

# The National Endowment for Democracy: What It Is and What It Does

## 美国国家民主基金会的所作所为及真实面目

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### Introduction

The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) acts as the US government's "white gloves." It has long engaged in subverting state power in other countries, meddling in other countries' internal affairs, inciting division and confrontation, misleading public opinion, and conducting ideological infiltration, all under the pretext of promoting democracy. Its innumerable evil deeds have caused grave harm and drawn strong condemnation from the international community.

In recent years, NED has kept changing tactics and gone even further in acting against the historical trend of peace, development and win-win cooperation. It has become more notorious for its infiltration, subversion and sabotage attempts against other countries. It is imperative to unmask NED and alert all countries to the need to see through its true colors, guard against and fight back its disruption and sabotage attempts, safeguard their national sovereignty, security and development interests, and uphold world peace and development and international fairness and justice.

### I. NED—the US government's "white gloves"

NED claims to be an NGO that provides support for democracy abroad. In fact, it acts as the US government's "white gloves" in carrying out subversion, infiltration and sabotage across the world.

1. NED is the implementer of CIA covert operations. In the early days of the Cold War, CIA supported opposition activities in socialist countries in Eastern Europe via "private voluntary organizations" to advance "peaceful evolution." After such activities were exposed in the mid to late 1960s, the US government began contemplating cooperation with civil society organizations to conduct similar activities. Hence the idea of setting up an organization of this kind. As William Blum, an American scholar, wrote, "The idea was that the NED would do somewhat overtly what the CIA had been doing covertly for decades, and thus, hopefully, eliminate the stigma associated with CIA covert activities."<sup>1</sup>

2. NED was established under the auspices of the US government. In 1981, after he came into office, President Ronald Reagan intended to promote his "Project Democracy" abroad, and proposed a government-funded and privately-run foundation to openly support "democratic movements abroad." One of the purposes of NED, created in 1983, is to encourage the establishment and growth of democratic development in a manner consistent both with the broad concerns of US national interests and with the specific requirements of the democratic groups

### 前言

美国国家民主基金会（National Endowment for Democracy, 简称NED）是美国政府的“白手套”，长期以来，打着“促进民主”的幌子，颠覆他国政权，干涉别国内政，煽动分裂对抗，蛊惑干扰舆论，实施思想渗透，恶行劣迹罄竹难书，造成深重危害，受到国际社会强烈谴责。

近年来，NED变换手法，变本加厉，违背和平、发展、合作、共赢的历史潮流，继续对各国实施渗透颠覆破坏，愈加臭名昭著。我们有必要进一步曝光揭露NED，促使各国进一步警醒警惕，识破戳穿NED的真实面目，防范回击NED的干扰破坏，坚决维护国家主权、安全和发展利益，坚决维护世界和平发展和国际公平正义。

### 一、美国国家民主基金会是美国政府的“白手套”

NED打着“非政府组织”旗号，自称“为他国民主提供支持”，实际上是美国政府在全世界开展渗透颠覆破坏活动的“白手套”。

（一）NED是美国中情局“隐蔽战略”的实施机构。冷战初期，中情局通过所谓民间志愿者组织支持东欧社会主义国家反对派活动，推进“和平演变”。20世纪60年代中后期这些活动被曝光，美国政府转向考虑与民间机构合作开展相关活动，建立类似机构的想法萌生。美国学者威廉·布卢姆说，NED公开做过去中情局一直在秘密做的事情，以洗去与中情局联系在一起的恶名<sup>1</sup>。

（二）NED由美国政府推动成立。1981年，美国总统里根上台后，谋划在海外推动所谓“民主战略”，提出建立一个由政府资助、采取民间模式运行的基金会，公开支持所谓“海外民主运动”。1983年NED成立，其宗旨之一就是：在符合美国广泛国家利益和受资助团体要求的同时，在目标国鼓励和发展民主运

in other countries which are aided by programs funded by NED.

3. NED is funded by US government. On November 22, 1983, the US Congress passed the NED Act which reiterated the purposes of NED and clarified such issues as congressional appropriations, financial audit by the government, and the requirement to report to the Congress and the President. In 1983, the year when NED was established, the Congress provided US\$18 million to NED. Over the past 40-plus years, the volume of congressional appropriations has kept increasing in general. According to data from USASpending.gov, NED received an appropriation of US\$315 million in FY2023. As a report of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace revealed, “Almost all the NED’s funds come from the US Congress.”<sup>71</sup>

4. NED programs are run under the guidance of the US State Department and embassies abroad. As required by the enabling legislation for NED, NED should consult with the State Department on its program plans to seek foreign policy guidance. According to a USAID report “Democracy Promotion Programs Funded by the US Government,” NED consults on an ongoing basis with the State Department, through the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, with USIA and with US embassies abroad on programmatic matters.

5. NED reports to the US government on its work and accepts audit and oversight by the government. According to the NED Act, NED shall submit to the President an annual report for the preceding fiscal year no later than December 31 of each year. The report should include NED’s operations, activities and accomplishments. Audit of NED is conducted annually by the US Government General Accounting Office. A report of each audit shall be made to the Congress, and a copy of each report shall be furnished to the President.

6. The US government has access to information on all NED-funded programs. According to the NED Act, NED or any of its duly authorized representatives shall have access to any books, documents, papers, and records of the recipient pertinent to assistance provided through NED. The US Comptroller General or any of his duly authorized representatives shall also have access thereto.

7. NED’s mandate is endorsed by the US government. Philip Agee, a former CIA officer, said on a 1995 TV show, “Nowadays, instead of having just the CIA going around behind the scenes and trying to manipulate the process secretly by inserting money here and instructions there and so forth, they have now a sidekick, which is this National Endowment for Democracy, NED.” In a report entitled “The National Endowment for Democracy: A Prudent Investment in the Future,” Kim Holmes, former Assistant Secretary of State, argues that “Funding the NED is a prudent investment because it is far less expensive to aid friendly democrats than it is to defend against hostile dictatorships.”

## II. Instigating color revolutions to subvert state power in other countries

1. Attempting to overthrow the Iranian government. In September 2022, protests against hijab rules broke out in Iran. Masih Alinejad, a reporter for the Voice of America Persian Service, released batches of unverified information and pictures to incite public sentiments. According to Al Mayadeen, a Lebanese news channel, between 2015 and 2022, Masih Alinejad received US\$628,000 in funding from NED and some other American institutions. *Iran Daily* cited a document from Iran’s Revolutionary Guards as saying that NED used its ties with Masih Alinejad to interfere in Iran’s internal affairs during the hijab protests. In the meantime, NED also supported the Center for Human Rights in Iran (CHRI) and the Human Rights Activists News Agency (HRANA) in their fabrication of fake news, and supported dissidents

动。

(三) NED的资金来自美国政府拨款。1983年11月22日, 美国国会通过《国家民主基金会法》, 重申NED宗旨, 明确国会拨款、政府审计、向国会和总统报告等内容。1983年NED成立当年, 国会向其拨款1800万美元。40多年来, 拨款额总体不断增加。根据美国政府“美国支出 (USASpending)”网站数据, 2023财年拨款达3.15亿美元。卡内基国际和平基金会报告显示, NED的资金几乎全部来自美国国会拨款<sup>72</sup>。

(四) NED项目运作得到美国国务院和驻外使馆指导。根据对NED拨款法案, NED须同国务院就项目进行协商, 确保得到外交政策指导。美国国际开发署报告《美国政府资助的民主推广项目》披露, 所有NED项目在实施过程中必须同国务院民主、人权和劳工局, 新闻署和美国驻项目国家使馆保持联系。

(五) NED向美国政府报告工作, 接受审计监督。根据美国《国家民主基金会法》, NED要在每年12月31日前向总统提交上一财年报告。报告包括基金会运营活动及成果绩效。联邦审计署每年审计NED财务报表, 向国会提交审计报告。报告副本向总统提交。

(六) 美国政府有权查阅所有NED资助项目资料。根据美国《国家民主基金会法》, NED和经其授权的代表有权审阅基金会和受援对象间的账簿和文件记录。联邦审计署审计长或其授权人员亦有权审阅。

(七) NED的职能得到美国政府背书。美国中情局前官员菲利普·阿吉1995年在电视节目中表示: “如今, 不仅是中央情报局在背后通过资金等方式操控整个过程, 他们还有一个抓手, NED。”美国国务院前助卿金·霍姆斯在《国家民主基金会: 对未来的谨慎投资》中表示, 投资NED的最大好处在于, 支持友好民主力量远比对付敌对威权划算。

## 二、策动颜色革命, 颠覆他国政权

(一) 企图颠覆伊朗政权。2022年9月, 伊朗发生“头巾风波”。美国之音波斯语频道记者阿利内贾德多次发布未经核实的信息、图片, 煽动民众。黎巴嫩广场电视台披露, 阿利内贾德2015年至2022年接受包括NED在内的美国各类机构资助62.8万美元。《伊朗日报》援引伊朗革命卫队文件指出, NED借阿利内贾德之手在“头巾风波”中干涉伊朗内政。“头巾风波”期间, NED还支持“伊朗人权中心”(Center for Human Rights in Iran, CHRI) 和“人权活动者通讯社”(Human Rights Activists News Agency, HRANA) 炮制假新闻, 扶持异见人士同反伊朗政府组织和媒体勾连, 进行舆论攻击抹黑。NED定期在其内部刊物《民主期刊》上刊登评论文章, 鼓吹通过人权运动颠覆伊朗政权。伊朗媒体称NED为“民主的全民公敌”, 是在伊朗社会扰乱秩序、

in working with anti-government organizations and media outlets to stage smear campaigns. NED regularly published commentaries on its *Journal of Democracy* to call for a regime change in Iran through human rights movement. NED is dubbed by Iranian media as a “National Enemy for Democracy” and “the NED Trojan” disrupting order and inciting unrest in Iran.

2. Using various tactics to infiltrate Arab countries. Since the start of the Arab Spring, NED has made extensive use of social media platforms and funded NGOs for releasing multimedia content and providing online training, in a bid to instigate color revolutions. NED has also run a talent reserve program for democratic transition in the region, funded NGOs to help “supporters of democracy,” “human rights activists” and “dissidents” in exile, encouraged local trade unions to strengthen capacity building, and supported scholars and activists in plotting “constitutional reforms” in various countries.

3. Playing a part in Ukraine’s “color revolution.” During the 2004 Orange Revolution, NED provided US\$65 million to the Ukrainian opposition. Between 2007 and 2015, NED allocated more than US\$30 million to support Ukrainian NGOs and promote “civic participation.” During the 2013-2014 Euromaidan, NED financed the Mass Media Institute to spread inflammatory information. NED also spent tens of millions of dollars in the use of such social media platforms as Facebook, X (formerly Twitter), and Instagram to spread disinformation, heighten ethnic tensions in Ukraine, and stir up ethnic antagonism in eastern Ukraine.

4. Attempting to overthrow the DPRK government. In July 2002, NED President Carl Gershman told the media that NED was working with the Congress to carry out activities through a number of NGOs and sway public opinion regarding the DPRK, with a view to undermining the DPRK system. In July 2021, Gershman told the media that thanks to NED-funded human rights programs, “The totalitarian system [in the DPRK] is beginning to erode, and eventually this will bring about the system’s unraveling.”

### III. Colluding with all sorts of elements to meddle in other countries’ internal affairs

#### 1. Cultivating pro-US forces in target countries

—According to its 2021 Annual Report, NED supported pro-US media outlets, cultivated “democracy activists,” and financed groups for “democracy and freedom” in Arab countries.

—In May 2021, NED President Carl Gershman said that despite being prohibited from Russia, NED funded the operation of a large number of organizations in Russia and supported Russian opposition figures in exile in their struggle against the Russian government at important political junctures, such as the State Duma, presidential and local elections.<sup>111</sup>

—NED has long been infiltrating Europe and co-opting EU officials. It has been encouraging voice for transatlanticism within EU institutions while suppressing voice for strategic autonomy, and financing “independent media” in Europe to tilt public opinion in favor of the US.

—Taking Mexico as a major target country for infiltration, NED has supported organizations like the Mexicans Against Corruption and Impunity (MCCI) and the Mexican Institute for Competitiveness (IMCO), and obstructed the electricity reform in Mexico. In 2021, the Mexican government sent a note to the US government condemning NED’s funding of anti-government organizations in Mexico as “an act of interventionism” “promoting a coup.”

—Since 2017, NED has funded 54 anti-Cuba organizations. In

煽动骚乱的“特洛伊木马”。

(二) 变换手法渗透阿拉伯国家。“阿拉伯之春”以来，NED广泛利用社交媒体，资助非政府组织发布多媒体内容、开展线上培训，煽动颜色革命。NED还实施“地区民主转型人才储备”计划，资助非政府组织扶持所谓“民主支持者”、“人权活动家”以及流亡在外的“异见人士”，鼓动当地工会组织“加强组织能力建设”，支持学者和活动人士在各国密谋所谓“宪法改革”。

(三) 参与乌克兰颜色革命。在2004年“橙色革命”中，NED向乌克兰反对派提供6500万美元资金。2007年至2015年，NED投入3000多万美元扶持乌克兰非政府组织，鼓动“公民活动”。2013年至2014年“广场革命”中，NED资助大众媒体研究所，散布煽动信息。NED还投入数千万美元，利用脸书、X（原推特）、照片墙等社交媒体传播虚假信息，激化乌克兰民族矛盾，在乌东地区挑动民族对立。

(四) 企图颠覆朝鲜政权。2002年7月，NED时任会长卡尔·格什曼对媒体表示，NED与美国国会合作，通过多个非政府组织开展涉及朝鲜的活动，影响舆论，目的就是动摇朝鲜现行体制。2021年7月，格什曼对媒体表示，NED通过资助人权项目，已开始腐蚀（朝鲜）威权体制，终将引发动荡。

### 三、勾连各色势力，干涉别国内政

#### (一) 在目标国培植亲美势力

1、美国国家民主基金会2021年报告称，NED在阿拉伯国家扶持亲美媒体，培养“民主行动人士”，资助维护“民主和自由”的团体。

2、2021年5月，NED时任会长卡尔·格什曼表示，尽管NED被禁止在俄罗斯活动，但仍资助数量众多的组织在俄罗斯境内开展活动，支持流亡境外的俄罗斯反对派人士利用俄罗斯国家杜马选举、总统选举和地方议会选举等重要政治议程同俄罗斯政府斗争<sup>3</sup>。

3、NED长期对欧洲进行渗透，拉拢欧盟机构官员。在欧盟机构内培植“跨大西洋派”，打压“战略自主派”；资助所谓欧洲“独立媒体”，营造对美国有利舆论。

4、NED将墨西哥作为主要渗透目标国，扶持墨西哥反腐败和有罪不罚组织（Mexicans Against Corruption and Impunity, MCCI）、墨西哥竞争力研究所（Mexican Institute for Competitiveness, IMCO）等组织，阻扰墨西哥电力改革。墨西哥政府于2021年照会美国政府，谴责NED资助墨西哥境内反政府组织，称“此系干涉主义和煽动政变”。

5、2017年至今，NED资助54个反古巴组织。2018年，反古巴政府组织“古巴民主局”称收到美方提供的“民主资金”，已向古巴境内的员工、代理人 and 承包商支付4.8万美元。