an important election year, the three-month traveling festival will feature domestic and international human rights documentary films and will include public discussions and debates led by human-rights NGO representatives and experts. Endowment support will be used to cover the seven-day Kyiv leg of the festival, as well as some organizational costs.

- **Kherson Association of Journalists "South"**
  $39,578
  To promote a better understanding of human rights. The Association will hold its 10th annual human rights film festival, docudays.ua, which will be shown in 22 regions of Ukraine. The three-month traveling festival will feature domestic and international human rights documentary films and conduct public discussions and debates led by human rights experts and NGO representatives.

- **Kherson Committee of Voters of Ukraine**
  $40,890
  To continue monitoring local and regional councils in southern Ukraine. The Kherson CVU will monitor the implementation of local election programs and promises in four districts of Kherson region and conduct an information outreach campaign that will include publishing an analytical report, a brochure on the duties of elected officials, and two newspaper inserts, as well as holding two press conferences and a roundtable. In addition, six seminars will be held to encourage the participation of up to 180 youth in monitoring and civic activities.

- **Krytyka Journal**
  $47,000
  To strengthen independent media and democratic ideas and values. The Journal will launch an online version of its prominent intellectual publication, which contains analytical pieces on important political, economic and social issues related to Ukraine's democratic transition. The new website, Krytyka Online, will also create a networking platform, attracting a new generation of readers thus expanding readership and contributing to the journal's sustainability strategy. Endowments funds will be used to support the complete re-design and re-launch of the Krytyka website and social platform.

- **Luhansk Business Club "European Choice"**
  $32,000
  To strengthen democratic ideas and values among youth and civic activists in eastern Ukraine. European Choice will organize two meetings for teachers and elected officials, convene a roundtable discussion for 40 young leaders, and hold Youth City Council elections in Severodonetsk. Several events to foster youth activism, including an essay contest focusing on the upcoming October 2012 parliamentary elections, will be organized along with a final evaluation conference for 80 participants.

- **Lutsk Center for Political Analysis and Electoral Consulting**
  $26,523
  To strengthen the accountability and transparency of local government in the Volyn region. The NGO will maintain and update its government monitoring website, and promote it through leaflets and social networking websites. The monitoring results and analysis of the project activities will also be disseminated in a brochure (500 copies) to media outlets, local government officials, and NGOs. In addition, the NGO will conduct two training seminars on using new media for 20 local deputies and 20 civic activists.

- **“Moloda Cherkaschyna” Coalition of Cherkassy Youth NGOs**
  $31,855
  To increase youth involvement in civil society and the October 2012 parliamentary elections. The Coalition will organize a total of six training seminars for 90 youth activists in three regions of central Ukraine: Cherkassy, Kirovohrad and Poltava. A small grants competition will be conducted for six nonpartisan projects focusing on voter education for young people.

- **National Democratic Institute for International Affairs**
  $345,000
  To protect the integrity of the October 2012 parliamentary elections, NDI will provide technical and financial assistance to its local nongovernmental partner, Opora, to monitor the electoral period, including the campaigns, administration of the election, and election day. With NDI’s assistance, Opora will field long-term observers throughout the country.

- **Odesa Committee of Voters of Ukraine**
  $41,851
  To continue monitoring elected officials and candidates in southern Ukraine. Prior to the country’s October 2012 parliamentary elections, the Odesa CVU will conduct two training seminars on monitoring and six roundtable discussions on whether local government officials are fulfilling their election promises. In addition, the CVU will continue to monitor local councils in Odesa, Kotovsk, Pozdilnya, Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy, Izmail, and Reni, produce and distribute 18,000 copies of its monitoring results and update its web portal at www.izbirkom.od.ua.

- **Our House – Svatovschina**
  $21,945
  To strengthen civil society in Ukraine’s eastern region of Luhansk. Our House will publish and disseminate nine issues of “A Tutorial for Entrepreneurs,” convene six capacity building seminars for local entrepreneurs, and hold four working meetings for leaders of local civic initiatives who will share best practices for self-organizing. The program will expand a network of local organizations called the Coalition of Self-Defense which promotes cross-sectorial cooperation between NGO and business communities.

- **Policy Association for an Open Society**
  $39,934

To continue a fellowship program that will enhance the capacity of pro-democracy think tanks from Ukraine. The Prague-based PASOS will oversee the second year of its Ilko Kucheriv Democracy Fellowship Program, which will allow four activists from Ukraine to spend a year, including at least two months in residence, working, studying and learning with PASOS member think tanks in Central Europe, while working on joint projects designed to promote democracy and human rights in their home country.

- **Polissya Foundation for International and Regional Research**
  $25,000
  To increase the skills and engagement of young policy analysts in Ukraine. During an important election year, the Foundation will conduct three trainings for 25 young analysts from the Chernihiv region, the last of which will focus exclusively on methodologies of election monitoring, publish four analytical reports produced by participants online, produce and distribute 300 copies of an analytical report summaries, and hold two press conferences.

- **“Postup” Human Rights Center**
  $24,030
  To raise awareness of human rights among youth in order to counteract potential abuse by law enforcement bodies in eastern Ukraine. Postup will conduct ten workshops to train 200 teachers in human rights education skills and develop a series of five video lectures on human rights which will be used by teachers and civic activists during classes and training seminars. It is estimated that more than 5,000 students in Ukraine’s eastern regions will benefit from the training and materials.

- **Razumkov Center for Economic and Political Research**
  $39,990
  To continue publishing the Center’s National Security and Defense, one of the most widely read policy journals in Ukraine. NED support will be used to produce three issues in 2012. Each issue, to be published in an edition of 3,000 copies in Ukrainian and 800 copies in English, will provide a thorough examination of issues of particular importance to the country’s democratic transition.

- **School for Policy Analysis of the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy**
  $52,750
  To continue promoting constitutional reform in Ukraine. Building on previous NED-supported projects supported by NED which developed a series of proposals for constitutional reform, the School will deepen public engagement and broaden debate

on constitutional reform by conducting a nation-wide poll, publishing a set of online informational resources, producing 1,500 copies of a brochure and a series of monthly articles, and convening a roundtable with 30 experts, government officials and NGO representatives during an important election year.

- **Smoloskyp**
  $36,294
  To further strengthen links between promising young Ukrainian activists and scholars, expose young people to democratic values and principles, and engage the next generation of Ukrainian activists in the country's democratic transition. Smoloskyp will organize 24 meetings, publish its weekly youth journal, and develop a virtual museum of Ukrainian samizdat.

- **Spilnyi Prostir Association**
  $50,000
  To improve the accountability of elected officials and increase dialogue between officials, media, and voters. Greater media awareness and civic activism will be fostered in 24 regions of Ukraine through a series of trainings and discussion groups, as well as civic campaigns. The Association will also conduct a media monitoring project prior to the October 2012 parliamentary elections, produce 1.4 million pamphlets and two newspaper inserts on monitoring results, and organize a final press conference for more than 50 media, policy, and NGO experts.

- **Sumy Regional Committee of Youth Organizations**
  $56,260
  To continue developing the NGO sector in rural areas of northeastern Ukraine. The Committee will work through its network of 36 NGOs in the Sumy, Chernihiv and Poltava regions to expand local civil society initiatives. It will hold three training seminars for 60 NGO activists, maintain its website, publish nine issues of its bulletin Spalakh, support 6 local initiatives through a mini grants competition and convene a regional conference.

- **Sumy Regional Organization "Bureau of Political Analysis"**
  $31,293
  To promote transparency and accountability at the local government level in the Sumy, Poltava and Kharkiv regions of northeastern Ukraine. The Bureau will train 60 civic activists to expose corrupt practices in procurement procedures and scrutinize 80 active procurement documents. The Bureau will also produce 150 copies of a final

report to be disseminated at three press club events.

- **“Tamarisk” Center for Support of Civic and Cultural Initiatives**
  $30,890
  To increase the capacity and professionalism of NGOs in five regions of central and eastern Ukraine. The Dnipropetrovsk-based Tamarisk will conduct three, two-day trainings for 20 activists, organize a NGO forum for 50 representatives, provide online and onsite consultations, offer NGO news and information on its website, and operate as a resource center for civil society in the region.

- **Telekritika**
  $69,800
  To continue fostering transparency and promoting the professionalism of the media during an important election year. While serving as an independent resource to assist journalists, Telekritika will continue to monitor Ukraine’s media outlets for censorship, restrictions on freedom of the press, and harassment and physical attacks against journalists. Results will be published on Telekritika’s website and in its print journal, Telekritika. Telekritika will also hold four webcasts and six events on pressing media-related issues, including the October 2012 parliamentary elections, and offer more access to new media tools.

- **Ukrainian Catholic University**
  $35,000
  To support the Religious Information Service of Ukraine (RISU), an online news agency that covers issues of church-state relations, freedom of conscience, and conflict between Ukraine’s various faith-based communities (www.risu.org.ua). NED support will cover the costs of RISU’s salaries, website development and maintenance, and news correspondents.

- **Ukrainian Center for Independent Political Research**
  $56,950
  To continue promoting public discussion on democracy-related topics. UCIPR will conduct five research projects on various aspects of democratic development, with a focus on the October 2012 parliamentary elections. The think tank will organize four focus groups bringing together representatives of civil society and the authorities, as well as two press conferences. UCIPR will also continue to monitor the national legislature, publish and distribute 10 reports presenting the results of its research, and produce and distribute 20 issues of its biweekly analytical bulletin.

- **Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union**
  $47,994
  To promote awareness about the human rights situation in Ukraine. The 2012 edition of the Union's annual report on the country's human rights situation will be published in Ukrainian (1,000 copies) and English (300 copies), as well as produced in CD form (300 copies) and made available on the Union's website. The Union will also organize a roundtable to highlight the report's findings and plan advocacy campaigns to promote greater human rights awareness in Ukraine.

- **Ukrainian Youth Association of Ukraine**
  $42,900
  To continue strengthening youth civil society organizations in Ukraine's Chernihiv, Donetsk, and Kirovohrad. SUM will conduct three training seminars for 75 NGO leaders in each of the three regions, organize internships for 12 promising activists in prominent NGOs, and hold a mini grant competition that will provide funding for six local civic initiatives.

- **Vinnitsa Youth Organization "Nashe Podillya"**
  $52,046
  To continue strengthening youth organizations and informal social movements in 16 regions, particularly in eastern Ukraine. Nashe Podillya will develop its Network of Civic Initiatives by conducting three two-day training seminars; compiling a database of best practices of organizations working at the local level and updating its website; holding two strategic planning meetings for 40 activists in Ukraine's eastern regions; awarding 10 mini grants to local initiatives; overseeing an internship program in which 30 local NGO leaders will gain experience by working with more advanced organizations; and convening a national forum on local initiatives in Kyiv.

- **Volyn Resource Center**
  $16,170
  To educate and mobilize first-time voters in the Rivne region for Ukraine's October 2012 parliamentary elections. The Center will produce and disseminate 5,000 copies of an informational bulletin entitled "How to Vote." Social networks will be used to create a group of young people who will be active on behalf of "Clean Elections." The Center will also organize 25 nonpartisan seminars on election-related topics for groups of 20 to 25 youth. Finally, 50 seminar participants will be chosen to participate in a debate club focused on the election's candidates, platforms, and processes.

- **Youth Alternative**
  $42,143
  To foster participation in and a better understanding of Ukraine's political processes among youth. To continue its parliamentary internship program, Youth Alternative will select 30 students from leading Kyiv universities to serve six-month fellowships in the Verkhovna Rada, Ukraine's national legislature, following the October 2012 parliamentary elections. The students will participate in orientation and training seminars during their internships.

Grant descriptions are from the 2012 NED Annual Report.

Anlage 3:

Betrifft Venezuela und andere Aktivitäten der USA in Süd- und Mittelamerika.

Hier der Hinweis auf ein junge Welt Interview mit der Argentinierin Stella Calloni aus:

Jochens SOZIALPOLITISCHE NACHRICHTEN
Die Weise, in der in den offiziellen Medien über die Ukraine und Venezuela berichtet wird, verbirgt eine Strategie, die von Naomi Klein als "Schock-Strategie" schon deutlich beschrieben ist.
Die Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung(CDU) und die Friedrich-Naumann-Stiftung(FDP) unterstützen konservative Kreise, die CIA baut nationalistische Gruppen zu Todesschwadronen um, dann gibt es Chaos und dann den Militärputsch.
Warum hat es die Unterstützungsangebote der EU und des IWF für die Ukaine nicht schon vorher gegeben? Die Spärlichkeit der westlichen Angebote hat die vorige Regierung in die Arme von Russland getrieben. Nun heisst es, deren Auflagen zu erfüllen.
In der Ukraine gibt es Holz, große Wälder, und das wird in Resteuropa knapp. Und im Sozialismus gut ausgebildete Billiglöhner. Ein Schelm wer böses dabei denkt.

Und heute kam eine neoliberale Propagandasendung über Venezuela, ich glaub in ZDF-Info, wo die armen Unternehmer angeblich nichts zum Investieren haben (nachdem sie zuvor das Geld ausser Landes geschafft haben). Klingt das jetzt vulgärmarxistisch?
Ein "Wirtschaftsexperte" bereitete die Zuschauer auf ein baldiges Eingreifen des Militärs dort vor.
Das Muster ist aus Chile bekannt. Nur hat die Mehrheit der Venezuelaner etwas daraus gelernt.

Sie sind zu stolz, um sich wie auf den Philippinen für Dumpinglöhne totzuarbeiten.

Die Argentinierin **Stella Calloni (78)** ist eine der bedeutendsten Schriftstellerinnen und Journalistinnen Lateinamerikas. Sie sagt uns, dass die Lateinamerikaner etwas begriffen haben, wovon die Arbeiter in Deutschland noch was lernen können.
Hier Auszüge aus dem Interview in Havanna.

*Vergangene Woche wurde in Havanna Ihre Biographie präsentiert, soeben haben Sie Ihr neues Werk »**Evo im Visier**« (Evo en la Mira) vorgestellt.*
Worum geht es in dem Buch?

Um die **verdeckte Wühlarbeit der CIA und deren Verbindungen zum Drogenhandel und der US-Antidrogenbehörde DEA.**
Bei der Arbeit an diesem Buch konnte ich viele bisher noch nicht bekannte Dokumente auswerten, die den Einfluß dieser Organisationen auf frühere Regierungen des Landes belegen. Der heutige Präsident **Evo Morales** war schon damals als Gewerkschaftsführer in ihrem Visier und ist es heute um so mehr.

Sie kennen Evo Morales persönlich. Was hat er bisher verändert?

Ich habe seine Bekanntschaft gemacht, als er noch Gewerkschaftsvertreter der Kokabauern war, und seinen Weg seitdem verfolgt.
Früher war die Situation der indigenen Bevölkerung unwürdig, und sie wurde unmenschlich behandelt. Seit Evo Präsident ist, hat sich deren Lage verbessert. Armut, Analphabetismus, Hunger und medizinische Unterversorgung wurden abgebaut. Er trägt dazu bei, unser Amerika zum Besseren zu verändern.
Weil er das mit Ressourcen macht, die früher die Oligarchie und vor allem US-Konzerne für sich beanspruchten, ist er zu ihrer Zielscheibe geworden.

Wie andere linke Politiker Lateinamerikas auch?

Ich hatte das Glück, auch **Fidel Castro** und den vor knapp einem Jahr verstorbenen **Hugo Chávez** persönlich kennen zu lernen. Das sind Führungspersönlichkeiten, die aus dem Volk kommen und unseren Kontinent so gestalten, wie ich es mir immer gewünscht habe: unabhängig, sozial gerecht und solidarisch.
Der **CELAC-Gipfel** (Staaten Lateinamerikas und der Karibik) im Januar hier in Havanna hat gezeigt, daß Lateinamerika zusammenwächst und nicht länger ein Anhängsel des Imperiums ist wie Europa, das sich in der NATO ja den US-Befehlen unterwirft.

Der Gipfel war sicher ein Erfolg, aber kommt jetzt in Venezuela nicht der Gegenschlag?

Der faschistische Putschversuch in Venezuela ist schon seit längerer Zeit geplant. Aber natürlich hat der Erfolg des Gipfels die USA und die Rechten in Lateinamerika zusätzlich gereizt. Sie hatten ja mit allen Mitteln zu verhindern versucht, daß fast alle Staats- und Regierungschefs hierher nach Havanna kommen und dadurch die Bedeutung Kubas für unseren Kontinent unterstreichen. Damit sind sie grandios gescheitert, und jetzt kommt die Revanche.
Zunächst in Venezuela, das wegen seines Gewichts in Lateinamerika und wegen seines Öls eine Schlüsselposition hat. In Ecuador und Argentinien sind die Rechten und die Faschisten – natürlich mit Unterstützung der USA – ebenfalls aktiv, um die dortigen Regierungen zu Fall zu bringen.

In Europa behaupten sogar Leute, die sich links nennen, daß in Venezuela Studenten- und Jugendproteste wie in anderen Ländern stattfinden. Was sagen Sie dazu?

Die Rechte in Venezuela will ja keine sozialen Verbesserungen, sondern die Rückkehr zur Herrschaft der Oligarchie und der US-Konzerne.
In Chile protestieren hingegen Studenten für bessere Bildungschancen, weil das private System viele ausschließt, und in Spanien wehren sich die Menschen gegen Sozialabbau. Aber sie erschießen dort keine politischen Gegner und verbünden sich nicht mit bezahlten paramilitärischen Terrorgruppen.
Wenn Menschen in Europa faschistischen Terror mit legitimen Protest gleichsetzen, dann liegt das auch daran, daß sie von den großen Medien systematisch desinformiert werden. Linke sollten die Propagandalügen aber eigentlich durchschauen.
Für uns ist eines klar: Wer faschistischen Putschisten applaudiert, gehört nicht zur linken Bewegung.

Wie bei der Unterstützung des Putsches in der Ukraine?

In Europa feiern viele, daß dort de facto Faschisten durch einem Staatsstreich mit an die Macht gelangen. Das muß man sich vorstellen: Die jüdische Bevölkerung in der Ukraine muß um ihre Sicherheit und Unversehrtheit fürchten, und ausgerechnet in Deutschland wird der Grund dafür bejubelt!
Außerdem sehen viele nicht, daß die aggressive NATO-Politik den Weg für den **dritten Weltkrieg** bereitet.

Ist das nicht übertrieben?

Keineswegs. Die Kette Irak, Libyen, Syrien und jetzt Ukraine führt geradewegs dahin. Die USA und Europa stecken in einer tiefen Krise, das macht sie so gefährlich.
Im Gegensatz zu uns in Lateinamerika ist die europäische Bevölkerung aber nicht auf das vorbereitet, was kommt. In Deutschland und Europa sind die Menschen nicht richtig informiert und sich auch nicht darüber im klaren, daß ihre Regierungen zwar überall Sprengsätze legen, die Zünder dafür aber andere in der Hand halten.
Das führt direkt in die Katastrophe.