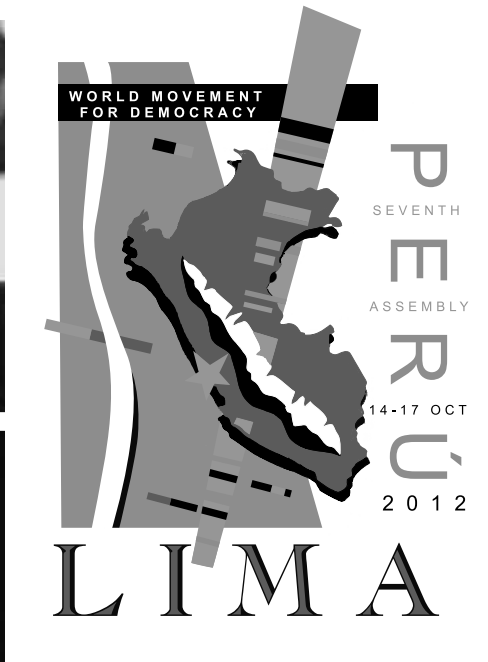




**WORLD MOVEMENT *for* DEMOCRACY**  
*Confronting the Challenges to Democracy in the 21st Century*

# The Seventh Assembly

**LIMA, PERU OCTOBER 14-17, 2012**



**Democracy for All:  
Ensuring Political, Social, and Economic Inclusion**

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### **Secretariat:**

National Endowment for Democracy

**Art Kaufman**

Senior Director



Steering Committee members seen with Secretariat staff at the World Movement's Seventh Assembly in Lima, Peru, in October 2012.

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# About the World Movement for Democracy

**T**he World Movement for Democracy is a global network of democrats, including activists, practitioners, scholars, policy makers, and funders, who have come together to cooperate in the promotion of democracy.

In 1999, we held our first global Assembly in New Delhi, India, and have continued to organize assemblies in different global regions. We also conduct a variety of projects to defend civil society and facilitate networking among participants.

## Goals

**The World Movement aims to:**

- Strengthen democracy where it is weak
- Defend democracy where it is longstanding
- Bolster pro-democracy groups in non-democratic countries

## Leadership

We are led by a distinguished international Steering Committee chaired by The Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell, former prime minister of Canada. Our day-to-day operations are managed by a Secretariat located at the Washington, DC-based National Endowment for Democracy (NED).

## Projects

➤ **World Movement Assemblies.** Global assemblies offer World Movement participants the opportunity to take stock of the accomplishments they have made and the challenges they confront, and to build networks of mutual solidarity and support across borders. Global assemblies also feature the presentation of the World Movement's Democracy Courage Tributes, addresses by leading activists, a Democracy Fair, and Technology Training sessions that focus on the use of new information and communication technologies in their democracy and human rights work.

➤ **Defending Civil Society.** Now in its sixth year, this project responds to the recent disturbing trend of governments restricting the space in which democracy and human rights organizations carry out their work. The World Movement, in partnership with the International Center for Not-for-Profit Law (ICNL), recently published the second edition of the *Defending Civil Society* report, which articulates a set of long-standing principles, rooted in international law, that ought to inform proper government-civil society

relations and provides illustrative examples of the ways in which those principles are being violated. The World Movement and ICNL also recently released a new interactive Toolkit for Civil Society that provides tips, tools, strategies, and other information for organizations and activists working to reform legal frameworks in their respective countries. This project led to the creation of the Community of Democracies' Working Group on Enabling and Protecting Civil Society in which the World Movement participates along with ICNL and other civil society organizations, as well as a number of democratic governments.

➤ **Civic Space Initiative.** In 2012, we launched the Civic Space Initiative in collaboration with ICNL, Article 19, and CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation. The initiative seeks to protect and expand civic space by supporting the work of the UN Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Association and Assembly, producing a series of videos profiling civil society activists to help educate broader publics about the work of democracy and human rights organizations, and other activities.

## Participation

We welcome all networks, groups, and individuals who share the principles and values in our Founding Statement as participants in the World Movement for Democracy.

## Connecting Democracy Activists Worldwide

➤ **Networks.** The World Movement web site provides links to various regional and functional networks focused on advancing democracy.

➤ **DemocracyNews.** As the electronic newsletter of the World Movement, *DemocracyNews* enables participants to share information with their colleagues, announce events and publications, and request assistance or collaboration in their work.

➤ **DemocracyAlerts.** The World Movement issues alerts concerning participants and other colleagues who are, or may be, facing personal danger due to their work on behalf of democracy and for whom a vigorous response from around the world may be critical.

For further information about  
the World Movement and its projects, go to:

**[www.wmd.org](http://www.wmd.org)**

**[www.defendingcivilsociety.org](http://www.defendingcivilsociety.org)**

# Message from the Steering Committee

**T**he Seventh Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy brought together a highly diverse and growing movement of activists, practitioners, scholars, donors and others who are forging the bonds of democratic solidarity around the world. Since the World Movement's Inaugural Assembly in New Delhi, India, in 1999, the number of World Movement participants has grown through the development of both regional and functional networks, which have strengthened the ties among us.

We were very pleased to hold the Seventh Assembly in Peru, which has made significant progress in deepening democracy, but which continues to face significant challenges, as do many new and old democracies around the world. Meeting in Peru thus afforded an important opportunity for the hundreds of participants attending from more than 100 countries to learn from Peru's achievements and challenges, and for the Peruvian participants to learn from those attending from abroad. We were also very pleased to meet in the city of Lima, which has implemented its own important initiatives to enhance the quality of democratic life. We are thus very grateful to the Municipality and Mayor Susana Villarán de la Puente for all of their assistance and for graciously hosting a wonderful Cultural Evening and Reception for all the Assembly participants.

Given the robust engagement of Peruvian civil society in furthering the development of democracy in the country, we are very grateful that a number of democracy and human rights organizations helped us prepare for the Assembly by serving as a Host Country CSO Consortium. We especially wish to thank its conveners, David Lovatón of the Legal Defense Institute (IDL) and Gerardo Távara of the Civil Association on Transparency (Transparencia) for all of their assistance. We also extend our deep gratitude to The Hon. Rafael Roncagliolo, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Peru, for officially opening the Assembly, and to those activists who made opening presentations, all of whom helped greatly to set the tone for the discussions that followed. We are pleased to include excerpts from their remarks in this Report.

The theme of the Seventh Assembly, "*Democracy for All: Ensuring Political, Social, and Economic Inclusion*," provided a framework for many of the discussions that took place. We know that one of the fundamental elements of democracy is the principle of

equality. We are pleased, therefore, that the Assembly focused on the challenges to achieving full inclusion for women, youth, ethnic and religious groups, indigenous populations, sexual minorities, and other excluded groups in all societies, regardless of ideological, religious, and traditional barriers. The Assembly also emphasized youth engagement and empowerment, building democracy movements, defending civil society, and making democracy sustainable, all of which we believe are highly relevant in the global struggle for democracy. The reports in the following pages thus reflect the attention to these themes in the Assembly discussions.

We were also very proud to present the World Movement's Democracy Courage Tributes once again to fellow democrats who have demonstrated outstanding courage in pursuit of democracy and human rights. The presentations were featured at the Assembly's concluding John B. Hurford Memorial Dinner.

Finally, we wish to acknowledge the contributions of the many individuals around the world who work tirelessly for the cause of democracy and human rights, but who were unable to join us in Lima. They should know that they were very much missed and were in our thoughts, and we hope that the observations, challenges, and recommendations outlined in this Final Report will prove as useful and inspiring to them as we very much hope it will for all those who attended the Seventh Assembly in Lima.

Steering Committee

World Movement for Democracy

# Opening Session

## Welcoming Remarks

**The Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell**  
**Member (Canada) and Chair,**  
**World Movement Steering Committee**

The Right and Honorable Kim Campbell served as the 19th and first female Prime Minister of Canada in 1993 and currently chairs the Steering committee of the World Movement for Democracy. Prior to serving as Prime Minister, she was the first woman to hold the Justice and Defense portfolios and the first female Minister of Defense of a NATO country. Ms. Campbell served as Canadian Consul General in Los Angeles (1996-2000). From 2004 to 2006, she was Secretary General and a founding member of the Club of Madrid.

**Excerpts:** *We are more than 400 democracy activists from 100 countries in every region of the world: trade unionists and business leaders; party representatives and human rights defenders; parliamentarians and civic educators. We are all united in the belief that freedom is universal, and that mutual cooperation and solidarity will help us improve the condition of democracy and human rights in our respective countries.*

*We are delighted to be holding this gathering in Peru, a thriving democracy, an oasis of political and economic stability in a troubled region. The theme of this Assembly is “Democracy for All: Ensuring Political, Social, and Economic Inclusion,” one that the host country has been grappling with, and has devoted an entire government ministry to achieve. This theme will be the focus of many of the plenary and workshop sessions that will take place, along with youth engagement and empowerment, building democracy movements, and defending civil society. The latter, under the ongoing project of the World Movement, has put us in the forefront of responding to the global trend of restricting freedom of association and assembly in many countries. . . .*

*We are also pleased to be meeting in the great city of Lima. The Municipality and Mayor Susana Villarán de la Puente have provided important assistance and have extended a warm welcome to all of our participants, for which we are very grate-*

*ful. We also wish to thank the members of the Host Country CSO Consortium, and especially its conveners, David Lovatón of the Legal Defense Institute (IDL) and Gerardo Távora of the Civil Association on Transparency (Transparencia), for all of their assistance on the organization of this Seventh Assembly.*





**Glatzer Tuesta Altamirano**  
**Legal Defense Institute**  
**Co-Convener of Host Country CSO Consortium**  
**for the Assembly**

Glatzer Tuesta Altamirano is president of the Legal Defense Institute (IDL), a Peruvian organization that has been promoting human rights and democracy since 1983. He also hosts the popular radio show, *No Hay Derecho (That Just Isn't Right)*, which broadcasts daily on Radio San Borja. In addition, he is director of Red Nacional Ideelradio, a national network of more than 170 radio stations that seeks to promote and defend human rights and democracy. A committed peace and human rights activist, Mr. Tuesta is widely known for his investigative journalism.

**Excerpts (translated and edited from the Spanish original):** *The Legal Defense Institute is a civil society organization with nearly 30 years of institutional activity. Its objective is to defend and spread human rights and to affirm and strengthen democracy. For that reason, we identify with, and we are an active*

*part of, the World Movement for Democracy in its efforts to strengthen democracy in the world. We share its principles of freedom of expression, inclusion, equality before the law, the balance of power, and the space for diverse expressions of civil society.*

*In the last few decades, Peru has transitioned through dramatic moments, including the internal armed conflict during which approximately 69,000 people either died or disappeared, according to the Commission of Truth and Reconciliation's final report.*

*Additionally, the dictatorship of the 90s resulted in unprecedented levels of unyielding corruption and human rights violations for which Alberto Fujimori was tried and sentenced to 25 years in prison. Nevertheless, it was a respectable, transparent trial, which thus provided a lesson to the world that impunity cannot coexist with democracy.*

*Regrettably, both episodes required us to question the effectiveness of weak institutions that, rather than reversing such situations, encouraged their growth and an alarming level of exclusion and discrimination.*

*The democratic transition, which began in 2000, advanced in a significant way, and subsequent democratic governments continued it, although to a lesser degree. Despite these advances, I would like to note some current challenges to democracy that reflect a number of tensions:*

- *Impunity for those who violated rights, as opposed to justice for the victims;*
- *Support for economic growth despite resulting social conflicts;*
- *Interest in investment with little regard for the rights of indigenous peoples;*
- *A compliant media, as opposed to freedom of expression;*
- *Reduction of the poverty level, but with less emphasis on reducing the level of economic inequality;*
- *Weak political party institutions, which allow for the growth of violent ideologies;*
- *Narco-trafficking and terrorism unconstrained by a state that lacks the capacity to characterize the problem effectively; and*
- *Growing citizen insecurity left only to be addressed by punitive demagoguery that does not provide solutions.*

Given these challenges, this gathering is fundamental for advancing our clearly very urgent work.

## Luz María Helguero

**Civil Association on Transparency  
(Transparencia)**

**Co-Convener of Host Country CSO Consortium  
for the Assembly**

Luz María Helguero is director general of the Peruvian daily *El Tiempo*, where she previously worked as editor-in-chief, and is founding director of *Gua 3.0*, Peru's first online citizen newspaper. In 2004, she founded the Network of Provincial Journalists, which brings together more than 2,500 journalists to provide training on pressing political and economic issues. Ms. Helguero currently serves as president of the Board of Transparencia, a Peruvian organization that works to enhance citizen participation, provide civic education, promote gender equality, and ensure free and fair elections. She has been a Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellow at the National Endowment for Democracy, and a John S. Knight Fellow at Stanford University.

**Excerpts (translated and edited from the Spanish original):** *I have the privilege of seeing in this room participants from all around the world, from India, from Kazakhstan, from Zimbabwe, from Egypt, from the Czech Republic, from Ecuador, from more than 100 countries gathered today in support of an ideal: promoting and strengthening democracy in our countries. . . .*

*In Peru, during the last few years, our country's economy has been one of the strongest in Latin America, showing very important advances in some social indicators, such as poverty reduction. However, while we feel optimistic due to these results, we also know that there are other statistics that we should look at. Despite the economic growth, the inequality gap persists and social conflicts remain in all the distant rural zones. . . .*

*In Peru, there are more than 1,700 indigenous communities, varying in their languages, customs, forms of government, and worldviews. Citizens like us: equal, but different at the same time. What can our democracy now offer these native people? Have we been able to include them in the system in a satisfactory way?*

*These realities require us to rethink democracy, not only in the formal aspect of the political system nor only with respect to the decisions of the majority. Today, our commitment to democracy requires us to safeguard the interests and the fundamental rights of minorities, of women, of native communities, and*



*of the rural population. In Peru, much of the government, like civil society, has established a commitment to take on the challenges to achieve inclusion in democracy. . . .*

*Transparencia has worked for democracy in Peru for 18 years. . . . During these years, it has achieved mobilization and capacity training for more than 100,000 volunteers throughout the country, above all young people who decided to engage with democracy. We have also worked hard for the strengthening of a democratic culture that promotes political participation of all citizens. Transparencia has successfully secured spaces for debate about local and regional problems and how to address them in development plans. We are also working to improve political representation in Congress, to instill trust in democratic institutions among the citizens. We believe that this helps achieve political inclusion, but the challenge is enormous. . . .*

*In Peru, we know that ensuring inclusion is one of our fundamental tasks. Economic development and the existence of a formal democratic system do not in themselves ensure a healthy democracy, but inclusion of all does.*

*Before ending, I want to share a poem with those of you who have decided to fight for an ideal in your countries. The poem is by Marco Maros:*

*This is not your country  
Because you know its boundaries,  
Nor because of the common language,  
Nor because of the names of the dead.  
This is your country,  
Because, if you had to,  
You would choose it again,  
To build all of your dreams here.*

*All who are here share the dream to strengthen democracy, and we hope to learn from each other what has been done to make it a reality in our countries. . . .*

## Presentations

### Tawakkol Karman

#### Women Journalists without Chains (Yemen)

Tawakkol Karman is one of the leading democratic voices of the Arab Spring, and in 2011 became the youngest recipient, the first Arab woman, and the first Yemeni to win the Nobel Peace Prize. In 2005, she founded the organization Women Journalists without Chains, which began publishing yearly reports on press freedom in Yemen, monitoring human rights abuses, publishing independent news online, and conducting journalism training for women and young people. In 2007, Ms. Karman began organizing regular, peaceful demonstrations against government corruption and abuse. The day after former President Ben Ali fled Tunisia, she posted a message on Facebook and organized a rally of solidarity with the Tunisians. It started small, but it soon became obvious that Yemen was joining the Arab Spring. Since then, Ms. Karman has taken the lead in the pro-democracy Supreme Council for the Youth Revolution, and has been nominated to the National Council for Peaceful Revolution Forces.

**Excerpts (translated and edited from the Arabic original):** *Allow me to express the sincere pleasure I take in participating in this very important meeting of the World Movement for Democracy, of which I am honored to be associated. I am proud that yesterday, today, tomorrow, and always I am among civil soci-*

*ety activists who are committed to human rights and defending liberties. I am proud that I have remained a part of this, proud that I will remain one of you, fighting for liberties wherever there are violations, bolstering rights wherever there is repression, fighting corruption when power is misused to acquire public funds, producing democratic transformation, building civil society, and inviting nations to practice good governance. . . .*

*The theme of our present and future struggle is “guaranteeing equal citizenship for all mankind.” We believe that all are equal in dignity, and we think that every human being was born free. We morally commit to making that a reality across the globe. Moreover, our feeling of inadequacy, regardless of what accomplishments we achieve, must always accompany our work, as long as there is anyone who is oppressed or denied their rights in this small village that, thanks to high speed communication technologies, has made us one household and one family. . . .*

*This conference comes at a time when the world has witnessed democratic transformation and events of the utmost importance. One can point to the revolu-*



tions of the Arab Spring, which brought down dictatorships, as one of these events. Those revolutions—in which millions of people came out to declare their yearning for freedom and dignity, and their readiness to take part in peaceful protest, despite their sacrifices, for the sake of their people and their entry into the ranks of free nations—still remain viable for inspiration elsewhere.

The creation of favorable environments for deep and complete democratic transformation requires a struggle for freedom of expression, especially in countries that suffer under authoritarian regimes, which have yet to be blessed with freedom and democratic rights. It is up to the democracy movement, civil society activists, and human rights defenders all around the world to pressure the governments of these countries to allow freedom of expression for their citizens. Freedom of expression is of the utmost importance in human rights work, and a prerequisite for realizing democratic change. . . .

Democratic transition is founded on knowledge . . . and people have no effectiveness unless their knowledge is realized and they are able to share it. Moreover, one of the most important objectives of the global democracy movement is to guarantee transparency and the right to access information and share it with citizens all over the world. . . .

Allow me to stress the importance of non-violent protest, the efficacy of its methods, and its power to achieve desirable change. The right to protest and to sit-in is of the utmost importance. There is no way to create a democratic transformation, founded on a peaceful approach, without having this right as basic and guaranteed for anyone who desires to express their demands non-violently.

Here, too, it will be up to the world's democracy movement, of which you are part and parcel, to prioritize the guarantee of the rights to protest peacefully and to assemble for the world's citizens, and particularly for those in countries with authoritarian, corrupt, or non-democratic regimes. You must fight until these rights are attained. . . .

Including youth and women in the process of non-violent change is both a means and an end. It is a means to achieve change, and a noble end for change. The revolutions of the Arab Spring have proven that the involvement of women and youth are two determining factors for achieving non-violent change. Youth and women, considering their marginalization, are the true stakeholders for change in many countries. This burdens them with the primary responsi-

bility of paying the price for change. I urge the world's democracy movement and the champions of rights and freedoms to re-double their efforts in support of women and youth in their engagement in all aspects of economic, social, and political development. . . .

Allow me to record here my dismay with the major deficiency that international, regional, and national civil society organizations exhibited regarding the revolutions of the Arabic Spring, as they witnessed widespread abuses against peaceful protestors, from the killing and injuring of tens of thousands to the disappearances of tens of thousands more. All of these were terrible crimes against humanity, committed against youth seeking to obtain freedom and dignity strictly through non-violent struggle and rare, and now legendary, courage. In return, the criminals and perpetrators of those massacres, the leaders and their military and security officials, remain far from justice and far from being tried at the International Criminal Court or other international justice bodies. This reveals the extent to which local, regional, and international civil society organizations were deficient in carrying out their duties following those massacres. The performance of these organizations was an insufficient response to the events; they did not go beyond statements and reports produced before the outbreak itself of the Arab Spring revolutions.

We may excuse and explain this deficiency and the failure to keep up with events by saying that the events were unexpected and the rights movements were unable to prepare properly. However, the revolutions of the Arab Spring can be cloned, . . . extended, and copied in more than one place and in more than one region, so again, I reiterate that it is up to the democracy movements from now on to keep up with the revolutions by shedding light on all of the abuses committed against the protestors and on the perpetrators of the disappearances, and by garnering global support for those demanding change. . . .

In conclusion, please allow me to express my solidarity with the heroic Syrian people and my condemnation of what Bashar Al-Asad's corrupt regime has committed. Allow me to broadcast my solidarity with my brothers and sisters in Bahrain and condemn the killings, suppression, and imprisonment they face. Let us all renew our pledge: We defend rights, support liberties, fight corruption, build democratic change, and work to create free and modern civil societies.



## Yevgeniy Zhovtis

### Kazakhstan International Bureau for Human Rights and Rule of Law

Yevgeniy Zhovtis is the director of the Kazakhstan International Bureau for Human Rights and Rule of Law, founder and board member of the Central Eurasia Project of the Open Society Institute, participant in the Working Group on Reform of Electoral Legislation in Kazakhstan, and member of the World Movement for Democracy Steering Committee. He has received several honors for his work in human rights over the past decade. In 2009, the Kazakhstani authorities skillfully exploited a tragic car accident in which Mr. Zhovtis was involved in order to punish him for his human rights work. After a sham investigation and trial, Mr. Zhovtis was sentenced to a four-year prison term from which he was released in 2012—largely thanks to international pressure—under a presidential amnesty.

**Excerpts:** . . . I was not able to attend the previous assembly of the World Movement for Democracy because at the time I was imprisoned. I was released in February 2012 after an amnesty was granted.

*During my time in prison, like other activists before me, I found how important it was to feel the support from my family, friends and the larger human rights community. I am very grateful to the World Movement for Democracy for the expressions of support and the many appeals for my release made to the authorities of Kazakhstan and sent from different parts of the world. . . .*

*I am a human rights defender and my remarks today are about how human rights are at the heart of democratic development. At a conference a few years ago, I said that nowadays human rights and democratic development have three main enemies, namely, oil and gas, geopolitics, and the war on terror. The war on terror in this context includes a wide range of efforts: from rooting out extremism and radical thought to imposing stability that many governments tend to interpret in the way they see fit.*

*The results of the 21st Century's first decade show that these three enemies of democracy are winning on all counts. Oil and gas clearly have got an upper hand in domestic politics. A majority of countries with oil- and gas-driven economies tend to breed vastly corrupt regimes that use national resources to make the rich richer and to keep the rest under control.*

*. . . Where the authoritarian state has the benefit of an important geographical location, its government plays the geopolitical card in any dealings with democratic countries, taking advantage of regional and global power shifts.*

*Under the pretext of combating terrorism, extremism, and radicalism, many countries, including those that never faced any clear threat, have opted to increase their repression of dissent and curtail civil rights and freedoms.*

*I believe that today we are witnessing not just a deterioration of the human rights situation, but a widespread crisis of the human rights concept as such.*

*Here are my reasons:*

*The very concept of human rights is based on recognizing the supreme value of human rights and human dignity. If we put it simply, we can say that human rights are realized in three dimensions. First is legislation (both international and domestic); second are institutions (both international and domestic); and the third lies in practical, everyday life. But a closer*

look at each of these dimensions presents a very disturbing picture.

Human rights conventions are clearly taking a back seat to other international treaties. Failure to observe human rights commitments is almost a new norm that does not entail any legal, political or moral consequences. Increasing numbers of journalists and human rights and opposition activists are killed, more people are imprisoned on political motives, more newspapers closed, mass meetings dispersed, religious communities and dissident individuals prosecuted. The largest part of the former Soviet Union has turned into an enclave where basic human rights principles are distorted, misinterpreted, or completely ignored. The beginning of the 21st Century sees the old, mothball-covered arguments being resurrected. Repressive regimes are once again saying that democracy and human rights concepts are at odds with the national and cultural traditions of their people, as if there is any nation that has a natural aversion to truth, freedom and justice.

At the same time, international debates on human rights almost never go beyond political correctness. Many countries with authoritarian regimes have joined international covenants and ratified conventions against torture, on refugee rights, on abolition of slavery, on rights of the child, and many other treaties. And they choose to disregard the majority of provisions of these binding documents. Are they held accountable by the international community? Not in the least! These countries send reports to the UN Human Rights Council, receive recommendations from the UN committees and rapporteurs, but continue disrespecting their obligations nonetheless. They dismiss any international criticism of their human rights record as an interference with their sovereignty. It is almost like the international organizations and democratic countries are playing a hide-and-seek game with the authoritarian states. If you pretend to share our vision of human rights, democracy, and the rule of law, then we will pretend to not notice your disregard for your commitments. . . .

This problem needs to be addressed! If the international human rights treaties are legally binding, countries should face real legal consequences if they fail to observe them. Either that or we all should just agree that international legal human rights obligations are simply optional, which will then make it pointless to have any debate on political or moral human rights commitments. . . .

We need to start looking at the big picture. We need to start by pointing out that many governments build their entire legal frameworks, including their constitutions, on perverse and distorted concepts. Legislation of many post-Soviet states is a case in point, as it clearly favors government interests over citizen rights and freedoms. Essential human rights principles say that for citizens "everything which is not forbidden is allowed," while for the government "everything which is not allowed is forbidden." But authoritarian states manage to turn these principles upside down both in law and in practice. Ordinary citizens have to prove that they have rights, while authorities can take any action in violation of citizens' rights unless this action is directly prohibited by the law.

I do not see any sense in trying to improve legislation that is built on flawed foundations. Either the government acknowledges that laws are there to protect human rights and initiate legal reform, or any attempted improvement is simply about building Potemkin villages and painting the facades of shabby buildings. The same is true of the institutions. We can no longer pretend that single-party parliaments, or security forces engaged in total control of citizens, or law-enforcement concerned with protecting the ruling elite are all just a normal occurrence. . . .

I believe that we need to continue resisting and trying to prevent authoritarian governments from blurring concepts, eroding ideas and undermining principles that humanity has fought so hard to establish.

The essential values of truth, freedom and justice should be promoted, supported, and guaranteed for all of us, independent of our residence, race, gender, age, or other factors.

Truth is a fundamental value shared by all of us, and is based on our right to receive and disseminate any information, except for calls to violence and direct insult to morals. This is freedom to speak and listen, to write and read, and to choose from different views and facts. Truth runs counter to empty rhetoric mixed with lies.

Freedom is a fought-for right to be free of oppression and coercion, to be protected from violence and abasement of dignity. It means freedom from dictators and single-minded doctrines. It is a freedom to assemble and take part in public life. It is a freedom not just on paper, but in real life.

Justice is a right to a fair and unbiased trial. It also concerns fair distribution of wealth and equal access

to opportunities. It is the rule of law and the equality of all before the law.

*These values are well worn, but they can never be worn out. No matter how they are abused, battered, and ignored, millions of people around the world will not stop dreaming of them and reaching out to get them, independent of race, place of birth or historical realities. Democracy is a process, not a final destination. All of the above are building blocks for this process.*

*Sometimes I get the feeling that we just have to start all over. But then I think that it is not about a new start, but about keeping going. We need to keep saying that black is black and white is white, that two plus two equals four, that either you have freedom or you don't and there is no middle ground. Keep saying this in simple and clear language and base our actions on our deep conviction of what is right. I believe there is no other way to take democracy forward.*

**Glanis Changachirere**  
**Institute for Young Women Development**  
**(Zimbabwe)**

Glanis Changachirere is the founding director of the Institute for Young Women Development (IYWD), which encourages marginalized young women in farming, mining, and rural communities to participate in Zimbabwean politics. At the same time, IYWD has played an important role in calling for peaceful, democratic elections, and the need to guarantee space for the participation of all Zimbabweans in the political system, including the prevention of gender-based violence. Ms. Changachirere has become known throughout Zimbabwe for her courageous leadership in spite of government harassment and a hostile environment in which female political leaders are frequently targeted.

**Excerpts:** *Traditionally, I would have been very afraid and intimidated to be standing before you today, noting well that the vast majority of you are adults and of renowned portfolios, while I am a youth, a young woman to be precise. However, because I have come to appreciate what it entails to embrace the very notion of democracy, in its inclusiveness context, I am humbled to be on this stage at the Seventh Assembly representing the younger generation. As I stand here, I will share a testimony that democracy is not a far-fetched concept that speaks only to the elite and the socially privileged; rather, embracing democ-*



*racy signals liberation, freedom, and dignity, most importantly for minorities and the disadvantaged, the oppressed, and the unrecognized. It is my pleasure to share my personal story as a young woman who was born and grew up in the rural communal lands of Mashonaland Central Province of Zimbabwe. My family, like other peasant families, relies on farming and struggled to fund my education. Although they tried hard, it was not easy with society dictating that the girl child is not worth investing in. Religion also made the situation worse, as some church doctrines emphasized that the girl child has no right to choose, but should only be recognized as a subject of her husband.*

*By the time I reached university, my parents had succumbed to societal demands and realities and I was left alone to find myself menial jobs during vacations for my self-sustenance and ultimately to finance my education after the government removed the grant system to university students in 2006. . . .*

*In university, I joined the Students Representative Council and was the only female member. Due to the high levels of polarization that prevailed in the country, and more specifically in Mashonaland Central*

*Province, I saw myself in police incarceration several times; my charge was “fighting for and representing students’ rights.” Even though people close to me called me a jailbird, I had a deep conviction that I am the only normal one here and I was fighting for the right cause, the right to education and the rights of girls and young women in a free Zimbabwe. So no arrests, intimidation, or threats of abduction could stop me. . . .*

*In 2009, I went back to Mashonaland Central to start organizing young women under the initiative Institute for Young Women Development, which is the organization I am representing today. The organization promotes sustainable livelihoods among young women in poor communities and encourages them to send their girl children to school; educates young women about their human rights; encourages young women to be active political actors (this is where things happen); and supports literacy.*

*. . . I have profound gratitude to the World Youth Movement for Democracy, since it has provided me with an opportunity to grow beyond my own vision of fighting for democracy through a gender lens. Their activist seminars, specifically the Cape to Cairo Conference held in South Africa in February 2012, added value to my work, passion, and beliefs. It gave me an opportunity to interact with other young people and seasoned activists from various countries across the globe, and hence broadened my ability to influence even young men. . . .*

*So as we gather here and engage in the discourse of democracy around the globe, let us all remember that we are in a struggle that will not only see us as activists, social workers, and development strategists celebrating realization of our dreams, but that will incredibly and sustainably transform the lives of the usually down trodden, marginalized, and socially vulnerable groups I represent here today, the girl child, the young, and women in general.*

*I will conclude with a quote from the former US Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Ambassador Charles Ray: “Where you come from matters less than where you are going.” It is the struggle that lies ahead of us in my country of Zimbabwe, in Venezuela, Belarus, Syria, Cuba, Egypt, Tunisia, and other democratically challenged countries – that your struggles are our struggles, too!*

*It is with much hope and appreciation that I am here today among other Zimbabwean participants. This Assembly will provide me with lessons from*

*best practices in fighting for democracy, uplift my energies, and inspire me in fighting for a democratic Zimbabwe. . . .*

## Official Opening of the Assembly

**The Honorable Rafael Roncagliolo**  
**Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Peru**



The Honorable Rafael Roncagliolo was appointed in 2011 as Peru’s Minister of Foreign Affairs, having previously served as a Senior Policy Advisor for the Andean Countries. Minister Roncagliolo also worked in civil society, having served as Secretary General of Transparencia, as well as Peru’s Head of Mission to International IDEA.

**Excerpts (translated and edited from the Spanish original):**

Good evening. I am very grateful to welcome you and to pass along the greetings of the President of the Republic, Mr. Ollanta Humala Tasso. Many thanks to the Steering Committee of the World Movement for Democracy, to the Civil Association on Transparency (Transparencia), and to the Legal Defense Institute (IDL) for inviting us to inaugurate this Assembly in Lima. The theme under which we congregate is “Democracy for All: Ensuring Political, Social, and Economic Inclusion.” It is a very Peruvian theme, very much ours. Let us remember that President Humala has assumed as his principal mandate the promotion of social inclusion for all Peruvians. . . .

Allow me to share some personal reflections, not so much in my temporary position of Foreign Minister of Peru, but rather, and above all, from my strong, unalterable commitment to the World Movement for Democracy. One reflection is to consider democracy as dynamic. More than a force to defend, it is an ideal to construct: a permanent challenge, an ideal for our commitment. More than a single recipe to apply, it is a desideratum that is always approached creatively. This is demonstrated in this region by the great democratizing achievements of the Mexican Revolution of 1910, the Bolivian Revolution of 1952, and the inclusion of the indigenous in recent years in Bolivia. . . . Democracy is dynamic because the rights and obligations of citizens constantly evolve and reinvent themselves, together with social changes that reality imposes. Democracy is dynamic, while despotism is static.

. . . Democracy is, above all, a civilized way to resolve controversies that are inevitably produced in any collective, even more so when there are inequitable structures. Democracy is a form of government that permits the safeguarding of social cohesion and the proscription of fundamentalism. This comes from recognizing that differences exist and that negotiation is possible. To the extent possible, citizens should be willing to accept and meet public commitments.

It is not enough in a democracy to tolerate “the other,” as suggested by a centralized perspective on individual rights. Belonging to an authentically democratic community obliges us to go beyond that: It requires that we recognize the equal value of “the other.” It is from this recognition that it is possible to have a consensus to sustain inclusive processes of development. Inclusion is a condition of democracy. It is the democracy that we aspire to.

. . . The complexity of the historical process brings me to a second reflection: Democracy is not one-dimensional. Within the scope of democracy it is necessary to recognize at least three dimensions: origin, operation, and democratic results.

The first dimension, the democratic origin, refers to the constitution of the government through free, fair, and clean elections. It can seem paradoxical, but this electoral dimension is a component of democracy used by aristocratic regimes. Englishman Bernard Manin explained it in his classic text about the principles of representative government. Elections are, up to a certain point, a substitute of sorts for the daily rotation that was required to select a president in the assemblies of ancient Greece, where the citizens were restricted to small groups of people. This historical fact certainly does not detract at all from the importance of having transparent and equal elections, nor does its character of being an indispensable requirement for the validity and legitimacy of democracy detract from that importance either. Yet it allows us to better understand that democracy is not reduced to periodic free and fair elections.

. . . A second dimension of democracy, which complements its electoral origin, is constitutional performance. This implies the validity of the rule of law, the separation of public powers, respect for minority rights and vulnerable groups, and the defense of individual liberties from violation by the state. It constitutes the contribution of liberalism to democracy, which presupposes equality before the law of formal universal citizenship. I want to emphasize the word “formal,” since democracy would not be what it is without paying attention to the third dimension, inclusive results. A constitutional democracy can be considered consolidated when the electoral competence and the respect for the rule of law produces results by the people and for the people. In effect, to the universal vote, formal equality, and the norms and procedures that protect the citizen from possible abuses of the state, we should add acceptable levels of justice, welfare, and education for all. The foundation of democracy is the aspiration of equality for free citizens, even before the fulfillment of elections or the division of powers.

In sum, as set out by Anthony Giddens, it is necessary to democratize democracy. Stable democracies are not what they are because of their maturity, but rather because of the inclusion they produce. Hence, the importance of the theme under which we congregate: There is no democracy, nor sustainable

development, without inclusion. There is no democracy without an egalitarian path.

All this brings me to a third reflection: As stated by Norberto Bobbio, there is democracy when the democratic powers prevail over the real powers, when the public sphere is not absorbed by the particular interests of the powerful. In light of that, the movement for democracy is, in a sense, a movement for the defense of the public sphere, of the role of political parties and of civil society.

I have a fourth reflection: Following Giddens, it is not enough to have a formal democratic political system. It is necessary to democratize all the spheres of common life, beginning with a democratic culture capable of comprehending problems as diverse as those raised by the rights of women or the rights of indigenous peoples, which are two priorities for the government of President Humala.



The Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell, chair, World Movement Steering Committee, with opening presenters Yevgeniy Zhovtis (Kazakhstan), Nobel Laureate Tawakkol Karman (Yemen), and Glanis Changachirere (Zimbabwe).

In the same sense, I have a last reflection: In the global world you cannot restrict democratization to the sphere of each isolated country. Phenomena like transnational organized crime, terrorism, the governance of global markets, or climate change are global problems. In a global world it is imperative to democratize the agenda and the international system, this last having been fossilized by World War II. It is necessary that our democracies also move towards a world democracy. We need to be conscious of our rights and obligations for the defense of which many citizens depend, more and more, at the international and transnational levels. It should not be comprehended that a world movement for democracy can ignore, for example, the necessity to reform the system of the United Nations.

. . . Once more: Bienvenidos. Welcome. Bienvenue. Mar daban. Dobro Pozhalobat. Nimen hao. It is a great honor for me to declare the Lima Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy open. Thank you very much.



World Movement participants gathered for the opening session of the World Movement's Seventh Assembly in Lima, Peru.

# Democracy Courage Tributes

Presented at the John B. Hurford Memorial Dinner

A highlight of each assembly is the presentation, at the John B. Hurford Memorial Dinner, of the World Movement's Democracy Courage Tributes, which give special recognition to groups and movements working in particularly difficult circumstances, but outside the spotlight of world attention. At the Seventh Assembly, Tributes were presented to the Human Rights Defenders in Bahrain, the Advocates for the Rights of Sexual Minorities Worldwide, and the Pro-Democracy Movement in Cuba. These selected groups have all shown exceptional courage in their work for freedom and democracy, often struggling in isolation and against some of the most difficult challenges to democracy and human rights in the world today.

## Human Rights Defenders in Bahrain

In February 2011, Bahrainis joined in mass protests against their country's monarchic regime, demanding that state authorities respect human rights, institute democratic reform, and recognize the equality of all Bahraini citizens. The protests crossed sectarian lines and drew thousands into the streets, but were put down one month later when Bahrain invited armed forces from the Gulf Cooperation Council countries to assist in quelling the mass uprising. Although the regime launched a commission of inquiry and promised restitution to victims of the violent crackdown, the commission has proved largely ineffective at best and disingenuous at worst. Prominent human rights defenders, such as Abdulhadi al-Khawaja and Abdul Jalil al-Singace, remain in prison, while others, such as Nabil Rajab, Zaynab al-Khawaja, Maryam al-Khawaja, and Muhammad al-Masqati, are subject to constant harassment and intimidation. Nevertheless, these brave individuals remain at the vanguard of Bahrain's democracy and human rights movement, calling for peaceful political dialogue, democratic reform, and reconciliation.

## Advocates for Rights of Sexual Minorities Worldwide

In the face of violence, discrimination, and other forms of harassment, advocates for the rights of sexual minorities worldwide have demonstrated courage, creativity, and perseverance in their struggle for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) rights and equal citizenship. Organizing one of the most important civil rights struggles in the world today,



Maryam Abdulhadi al-Khawaja, Bahrain Center for Human Rights, providing remarks after receiving the Courage Tribute on behalf of the Human Rights Defenders in Bahrain. "If you want to know the human rights condition of a country, look to see where its human rights defenders are," said al-Khawaja in her acceptance remarks.

these advocates often face tremendous difficulties in advancing their work given little global consensus on the issue of sexual equality rights, since many people continue to argue that one's personal, private sexual life should be regulated by the state or a particular religious group. Yet advocates for the rights of sexual minorities continue to defend the rights of LGBT individuals in every country in the world despite serious personal, professional, and physical risks. Together they have worked to form a truly global, transnational network that transcends borders and traditional understandings in order to advance the social inclusion of sexual minority populations.



Veronica Ferrari, Homosexual Movement of Lima (Peru), accepting the Courage Tribute on behalf of Advocates for Rights of Sexual Minorities Worldwide. In her remarks, Ferrari said that the award, "gives us encouragement to continue our struggle...we are losing fear, we are coming out of the closet and are taking the reins of our own future."

## The Pro-Democracy Movement in Cuba

Despite aggressive state repression of political dissent and a culture of fear in which ordinary people and independent-thinking Cubans are afraid to speak up, a wide spectrum of organizations and individuals located inside Cuba continue to advocate for democracy and human rights. Comprising the pro-democracy movement in Cuba, the activists work at great personal risk and are routinely imprisoned, detained, terminated from their jobs, and otherwise harassed. In fact, under a “dangerousness” provision in Cuba’s



Regis Iglesias Ramirez, Christian Liberation Movement (Cuba), after receiving the Courage Tribute on behalf of the Pro-Democracy Movement in Cuba. Iglesias called upon the international community to demand an investigation into the recent death of Oswaldo Payá, and added that “we need all of our Latin brothers and sisters to be on the side of the Cuban people.”

penal code, the state is allowed to imprison individuals on mere suspicion that they might commit a crime in the future. In the past year, two great democracy activists, Laura Pollán and Oswaldo Payá, died under questionable circumstances. Yet Cuban advocates for change continue to take advantage of whatever space is available, however small, using new technologies to circumvent government censorship and finding innovative ways to advocate on issues of concern to ordinary citizens.



From left to right: Steering Committee member Antoine Bernard (France); Veronica Ferrari (Peru), who accepted the Tribute for Advocates of Sexual Minorities Worldwide; Maryam Al-Khawaja (Bahrain), who accepted the Tribute on behalf of Bahraini Human Rights Defenders; Steering Committee member Carlos Ponce (Venezuela); Regis Iglesias (Cuba), who accepted the Tribute on behalf of the Pro-Democracy Movement in Cuba; and National Endowment for Democracy president Carl Gershman (United States). Messrs. Bernard, Ponce, and Gershman presented the Tributes to the recipients from Peru, Cuba, and Bahrain respectively.



**The John B. Hurford Memorial Dinner** was sponsored by the Hurford Foundation, whose president, Robert Miller, welcomed all the Assembly participants and recognized their extraordinary efforts.

The dinner is named for the late John Boyce Hurford (1938-2000), an internationalist and philanthropist who played an important role in helping to conceptualize and bring into being the World Movement for Democracy.

Robert Miller, president of the Hurford Foundation, providing welcoming remarks at the concluding John B. Hurford Memorial Dinner.

## Past Recipients of Democracy Courage Tributes

### Sixth Assembly (Jakarta, Indonesia, 2010)

The Movement for Human Rights in Syria  
The Student Movement in Venezuela  
The Women's Movement in Iran  
The Human Rights Defenders in the North Caucasus

### Fifth Assembly (Kyiv, Ukraine, 2008)

The Monks of Burma  
The Legal Community of Pakistan  
The Independent Journalists of Somalia

### Fourth Assembly (Istanbul, Turkey, 2006)

Democracy Activists in Vietnam  
The Human Rights and Democracy Movement in Uzbekistan  
Civil Society of Nepal  
The Crimean Tatars and their Mejlis (Parliament)

### Third Assembly (Durban, South Africa, 2004)

The Democracy Movement in Sudan  
The Democracy Movement in Belarus  
The Mano River Union Civil Society Movement  
The Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information (Israel)/Panorama Center (Palestine)

### Second Assembly (São Paulo, Brazil, 2000)

The Colombian Democratic Mayors  
The Civil Society Movement of the Democratic Republic of Congo  
Iran's Pro-Democracy Student Movement  
LAM Civil Society Organization, Chechnya  
The Tiananmen Mothers Network, China

## Youth Movement Photo Contests

The World Youth Movement for Democracy's photo contests provide opportunities for young people to use their cameras to reflect on the state of democracy in their countries. The 2011 and 2012 "Snapshot of Democracy" contests saw the participation of thousands in submitting, selecting, and voting for the most representative photos in each category. The six winners from both contest years were provided full funding to attend the Seventh Assembly in Lima.



Stevie Harison (Indonesia), Majda Lovrenovic (Bosnia-Herzegovina), Aderemi Adegbite (Nigeria), winners of the World Youth Movement for Democracy photo contests pictured with Jane Kurzman and Robert Miller of The Hurford Foundation, which provides generous support for the World Youth Movement for Democracy. Not pictured are contest winners Mehman Huseynov (Azerbaijan), Marcin Gwizdon (Poland), and Ankit Agrawal (India).

# Youth Movement Photo Contest Winners

2012



Winner: **Aderemi Adegbite (Nigeria)**

Category: Emerging Human Rights Defenders

Caption: "When millions of Nigerians came out to condemn the fuel subsidy removal, this young boy was not sleeping at home; he came out with his parents to exercise his civil rights."



Winner: **Mehman Huseynov (Azerbaijan)**

Category: Challenges to Democracy

Caption: "I live in Azerbaijan where I have never seen democracy. The fundamental freedoms of democracy are freedom of expression, freedom of media, freedom of assembly, property rights, etc. These freedoms and rights are restricted in Azerbaijan. Sometimes, you see people's rights violated, but you cannot speak or write about it. In this photo, the police have covered the mouth and the eyes of the man so that he can neither see reality, nor speak about it. This is how democracy exists in Azerbaijan."



Winner: **Marcin Gwizdon (Poland)**

Category: Democracy in My Life

Caption: "Students' performance on the streets of Córdoba, Argentina. The photograph was taken during the Day of Remembrance for Truth and Justice (Spanish: *Día de la Memoria por la Verdad y la Justicia*) commemorating the victims of Argentina's Dirty War. The photos above the students depict "desaparecidos" (the disappeared) and the line on the wall (taken from the Argentine National Anthem) reads: "Hear, mortals, the sacred cry" (Spanish: *¡Oíd, mortales! el grito sagrado*)."

2011



Winner: **Stevie Harison (Indonesia)**

Category: Building a Movement

Caption: "Democracy is not only related to social and political issues, but also sports and healthy lifestyles. All youth communities are free to choose their preferences of outdoor activities to both create their own healthy lifestyles and develop their physical capabilities. In this picture, we see that to achieve those two purposes, the youngsters have to use some cooperation and collaboration with each other, although every member has a different skill level. In my conclusion, they are learning democracy subconsciously, by engaging in the sports they prefer."



Winner: **Ankit Agrawal (India)**

Category: Democracy in Action

Caption: "This is an image from 'People's March to Parliament,' a protest attended by thousands of communist party members and the general public in Delhi. They were protesting against massive corruption in the UPA Government, backbreaking price rises, anti-poor and anti-farmer policies, rampant unemployment, and assaults on the people's movements."



Winner: **Majda Lovrenovic (Bosnia-Herzegovina)**

Category: Youth Igniting Change

Caption: "It is well known that one of the major goals of contemporary society is building democracy. The question at this point is: Who is going to build this democracy? The answer: democracy can be built only by young people who are well educated and who can distinguish between political indoctrination and political education. So, the key difference between these two phenomena is the element of intellectual ability. According to one Chinese proverb, 'If you are planning a year ahead, plant corn. If you are planning ten years ahead, plant trees. If you are planning for life, teach and educate people.'"

# Cultural Evening

The Metropolitan Municipality of Lima and Mayor Susana Villarán de la Puente hosted a cultural evening and reception for assembly participants.



Mayor Susana Villarán addresses World Movement participants and welcomes them to the city of Lima.



A highlight of the evening was the Presentation of the Medal of Lima by Mayor Susana Villarán to the Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell, Chair of the World Movement Steering Committee.



# Democracy Fair

The Democracy Fair provided participants with space to display their publications, demonstrate their web sites, and screen educational and documentary videos. In addition, a mural was

created where participants portrayed their visions of democracy artistically. To facilitate networking, all of the Assembly lunches were held adjacent to the Democracy Fair.



# Technology Trainings

**T**echnology Trainings focused on the use of new technologies in the work of democracy activists. Led by World Movement participants, the trainings included:

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## How to Make Internet Radio an Effective Communication Tool?

### TRAINERS:

**Ahmed Samih** – Horytna Radio Egypt (*Egypt*)

**Christina Karchevskaya** – European Radio for Belarus (*Belarus*)



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## How to Design an Effective Web Site

### TRAINERS:

**Matias Federico Bianchi** – Asuntos del Sur (*Argentina*)

**Eduardo Vergara** – Asuntos del Sur (*Chile*)



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## Effective Video Sharing for Activists

### TRAINER:

**Premesh Chandran** – Malaysiakini (*Malaysia*)

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## How to Protect Your Information Online

### TRAINERS:

**Shahin Abbasov** – Council of Europe (*Azerbaijan*)

**Vyacheslav Mamedov** – Civil Democratic Union of Turkmenistan (*Turkmenistan*)

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## Democracy for All: Ensuring Political, Social, and Economic Inclusion Plenary Session

### Democracy for All: Ensuring Political, Social, and Economic Inclusion

**ORGANIZER:**  
**World Movement Secretariat**

**MODERATOR:**  
**Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell** –  
Chair, World Movement Steering  
Committee (*Canada*)

**RAPPORTEUR:**  
**Michael Allen** –  
Democracy Digest (*UK*)

**PRESENTERS:**  
**Jose Luis Martin “Chito”  
Gascon** – Office of Political Affairs,  
Government of The Philippines

**Beatriz Merino** – Center for Social  
Responsibility, Entrepreneurship  
and Sustainability of the Business  
Center at the Catholic University,  
and former prime minister and  
national ombudsperson (*Peru*)

**Boris Begovic** – Center for Liberal  
Democratic Studies (*Serbia*)

**Ayo Obe** – Ogunsola Shonibare Law  
Firm and former chair, World Movement  
Steering Committee (*Nigeria*)

**H**aving a broader, more encompassing definition of citizenship to ensure that democratic institutions are both sustainable and inclusive was one of the principal points made at this plenary session on the general theme of the Assembly. The benefits of an inclusive approach to politics were on vivid display with the peace accord reached between the government of The Philippines and the Muslim rebels from Mindanao the very week the Assembly took place.

Muslim Filipinos have been consistently excluded and marginalized by the country’s ruling elites, said Jose Luis Martin “Chito” Gascon of the government’s Office of Political Affairs, who was involved in the negotiations that produced the new framework agreement. The accord is not a final peace pact, he stressed, but it does provide a roadmap for peace that promises to put an end to the four decades-old conflict afflicting a region of over five million people. The revival of the democratic process was a critical factor in securing the accord, Mr. Gascon said, because it provided the transparency needed for the government to demonstrate trust, goodwill, and mutual respect.

A more encompassing definition of democracy would address the concerns and needs of the individual as cit-

izen and stakeholder, not as a mere voter, Mr. Gascon continued. Democracy must be more substantive than procedural, and the individual citizen should be considered as a “co-party” to a social contract called democracy.

Democracy should be given cultural expression and provide opportunities for participation across the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres of life, said former Peruvian prime minister Beatriz Merino. In a region with relatively weak democratic institutions, where strong executive prerogative is rarely challenged by weak legislatures and politicized judiciaries, it is imperative that citizens obtain the knowledge needed to articulate grievances and to lobby state institutions.

Ombudsmen have been particularly successful in this part of the world, she said. For citizens who don’t understand how to access government, a third party or intermediary institution between citizens and the state can give voice to their needs and interests, said Merino, a former national ombudsperson. Up to a million Peruvians lack an identity card, the most rudimentary sign of citizenship. When so many citizens don’t even feel a part of the system, there is already a threat to democracy.

According to Boris Begovic, head of Serbia’s Center

for Liberal Democratic Studies, economic exclusion is simply another phrase for the poverty that afflicts what Oxford University economist Paul Collier calls the world's "bottom billion." Democracy is good, but good for what? Begovic asked. Democratic imperatives often lead to calls for redistribution of wealth, but experience demonstrates that poverty can only be cured through sustained economic growth, by making the pie bigger rather than handing out more, but thinner, slices. Market-driven economic growth is itself a democratic process because it relies on the decisions of millions of individuals about where and how they invest their capital and labor, he said. As the prominent Peruvian economist Hernando de Soto noted, the protection of private property rights is probably the single most important economic institution for promoting and sustaining democracy. Whereas autocracies are only accountable to ruling elites, democracies are required to deliver public goods to the majority, Begovic continued. One of the reasons democracies tend to be better economic performers is precisely due to this imperative to produce public goods, such as the rule of law, which benefit and act as incentives for the majority of citizens.

The challenges of inclusion are especially acute in post-colonial societies like those of sub-Saharan Africa, said Ayo Obe, a former chair of the World Movement Steering Committee. Inheriting artificially or arbitrarily drawn borders that often fail to reflect the boundaries and allegiances of ethnic communities, democracy can pose not just problems, but real dangers, unless institutions find ways to accommodate ethnic pluralism. In Nigeria's Plateau State, for instance, indigenous inhabitants still resent the "settlers" who have been there since 1804. Accordingly, in response to ethnic, religious, and other inter-communal tensions and rivalries, Nigeria's political institutions strive to take decisions, including the allocation of resources, which reflect the nation's federal character.

On a concluding note, as someone who went directly from childhood to middle age, Ms. Obe joked, she may lack the insight to address the concerns of youth, but she added that it is vital that youth are engaged in the political process if they are to cultivate a sense of ownership of such critical issues as police reform.

## Panel Discussion

### Peru's Experience in Democracy

#### ORGANIZERS:

**Legal Defense Institute**—IDL (*Peru*)

**Civil Association on Transparency**—  
Transparencia (*Peru*)

#### MODERATORS:

**David Lovaton** – IDL (*Peru*)

**Gerardo Tavera** –  
Transparencia (*Peru*)

#### RAPPOREUR:

**Annie Theriault** –  
CUSO International (*Canada*)

#### PRESENTERS:

**Salomón Lerner** – Professor of  
Philosophy and Dean Emeritus,  
Pontifical Catholic University of Peru

**Cecilia Blondet** – Proetica (*Peru*)

**H.E. Harold Forsyth** – Ambassador  
of Peru to the United States

**Ernesto de la Jara** – IDL (*Peru*)

### Observations

Democracy depends not only on elections, but also on efficient and accountable institutions, inclusion, transparency, equality, and the respect for human rights. Peru's most recent transition to democracy occurred in 2000, after a decade of increasingly authoritarian rule and two decades of internal armed conflict. Significant transitional justice mechanisms, such as the Truth and

Reconciliation Commission (TRC), were established to investigate the systemic human rights violations committed by all parties, as well as the political context that contributed to the unprecedented violence.

### Presentations

The TRC determined that there was a significant relationship between poverty and social exclusion, on

the one hand, and the probability of becoming a victim of violence—either at the hands of the Maoist “Shining Path” terrorist group or the state—on the other, and that the conflict revealed deep divides and entrenched racism in society. However, according to the first workshop presenter, Dr. Salomón Lerner, the lead commissioner of the TRC, the main reasons for the conflict can be found “in the deficient, precarious, and superficial concepts of democracy” that prevailed at the time. The Peruvian state and military, for example, under the “wrong and terrible assumption that terror should be combated with terror,” engaged in widespread human rights abuses and breached the constitutional order and rule of law. The TRC, inspired by national experiences in post-apartheid South Africa, as well as in Chile and Argentina, recommended symbolic as well as monetary reparations and called for the reconstruction of a democratic, pluralistic society and the eradication of the culture of impunity. According to Dr. Lerner, “although democracy requires that power should shift through free elections . . . only when all Peruvians are considered equal, deserving of dignity, and can participate both as actors and beneficiaries will democracy become sustainable and significant.” Little has changed since the TRC turned in its final report in August 2003. State institutions remain inefficient and unresponsive, and although Peru has experienced an impressive decade of sustained economic growth, which Dr. Lerner insisted differs from economic development, poverty and inequality are still widespread. In addition, very few people have been convicted of human rights violations or have benefitted from Peru’s National Reparations Plan.

The next presenter, Ms. Cecilia Blondet, agreed that governance and corruption issues continue to plague Peru’s institutions. “Despite sustained economic growth,” she argued, “Peru continues to face high levels of inequality and poverty, and struggles with a lack of internal controls and transparency, especially in the extractives sector.” Although the Andean country’s economic sector has undergone reform and modernization, the health, justice, and education sectors continue to be highly “politicized” and register high levels of corruption. In addition, the political party system remains weak, unrepresentative, and fractured.



According to H.E. Harold Forsyth, Ambassador of Peru to the United States, political party weakness and a generalized discrediting of parties made former President Alberto Fujimori’s election possible in 1990. Later, this same weakness, as well as the alienation of political parties from civil society, resulted in the opposition’s apathetic reaction to President Fujimori’s military-backed “self-coup” in 1992. Ambassador Forsyth argued that the state’s total control and power had catastrophic consequences for democracy.

In his presentation, Ernesto de la Jara, outlined the continuing challenges to democracy in Peru—inherited from a past marked by military dictatorships and caudillos—that include the possible political resurgence of the “Shining Path” movement, the multiplication of increasingly violent social-environmental conflicts associated with extractive industries, a sweeping lack of trust in democracy, and, among others, the lack of “a more independent press.”

Despite the slow pace of Peru’s maturing democracy, all of the presenters agreed that the TRC’s work was in no way futile. While other similar commissions failed, were censored, or were quickly forgotten, Peruvians still discuss the TRC some 10 years after its final report was published. The truth, as Dr. Lerner insisted, has a strong, lasting, and transformational power, and no democracy can be built upon lies, silence, or indifference. According to Mr. de la Jara, no imperfection of democracy could ever justify returning to the authoritarianism that beleaguered Peru in the 1990s. On the contrary, he said, “our mission is to find new, innovative, and creative ways to strengthen democracy.”

## Workshops

### Democratic Transitions and the Inclusion of Women: Perspectives from the Middle East/North Africa and Latin America

**ORGANIZER:**  
**Women's Learning Partnership—**  
WLP (U.S.)

**MODERATOR:**  
**Yakin Erturk** – WLP (Turkey)

**RAPPORTEUR:**  
**Marion Marquardt** –  
WLP (France)

**PRESENTERS:**  
**Lina Abou Habib** – Collective  
for Research and Training on  
Development Action—CRTDA  
(Lebanon)

**Asma Khader** – Sisterhood is Global  
Institute (Jordan)

**Jacqueline Pitanguy** – Cidadania  
Estudo Pesquisa Informacao Acao—  
CEPIA (Brazil)

**Gloria Cano** – Asociación Pro Derechos  
Humanos—APRODEH (Peru)

**D**uring this workshop, the opening speakers shared their insights, experiences, and analyses regarding democratic transitions and the inclusion of women in the Arab World and Latin America. They asked what the “gendered” outcomes of democratic transitions might be, and how women can weigh in with significant bargaining power in those transitions.

Although transitory processes may differ from one context to the other, compelling similarities can also be drawn. For instance, the cooptation of transitions by conservative, anti-women religious groups appears to be a worldwide phenomenon; the “big brothers” of the world are ready to compromise on women’s rights for the sake of security. We have learned that in many cases democracies do not adopt gender equality agendas on their own. This is further exacerbated by an international arena that now demonstrates an increasing level of conservatism and an explicit view of women as both subordinate and entrenched in traditional caring and home-based roles. This is an added challenge, since during the previous wave of transitions in the late 1980s the international arena was more open to ideas and practices of human rights, equality, and the realization of the rights of women.

### Challenges

One of the challenges noted by the presenters is the invisibility of women’s struggles in the shaping of new societies, and the current tendency to allocate past achievements of the women’s movement as imposed by a former dictator or first lady, thereby dismissing those gains for the future. This was the case, for instance, in Tunisia, even though past gains of the women’s movement were the direct result of feminist

activism during very trying periods of oppression.

Another challenge concerns the current political reality in the Arab Spring countries, which is nothing short of a war on women. There are many tangible examples, not least of which is the mention in the new Constitution of Tunisia (still in development at the time of the workshop) of “complementary” gender roles and the introduction of female genital mutilation. In addition, diversity and the rights of various minorities are under threat, whether religious, sexual, or ethnic, as well as the freedom of belief or non-belief, which should be included as a structural, rather than a secondary, element of democracy.

At the same time, the workshop discussion produced aspects of success and hopefulness:

- Women have made irreversible gains in women’s agency, and that “sending them back to the kitchen” is no longer an option. Women are more educated and more aware of their rights than in the past.
- The resilience of women in popular movements is a positive indicator for the future.
- Despite different contexts and different practices, there exists a universal belief in inclusion, justice, and the international covenants and declarations on rights. We can safely fight and strategize together using the basic democratic and human rights agreements.

The workshop participants made a practical request to the World Movement for Democracy to include women’s perspectives in all discussions, no matter the topic. Strategies should not be formed just by men and without the inclusion of 50 percent of the population.

## Strategies

The workshop discussion resulted in a number of proposed strategies:

- Women should clearly demand a secular state, thus ensuring recognition of the human being universally, rather than this or that particular group. “Religious politics” should be recognized as such: it is essential to go beyond the “exceptionalism” of any religion, particularly in the case of so-called “Islamic feminism.” Islamic “exceptionalism” treats all Muslim communities as homogeneous; in addition, it classifies Muslim communities as different from others and as communities to which international frameworks cannot apply. In reality, any ideology that places identity above the universality of the rights of human beings is a contradiction in terms and is not helpful in creating a culture of democracy and equality.
- Women should insist on their status as women and oppose references to a sexless, classless, and colorless concept of “people.” In making women visible, feminist activists ensure that women’s positions and concerns are at the forefront of reforms.

- Peace and economic justice are essential. Indeed, an egalitarian economic distribution of wealth and an inclusive economy are cornerstones of inclusive and participatory democracies.
- Women should be involved in the shaping of progressive legal frameworks, notably constitutions that often take decades to modify.
- Women need to reactivate the international system of solidarity and turn to organized politics and broad international coalitions of like-minded movements for effective action and to ensure that a women’s rights perspective is present at the heart of political movements for change.

The workshop participants concluded that democracy is a process and a work in progress where recognition of inclusiveness, participation, diversity, equality, and the enjoyment of full rights among both women and men are key elements.

## How Does Inclusive Economic Growth Support Democratic Participation?

**ORGANIZER:**  
**Center for International Private Enterprise**—CIPE (U.S.)

**MODERATOR:**  
**Jean Rogers** – CIPE (U.S.)

**RAPPORTEUR:**  
**Kim Bettcher** – CIPE (U.S.)

**PRESENTERS:**  
**Selima Ahmad** – Bangladesh Women Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Bangladesh)

**Daniel Cordova** – Invertir (Peru)

**Osama Mourad** – Arab Finance Brokerage Co. (Egypt)

In her opening presentation, Selima Ahmad remarked that in Bangladesh entrepreneurship has given women an important voice. Women entrepreneurs have gained the ability to make decisions within the family, and men are joining their wives’ businesses. The Bangladesh Women Chamber of Commerce and Industry advocated successfully for women entrepreneurs to receive loans without collateral. Successful members of the Chamber now create jobs and help other micro entrepreneurs.

According to Daniel Cordova, entrepreneurship provides the only route for moving up in life for many of those who lack formal education. In Peru, the EmprendAhorra program educates Peruvians under 25 years

of age about democratic and market concepts. The program thus engages youth by addressing their personal and professional interests. The success of the program is mainly tied to giving youth a concrete, entrepreneurial activity, such as starting a business or a nongovernmental organization.

The Arab people recently protested for the sake of their freedom and dignity, Osama Mourad pointed out, and an economically empowered citizen is a citizen who cares about the future of his country. The revolution in Egypt made people feel empowered both to determine their own futures and to start their own businesses. The key issues that need to be addressed are access to capital, which can be provided effectively through coopera-



tive associations; reform of bankruptcy laws; and the provision of non-financial services.

Following these opening presentations, workshop participants focused in their discussion on the most vulnerable segments of a population; finding synergies between cultural and institutional change; investing in high-quality education; the potential and limitations of microfinance; and equality of opportunity for indigenous and minority groups.

## Recommendations

- Providing access—to markets, finance, and information—is a common priority.
- There is a need to address individuals' short-term interests (for example, by providing microfinance or career opportunities), as well as the institutional framework, including property rights, bankruptcy laws, economic informality, and the rule of law.
- Policies to support the poor and those to advance economic growth should work together, not in opposition.
- Advocacy is important, which means listening, working with others, and speaking from the heart; it should aim for systemic successes, not just individual successes.
- Programs for realizing economic inclusion should be driven by demand in order to be sustainable; in particular, they should be linked to markets and not be dependent on government or donor services.

## Freedom of Religion and Social Inclusion—Linkages and Strategies

### ORGANIZERS:

**Aware Girls** (*Pakistan*)

**U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom—USCIRF** (*U.S.*)

### MODERATOR:

**Asma Ismail Ahmed** –  
Institute for the Development of  
Civil Society (*Sudan*)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**Lindsay Lloyd** – George W.  
Bush Institute (*U.S.*)

### PRESENTERS:

**Penelope Faulkner** – Que Me: Action  
for Democracy in Vietnam

**Jafar Alshayeb** – Adala Center for  
Human Rights (*Saudi Arabia*)

**A**sma Ismail began the workshop by noting that this topic is often overlooked in discussions about democracy. The objective of the workshop was to develop practical strategies for integrating religious issues and faith-based organizations into the broader discussion of democracy and human rights. She emphasized that faith-based and religious groups are important social structures and ought to be included in that broader conversation.

Misbah Shahzad, a co-organizer of the workshop, briefly discussed the work of her organization in Pakistan, called Aware Girls, which has been working on women's rights and empowerment since 2002. She also noted the issues of religious extremism and violence plaguing her country.

In his presentation, Jafar Alshayeb spoke about the state of religious freedom in Saudi Arabia. He explained

that freedom of religion is a basic human rights issue, yet it is far less studied around the world than other basic rights. He also noted that Saudi Arabia restricts religious freedom and that the state endorses a specific understanding and sect of Islam. Other sects have limited rights and the state's views are promoted through the law, the media, and the educational system. Non-Muslim faiths face even more significant discrimination and are generally prohibited from exercising their beliefs in public. He noted the significant religious diversity in Saudi Arabia, which, he said, is rarely recognized outside the country. The government views itself as the guardian of Islam and there is no tolerance in the law for other faiths or views.

In her presentation, Penelope Faulkner discussed the state of religious freedom in Vietnam. She described the difficulties faced by religious groups in a communist

state. For years, the government attempted to eliminate religion, but changed its policy to controlling religion. There is a divide, she said, between the state-controlled religious organizations and independent religious groups. Vietnam nominally protects religious freedom in its Constitution, but many believers face discrimination and prosecution if the state views them as challenging its authority. With little independent civil society, religious groups are among the only actors not under complete control. Monitoring by international NGOs and other governments has brought some additional space for religious freedom.

During the discussion, participants touched on a wide variety of issues, including the rights of sexual minorities, the rights of minority religions to have their voices heard in governance and decision making, efforts to achieve reconciliation between religious groups, the problems of religious freedom in democratizing societies, efforts to combat radicalism and extremism, and creating greater tolerance for religious diversity. One participant noted how decentralization, normally a laudable goal, led to increased religious discrimination in Indonesia. Another noted that religion is sometimes used as a marker to divide social groups for political gain.

## Recommendations

- Participants agreed that the issue of religious freedom should be better integrated into the broader conversation about democracy and human rights. They encouraged the World Movement for Democracy to give the issue broader visibility at its next assembly by highlighting it in a plenary session or establishing a working group or other mechanism to focus on the issue.
- Participants praised the role of some governments in spotlighting religious freedom issues, and they noted that more organizations and governments are monitoring and speaking out; however, they also urged greater coordination among them.
- Emerging democracies and regional groups should be encouraged to speak out on these issues as well. Participants noted that some governments will often respond better to criticism from neighboring or similar countries than from developed nations.
- Governments should recognize religious diversity and plan social inclusion strategies.
- NGOs can help instill respect for other faiths and promote tolerance.
- Promoting tolerance in schools should be a priority.



## Sexual Minority Rights: Confronting Attacks on Freedom of Association, Assembly, and Expression

### ORGANIZER:

**Sexual Minorities Uganda—**  
SMUG (*Uganda*)

### MODERATOR:

**Hassan Shire** – East and Horn of  
Africa Human Rights Defenders Network  
(*Somalia*)

### RAPPOREUR:

**Art Kaufman** – World  
Movement for Democracy  
Secretariat (*U.S.*)

### PRESENTERS:

**Dennis Wamala** –  
Icebreakers Uganda

**Giovanny Romero** –  
Movimiento Homosexual de  
Lima—MHOL (*Peru*)

**Andres Rivera** – Organización de  
Transexuales por la Dignidad de la  
Diversidad (*Chile*)

**Gloria Careaga-Perez** – International  
Lesbian and Gay Association—ILGA  
(*Mexico*)

The moderator began the workshop by stressing that the freedoms of association, assembly, and expression are fundamental for addressing the rights of sexual minorities, as they are for advancing all other human rights issues. They are necessary for any effort to change people's minds about how they view sexual minority rights, especially where tradition, culture, and religion undergird homophobia. Regarding sexual minority rights themselves, it is important to recognize that in many societies there are legal mechanisms that mandate discrimination.

In his opening presentation, Dennis Wamala of Uganda remarked that his country is very conservative because of religion and culture, and according to the Ugandan Constitution, marriage must be between a man and a woman. Aside from the issue of marriage, however, Mr. Wamala pointed out that engaging in homosexuality can draw a sentence of life imprisonment; talking positively about homosexuality can get someone seven years; two people of the same sex holding hands is considered “gross indecency” and can warrant three years. In 2009, an anti-homosexuality bill was presented that would mandate life in prison for a first offense of engaging in homosexual relations and a death sentence for more than once. Parents would have to report their children for engaging in homosexuality or face three years. The same happens to doctors regarding their patients and landlords who rent space to lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT) organizations. The proposed bill is still before Parliament and only international pressure is holding it back. Amendments are being considered to improve chances for passage, but the bill would remain draconian. In the meantime, many LGBT people live in fear of just being seen associating with each other even without

passage of this proposed legislation.

Giovanny Romero of Peru, who represents the oldest continually operating LGBT rights organization in South America (30 years), reported in his opening presentation that there is no law in the country recognizing equal rights for LGBT people. Every week on average, one person dies as a result of a hate crime, and in many cases, these crimes go unpunished. The country presents itself as modern and democratic despite the situation of sexual minority populations who are not included. Institutions, such as the church and the armed forces, rarely give LGBT people equal recognition. There are cases of the national police beating gay couples and recent “kiss-in” protests in the central square of Lima were attacked by the police due to religious pressure.

In his opening presentation, Andres Rivera of Chile outlined the very difficult situation facing transgender and trans-sexual (“trans”) people. Many people in these groups are regularly murdered at an average age of 20–49 years and most are women. They are consistently characterized as medically and mentally diseased, but there are no criteria for determining this. Argentina presents a somewhat more positive example; the view there is that since there is no need to tell trans people what they are, they can change their names, identification, etc. without opposition. In many places in the world, limits are imposed on trans people regarding their rights, such as their right to vote, and they are often stigmatized as sinners (e.g., called prostitutes or alcoholics, etc.) with no basis whatsoever.

Gloria Careaga-Perez of the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) said in her presentation that it is very important to have this discussion within the context of the World Movement for Democracy.

The ILGA has issued a recent report showing that in the global situation, eight countries provide for the death penalty for homosexuality and 13 provide up to 20-30 years in prison. Governments often use sexual minority issues to achieve agreements with each other on other issues, which is a big challenge to furthering anti-discrimination work. We also should recognize that funding is being invested to find a so-called “cure” for homosexuality, but the contrived therapies have devastating consequences for the well being of LGBT persons. Religious teachings often put anti-homosexuality at their core, and it is thus important that the view of sexuality as purely for human reproduction be balanced by the view that sexuality is also for human pleasure.

During the workshop discussion, the question was raised as to whether more should be done through public education to increase understanding of the importance of sexual minority rights before taking the case to governments, since governments often respond to the prevailing views of their societies. One workshop participant responded that both must be pursued at the same time and in equal measure. A participant from China described the importance of scientific research, indicating that the public, and even governments, will often accept the results of research more readily than arguments made in protest about the importance of equality. When psychological associations declare that homosexual or trans people are normal human beings as a result of careful research, it can have a very important impact. People often accept scientific definitions fundamental to human nature, so research demonstrating the uniformity of human nature is important to counter homo- and trans-phobia. The point was also made that groups like Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays (PFLAG) or gay-straight alliances in high schools (as in many places in the U.S.) are highly effective in changing public views because they make so clear that any person may one day find that their own child or friend is gay.

Transgender and trans-sexual participants made a number of specific points, among them that they are often denied rights to motherhood and fatherhood as a result of their being transgender or trans-sexual; they have suffered forced sterilization and lobotomies in the past and for 100 years in some places have been prevented from even engaging in public protests. One important issue is that they are often left out of movements for sexual minority rights that focus most often on rights for gays and lesbians, and yet transgender and trans-sexual people often face far greater exclu-

sion and hatred. Many withdraw just to survive and must be educated on issues of mere survival. If not, their chances of living a good life are very small, in some cases leading to their engagement in sex trades, and even then, those demanding their services remain un-stigmatized while those providing the services are characterized as the sinners and suffer accordingly. The point was also made that sports is one of the most publically followed news subjects and in that context highly negative LGBT language is often used with impunity, making it that much more difficult to educate the public and especially young people about the need to give respect and dignity to LGBT people.

There is also a host of health related issues that are of specific concern to trans people; for example, just visiting a dentist often requires an HIV test for no good reason.

A number of practical approaches were described in the discussion for addressing the challenges to sexual minority rights:

- Personal contact with judges can have an impact on the legal situation;
- One project was described in which doctors are given CDs with links to accurate and positive information regarding the conditions of trans people;
- Forming coalitions to lobby inter-governmental organizations, such as the Organization of American States (OAS), can have a positive impact;
- Finding ways to force the issues in the courts can bring some progress;
- Pushing countries to provide LGBT-, and especially trans-based, victims of persecution with asylum can both provide some relief and send important messages to other countries; and
- Finding ways to stop or prevent bullying in the very homes of LGBT persons, a phenomenon that does not ordinarily apply with respect to racial or ethnic minorities, should be a priority.

Finally, the workshop participants agreed that it is very important to speak to the public in terms they can understand, such as simply proclaiming an equal human freedom to love.

## Party Efforts to Develop and Implement Inclusive and Responsive Politics

### ORGANIZER:

**National Democratic Institute**—NDI  
(U.S.)

### MODERATOR:

**Sef Ashiagbor** – NDI (U.S.)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**Dustin Palmer** – NDI (U.S.)

### PRESENTERS:

**Bjarte Tørå** – Oslo Center (Norway)

**Jasenکو Selimović** – Social  
Democratic Party of Bosnia and  
Herzegovina—SDP (Bosnia-Herzegovina)

**Luis Ernesto Olave** – Movimiento  
MIRA (Colombia)

Participants in this workshop discussed the challenges and opportunities confronting political parties, as well as the best practices for developing and implementing inclusive policies. The opening presenters made several important points:

Bjarte Tørå described political party policy development as a continuous process or cycle with four main phases: policy drafting, adoption, implementation, and reporting/evaluation. Each of these phases presents different opportunities for political, social, and economic inclusion that can take place in different arenas or spaces.

Jasenکو Selimović shared his party's experiences in developing inclusive policies in a society with significant ethnic and other divisions. To be responsive and receptive to citizens' concerns, the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina (SDP) held over 70 public policy consultations in 30 municipalities. The SDP then designed a policy platform focusing on the five areas of concern commonly voiced by the 10,000 attendees of these sessions.

Finally, Luis Ernesto Olave discussed the Movimiento MIRA's experiences in which it attempted to introduce anti-discrimination legislation in Colombia. The Movimiento MIRA engaged in awareness-raising to highlight discrimination against Afro-Colombians as a pressing national problem by using petitions and having the academic community gather evidence. In addition, it engaged civil society, academics, and others to improve the draft legislation to secure its adoption in parliament.

## Challenges

In the ensuing discussion participants identified challenges that parties face in developing and implementing inclusive policies:

- One common theme that emerged from the discussion concerns the harsh realities parties face once they are elected and charged with governing. For instance, parties may find themselves in coalitions and are thus obliged to compromise on some of the policies on which they campaigned. Consumed with the responsibilities of government, elected representatives often find it difficult to remain engaged with the public. In many cases, it is difficult to manage citizens' expectations, and tensions may arise between political parties, on the one hand, and civil society and the media, on the other. For example, the 24-hour media cycle can distort reality, exaggerating weaknesses in political parties and democratic processes more generally.
- Parties also face the challenge of having to adapt to changing social environments; in many countries, for instance, including in established democracies, party membership and youth participation is on the decline as individuals prefer the flexibility of working with different groups on specific issues of interest rather than commit to one political party.

## Recommendations

Participants identified several ways to address these concerns:

- Some countries have a longer history or culture of coalitions, which can make it easier for politicians to work with others and to explain their compromises to voters. In Norway, for example, coalition partners compromise on issues of national importance (like the management of oil proceeds) and questions that demand predictable long-term

responses (like issues regarding pensions). In addition, coalition partners bring clear policy priorities to the negotiating table, respect one another's policy priorities, and share the limelight to ensure that all members in the coalition benefit from good publicity.

► In many cases, politicians create problems for themselves by making unrealistic promises. The first step in managing expectations is to keep promises simple and realistic. In the United Kingdom, for example, the Labour Party successfully distributed short pledge cards that outlined five simple policy commitments. Later on, they were able to demonstrate clearly to the public that they had kept their promises. One way in which political parties can remain engaged with citizens is to create opportunities for ongoing communication. For instance, the Movimiento Mira keeps its branch offices open year-round to solicit feedback and input

on a continuous basis. The social media revolution has also created greater opportunities for parties to maintain communication with citizens. The SDP in Bosnia-Herzegovina was able to increase support and credibility after a number of successive electoral defeats by engaging the public in policy development, focusing on issues of concern to youth (e.g., education policy), and including young people in party leadership positions.

► Political parties all over the world face new challenges as citizens demand greater participation and transparency. This requires that parties find new ways of engaging citizens by making available to the broader public those processes traditionally reserved for members of the parties. While building an inclusive policy development process is difficult in the face of changing realities, parties must continue to adapt and innovate in a responsive way to deliver on the promise of democracy.

## Addressing Political, Social and Economic Inequality: Workers, Unions, and Support Organizations Joining Together in Advocacy

**ORGANIZER:**  
**Solidarity Center** (U.S.)

**MODERATOR:**  
**Molly McCoy** – Solidarity Center (U.S.)

**RAPORTEURS:**  
**Kate Conradt** –  
Solidarity Center (U.S.)

**Mark Hankin** –  
Solidarity Center (U.S.)

**PRESENTERS:**  
**Jannifer Spiff Ijeoma**  
– Women Initiative for  
Transparency and Social Justice  
(Nigeria)

**Roni Febrianto Brotoatmodjo**  
– Indonesian Metalworkers  
Trade Union Federation—FSPMI  
(Indonesia)

**Artur Henrique Silva Santos** –  
Central Unica do Trabalhadores—CUT  
(Brazil)

**Juan Jose Gorriti** – Confederación  
General de Trabajadores del Perú—CGTP  
(Perú)

**Irakli Petriashvili** – Georgia Trade  
Union Confederation—GTUC (Georgia)

**T**wenty-three participants from approximately 10 different countries gathered to exchange experiences and identify best practices based on case studies presented by speakers from Brazil, Georgia, Nigeria, Peru and Indonesia. The discussion took into account a global economic and rights context in which popular movements among and within countries are demanding an end to rising income inequality and calling for jobs with decent pay and basic benefits, such as health insurance and retirement security. The case studies presented revealed that the wealth generated by a country's natural resources is not being broadly shared, leads to corruption, and routinely involves destruction of the natural environment and

negative effects on the health of individuals in the surrounding communities.

These are huge challenges, and civil society should respond to them. Popular movements are often disorganized and unfocused in their demands, and thus diminish the power of the message and the messenger. Nongovernmental participants from several countries mentioned during the discussion that trade unions are often the most representative and respected nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in civil society and should play a role in leading civil society coalitions at the local, regional, and national levels. At the local level in Nigeria, for example, unions have supported NGO efforts to promote women's health and greater



governmental transparency in the Niger Delta. At the national level, Nigerian unions led the struggle to roll back punitive oil price increases that occurred without civil society input and that squeezed the vulnerable and working poor.

Union representatives in the workshop noted that trade unions should see their role more broadly than simply representing their members' interests in the workplace. In Brazil for example, labor leaders have developed the concept of "citizen unions" in which unions focus some of their attention on motivating their members to be engaged actively in social justice movements and on issues that affect indigenous communities. In Indonesia, unions have joined with student groups and NGOs to push for retirement and health care benefits for all the country's citizens, not just for union members; to do so, the unions have taken the lead in creating thoughtful strategies that promote public education and outreach activities to government, the media, and a variety of civic organizations that share their interests.

## Challenges

Participants noted many challenges to building coalitions of unions and civil society. In some countries, such as Georgia, the concept of active citizenship should be learned, given the legacy of Soviet authoritarianism; unions and NGOs working together can help reform the country's educational system, and unions can serve as models by showcasing democratic participation within their own structures. In Peru, unions are divided among themselves and are often at odds with communities where natural resources are mined; while workers have an interest in maintaining jobs in the extractive sector, they also care about the environment. National union federations recognize that they have a special obligation to promote fact-finding and build coalitions with local communities to demand "clean" resource exploitation so that communities can benefit and the government and multinational companies are held accountable.

On the other hand, NGO collaboration offers many benefits to unions. NGOs specializing in legal issues can help draft legislation, for instance, as was the case in Indonesia. In Georgia, NGOs helped serve as government watchdogs and provided independent verification of union claims of labor rights abuses. In Nigeria, NGOs helped unions gain access to underserved communities and built relations of trust with women's groups.

## Recommendations

- Given the growing challenge posed by increased inequality and precarious work, unions and NGOs should form coalitions on the local, national, and international levels.
- Because of their size and representative nature, unions should take the lead in forming coalitions and must expand their role beyond simple workplace representation.
- A special focus of union-NGO coalitions should be on institutionalizing policy approaches in law.
- Unions and NGOs should create an environment of respect, taking into account that they will not always agree on issues while greater cooperation remains essential to addressing the common challenges they face.
- Given that every country environment is different, there is no one roadmap for union-NGO collaboration, but there is almost always a need to keep such collaboration high on their respective agendas.

## Resolving Tensions between Extractive Industry and Local Communities: How to Build Trust within a Democratic Context?

### ORGANIZERS:

**Mining Advocacy Network—**  
Jatam (*Indonesia*)

**Derecho, Ambiente y Recursos**  
**Naturales—DAR** (*Peru*)

### MODERATOR:

**Siti Maimunah** – Jatam  
(*Indonesia*)

### RAPPOREUR:

**Hugo Che Piu** – DAR (*Peru*)

### PRESENTERS:

**Rafendi Djamin** – Human Rights  
Working Group—HRWG (*Indonesia*)

**Hugo Che Piu** – DAR (*Peru*)

**Manfredo Marroquin** – Accion  
Ciudadana (*Guatemala*)

**Siti Maimunah** – Jatam (*Indonesia*)

The worldwide expansion of extractive industries (mining, oil, gas, timber, etc.) increases tensions with local populations, but democracy can help prevent and resolve such tensions, in part through transparent cost-benefit analyses of the impact of extractive activity, including the impacts on the environment and labor rights. Globally, an important starting point is the UN Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, which aim to protect and respect human rights and remedy any negative impact of extractive industry work. While not legally binding, the guiding principles provide a set of standards that citizens can demand governments incorporate as national standards for citizen and human rights. Improved transparency and access to information can also enhance the defense of the rights of local communities, since it is necessary to overcome prevalent corruption in many countries. Before, it is important that decisions are taken not only within government (at the federal, sub-national, or local levels), but should also include input from local populations. States should not be afraid to open a discussion if they have clear development goals for a region or province.

One of the main causes of tensions in this area is the asymmetry or imbalance between stakeholders, not only between extractive companies and local communities, but also between those communities and the state. However, within the context of free trade agreements, both local communities and governments may lack power.

It is difficult to identify “good practices” in the extractive sector, since even those companies that have incorporated innovations to avoid or reduce impacts on human rights are not so laudable. There are, however, some potentially positive opportunities:

Indigenous peoples should be allowed to exercise fully their right to information and prior consultation before authorities grant rights to extractive companies. Extractive activity should not begin without the full and effective participation and consent of local people which, in some cases, may amount to a veto.

The workshop participants also addressed the question of what should be expected of civil society with respect to tensions between extractive industries and local populations. It was noted that citizen action is essential, but NGOs should not be restricted to negative or critical roles; they should also be prepared and enabled to offer proposed solutions. In all cases, civil society can provide the necessary transparency and monitoring. Proper communication of the impacts of extractive industries is necessary because companies proclaim their “good” intentions even while having a negative impact.

## How to Make Public Participation in Democratic Processes Meaningful?

### ORGANIZER:

**International Republican Institute—**  
IRI (U.S.)

### MODERATOR:

**Ben Suffian** – Merdeka Center  
for Opinion Research (Malaysia)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**Laura London** – IRI (U.S.)

### PRESENTERS:

**Kate Chachava** – New Generation New  
Initiative (Georgia)

**Perry Aritua** – Women's Democracy  
Network (Uganda)

**Ou Virak** – Cambodian Center for  
Human Rights—CCHR (Cambodia)

### Observations

Participation is a key component of functioning democracies everywhere. However, the ways in which citizens and civil society are engaged in and contribute to a democratic governance structure are directly related to that democracy's success. This workshop examined different models of meaningful participation in the democratic process and how participation is understood, challenged, and promoted within country-specific and regional contexts.

In her opening presentation, Kate Chachava spoke about civil society's role in electoral processes, describing the achievements of Georgian civil society in the country's October 2012 elections, which brought about the first democratic transition based on elections in the country's history. Specifically, she said, Georgian NGOs carried out a massive "It Affects You" campaign to disseminate information to the electorate, while civil society mobilized more than 70,000 domestic election observers to ensure election transparency and compliance with international election standards. Ms. Chachava stressed the importance of training observers in proper conduct, concrete rules, and strict methodology, a role that her organization assumed in the elections. The ea-

gerness of Georgia's civil society to participate in the election process demonstrated a remarkable growth in the country's democratic practices, and the acculturation of Georgian society to its still fresh democratic system.

Focusing in her presentation on participation in democratic processes from the perspective of women, Perry Aritua reminded the participants that for participation to be meaningful all interest groups must have the ability simply to participate in the first place. In Uganda, a legislative framework provides for affirmative action in elected positions and leadership roles and allows women to contest positions outside of those designated seats. Uganda has also implemented budgeting and planning processes that mandate participation by local communities, further ensuring participation by a variety of interest groups. However, meaningful participation is often reduced by a lack of understanding of the best means for disseminating information. Within this context, civil society can foster meaningful participation by performing research and skills-based trainings to promote a knowledgeable and skilled citizenry that can contribute to the discussions in a more substantive manner.

Civil society in Cambodia is still largely characterized by the degree of work conducted by international and national-level NGOs that has yet to penetrate the grassroots level, according to Ou Virak. The donor NGO mentality, he said, has not adapted to reflect an increasingly capable Cambodian civil society; local activists are ready to carry out functions of democratic accountability traditionally implemented by large NGOs whose work should shift to focusing on enhancing grassroots capacity. By occupying the limited political space available, bureaucratic NGOs are preventing meaningful participation of civil society at the local level, and in this way are becoming part of the problem rather than the solution.



## Challenges

- It is difficult for civil society groups to remain impartial, particularly when attacked by media or political parties. Uniting civil society around a common agenda is crucial to resisting these attacks.
- Information regarding relevant political decisions is often not properly disseminated to those who would like to voice their opinions. Information should be relayed in languages that are understood by the population via modes of communication that are accessible to all.
- Poverty allows for widespread vote-buying and voter allegiance that is not based on proper policy or platform scrutiny.
- Elected leaders often hold themselves accountable to their party rather than to the citizens who elected them.
- NGOs fill an important niche in enhancing political participation, but they cannot represent the entirety of civil society. The donor/sub-grantee system in Cambodia has allowed mainstream groups to flourish from a wealth of funding, while local civil society organizations and minority activists have been ignored.

## Recommendations

- International and national NGOs should engage in capacity-building activities at the community and local levels. This would allow grassroots activists and villages to gain experience engaging with local governments and open paths to wider and more meaningful citizen dialogue.
- NGOs should be cognizant of the capabilities of the civil societies with which they work and, if necessary, refashion their tactics to reflect these capabilities; empowering civil society is the goal.
- CSOs and NGOs must mobilize local and international observers and bodies to monitor elections and verify results to assure people of the credibility of elections.
- Contributing actors should perform research to understand the best methods of disseminating information to citizens.
- Civil society must know its facts. When you engage with facts, you have a greater ability to hold your government accountable.

## Addressing Ethnic Divides: Preventing Conflict through Democratic Inclusion

### ORGANIZER:

**Asociación Negra de Defensa y Promoción de los Derechos Humanos**—ASONEDH (Peru)

### MODERATOR:

**Jorge Ramírez Reyna** – ASONEDH (Peru)

### RAPPOREUR:

**Juan Alvarado** – Afro-Cuban Alliance (Cuba)

### PRESENTERS:

**Peter Aling'o** – Institute for Education in Democracy (Kenya)

**Moses John** – Organization for Nonviolence and Development (South Sudan)

**Luz Maria Carmona** – ISA Bolivia (Bolivia)

**Juan Alvarado** – Afro-Cuban Alliance (Cuba)

The moderator began this workshop with an introduction, noting some of the problems of exclusion and discrimination that confront Afro-Peruvians, who constitute eight percent of the population of the country. In Peru, he said, there are non-democratic ways that cause us to suffer racism, and the signs of racism can be subtle: for example, the clothes of one of the black employees working at the main door of the Assembly hotel, who is always dressed for work in the old style of the *caleceros* (slaves who drove the cars of their masters or manned the entrance doors of their houses). The moderator pointed out that if we speak about democracy, it is necessary to speak of true dem-

ocratic inclusiveness because Afro-descendants are still excluded.

## Opening Presentations

In his opening presentation, Peter Aling'o analyzed ways to address situations that generate exclusion. Society, he pointed out, is divided in a natural manner, but social divisions can be encouraged by other diverse mechanisms that end up alienating different groups in these societies from each other. These ethnic group identities, with their negative implications, are used by certain elements to impose particular interests in order to achieve certain objectives and



thus generate profound divisions in the society. A key factor is that such division derives from divisive politics in the country in question. Politics and law can entrench divisions, which further contributes to the problems for minorities.

Under certain conditions, divisions strengthen over time while the perspectives and objectives of the groups in power continue to dominate politics. Today, we can observe political and electoral systems that not only make divisions more profound, but also generate new ones. We therefore talk about democratic inclusion because it is necessary to have a system that promotes equality and a sense of belonging, and one in which ethnic diversity is appreciated and valued.

To arrive at democratic inclusion, we should try to create environments that permit all ethnic groups to take part and participate in all spheres of life in a country. Mr. Aling'o highlighted three essential recommendations:

- Focus on the process of democratization;
- Respect diversity; and
- Consolidate social justice.

A successful process of inclusion helps ensure true democracy and a constitution that respects civil and minority rights.

Moses John asked various questions as a basis for his presentation: Why are there ethnic divisions? Why are people divided? In what way do we perceive each other, taking into account our differences? Why do ethnic divisions continue to be a challenge? In discussing these questions, he pointed out that it is much easier

to maintain power when the people are divided, and he emphasized the need to pay attention to education and the economic empowerment of people belonging to minorities to help them be politically and economically active.

Luz Maria Carmona pointed out in her presentation that deepening the study of a diversity of experiences permits better understanding of the problems that are raised in the workshop. She considered it important to go more in depth into the concept of ethnicity as an element that leads to the division between groups that is maintained, generation after generation, as an internal mechanism of division. She focused in particular on Andean ethnic groups and stated that ethnic diversity is intimately related to geographic diversity. She referred to the problem of the electoral vote and its absence in Bolivia among the rural populations until 1950. Something extremely important is the establishment of the "pluri-national" state in Bolivia that not only recognized rights, such as the possession of land, but also political rights. That has provoked changes in the judicial, political, and cultural order. However, many of the indigenous rights previously achieved are disappearing. In the present, at the base of many conflicts are the differences that remain among the diverse groups. It is necessary that practices reflect democratic values and that there is participation by all in political life and decision making.

Juan Alvarado offered a general presentation of the problems affecting Cuban Afro-descendants for whom securing human rights has been notoriously complex in recent history. This group is not a minority in the country; despite the fact that the official census indicates that they make up only 35 percent of the population, distinguished specialists believe they actually exceed 50 percent.

To better understand the problem of racism and discrimination in Cuba today, Mr. Alvarado continued, it is necessary to begin with basics: The general backward movement of civil rights since 1959 principally affected the Cuban Afro-descendant community. The victory of the Revolution destroyed the foundation and mechanisms for civil rights that blacks struggled to achieve before 1959. The current situation has taken on hints of scandal, above all because Cuban Afro-descendants have a double challenge: to organize and fight against discriminatory practices while at the same time to confront a climate of intolerance and violence imposed by the government. On the one hand, the government decreed, by fiat, that racial discrimination is a thing of the past, but, on the other hand, it opposes

all efforts by civil society to address the problem independently. To demand legitimate rights is considered counterrevolutionary with all the political and social consequences that entails.

When we consider human rights as fundamental rights, as well as economic, social, and cultural rights, we observe the following:

- Afro-descendent Cubans have lost many of the rights they previously won and do not have the legal right to create independent organizations. They are not permitted to hold meetings or have their own media outlets. The lack of freedom of expression, association, and assembly has thus limited their political and civic participation.
- Given the growth of the Cuban antiracist movement, the government has targeted the pacifist actions of independent movements with repressive mechanisms. The government thus impedes them by force from carrying out their activities or forbids activists the use of official space for intellectual exchange on the subject so that everything remains behind closed doors without letting those who are truly affected articulate their criteria. Harassment and arrests by state security forces are the order of the day.
- Afro-descendent Cubans are excluded from businesses that provide better working conditions and access to convertible money. They are overrepresented in jobs with poor pay and are poorly recognized. The most recent economic reforms serve only to help those who were already in an advantageous situation. Many of the fundamental economic activities that are expanding under the reforms require prior fixed assets that the Afro-descendent population does not possess. Afro-descendants are also negatively affected socially and culturally, since they are disproportionately affected by housing problems, violence, and crime, as well as a constant distortion of, and neglect towards, black history in Cuba.

According to Mr. Alvarado, to make progress we must recognize that Cuba has a deeply racist society; that racism in Cuba has a political character; and that there is a need for reform measures at the governmental level to protect the rights of Afro-descendants and to promote their equality and economic and social empowerment.

## Discussion

The workshop participants analyzed the need to search for inclusive democratic systems, beginning with the best democracy, which can only function when the people are able to deliberate about and understand the system and thus maintain it. Real democracy takes into account the necessities and the aspirations of all the people, including minorities, and it is important that all feel part of the system.

An important issue in the workshop discussion was the ethnic divisions and conflicts in Africa and the Andean region, specifically in Bolivia. The participants discussed democracies that have emerged from ethnic conflicts because they are in transition. The conflicts continue until the transitions are complete, which thus require special measures. The importance and value of western philosophical conceptions of democracy motivate discussions on the ways to implement democracy in conflicted countries in non-western regions.

Participants also discussed the following subjects:

- The situations of countries that were victims of colonization, the ethnic conflicts that were thus generated, and how those problems have been carried over from one generation to another, above all, where measures to counteract such conflict have not been undertaken; in those cases, politics has continued to be the exclusive purview of the groups in power.
- There are political and electoral systems that generate and deepen discrimination; governments and political parties often consolidate power and abandon minorities and others facing discrimination.
- The absence of a democratic culture and the entrenchment of intolerance in some societies.
- The concept of ethnicity and its place in addressing ethnic problems.
- The need to provide education and economic empowerment to help people facing discrimination become economically and politically active.
- The need to create a good constitution that can help address ethnic conflict derived from ethnic diversity.
- The need to have inclusive democratic systems.

# Youth Engagement and Empowerment

## Workshops

### What can be Done to Empower Youth through Economic Inclusion?

**ORGANIZERS:**

**Youngstars Foundation** (*Nigeria*)

**Instituto Invertir** (*Peru*)

**MODERATORS:**

**Claudia Bustamante** –  
Instituto Invertir (*Peru*)

**Kingsley Bangwell** –  
Youngstars Foundation (*Nigeria*)

**RAPPORTEUR:**

**Kim Bettcher** –  
Center for International Private  
Enterprise—CIPE (*U.S.*)

**PRESENTERS:**

**Sergio Balladares** –  
Movimiento Puente (*Nicaragua*)

**Emmanuel Kitamirike** –  
Uganda Youth Network (*Uganda*)

**Claudia Bustamante** –  
Instituto Invertir (*Peru*)

The workshop presenters highlighted a number of case studies illustrating both the hardships youth face from economic exclusion and best practices in youth engagement for economic empowerment. In the first presentation, Sergio Balladares remarked that the challenges facing youth in Nicaragua are underemployment, shortage of skills, and difficulty in finding employment that matches one's specialization. Also, there are few incentives to start an economic enterprise. To help address these challenges, Movimiento Puente advocates in schools for democratic values and assists with the socioeconomic development of youth. It conducts workshops on job search skills, such as how to write a curriculum vitae or how to act at a job interview. It also works with companies to develop internship and employment programs for youth.

In his presentation, Emmanuel Kitamirike described the ways in which the Uganda Youth Network engages young people in mainstream political processes. It has discovered that participation among youth is not meaningful if they are not economically empowered. Education often does not provide youth with the skills to better themselves, and economic growth has not created sufficient jobs. In Uganda, therefore, there is a need to attract youth to the agricultural sector. Young people especially need platforms through which they can participate in the making of decisions that will affect them.

Claudia Bustamante described in her presentation how the *EmprendeAhora* program in Peru focuses on leadership, democracy, the market economy, and entrepreneurship to give opportunities to university students in the provinces outside the capital of Lima. It has a competitive selection process for the program that identifies applicants with a leadership profile. Thanks to the program, 40 companies have been formed in the last four years.

Kingsley Bangwell noted that the challenges for Nigerian youth are unemployment in excess of 30 percent; the absence of youth involvement in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of city grants to start-up businesses; and a lack of trust in government. The government needs private sector cooperation to provide an enabling environment for young people, and young people need platforms through which they can share their experiences and hardships.

The workshop discussion addressed a number of additional issues, such as the need for opportunities in technical and vocational work; the importance of the agricultural sector; the nature of the informal economy; the need to address discrimination on the basis of sexual diversity; the role of active citizenship; the value of mentorship; access to capital; access to information; and educational reform.

## Recommendations

- Include youth in planning processes on economic issues at all levels. Reach out to youth to listen and build trust. Help them to articulate their issues and give them platforms for doing so.
- Provide access to information on how to start a business, how to find a job, and what opportunities and resources are available.
- Provide technical assistance to entrepreneurs, especially through civil society. Give them tools for leadership, teamwork, and conflict resolution, as well as technical, management, and vocational skills.

- Connect entrepreneurs with each other and connect different sectors that support entrepreneurs (universities, financial entities, businesses, NGOs, etc.). Facilitate the sharing of best practices.
- Improve education policy and address structural challenges so that young people will have the right skills for the job market.
- Do not stop with training, but continue to track the progress of participants in youth programs.
- Support youth initiatives at the local level.

## World Youth Movement for Democracy (WYMD)

### ORGANIZER:

**World Youth Movement for Democracy**—WYMD

### MODERATOR:

**Dyan Aimee Rodriguez** – WYMD Leadership Board  
(*The Philippines*)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**Glanis Changachirere** – Institute for Young Women Development  
(*Zimbabwe*)

### PRESENTERS:

**Rami Shamma** – Development for People and Nature Association—DPNA  
(*Lebanon*)

### Pablo Innecken

– Latin American and Caribbean Network for Democracy—Redlad  
(*Costa Rica*)

**Ishraga Eltahir** – World Movement for Democracy Secretariat  
(*U.S.*)

**Maja Micic** – Youth Initiative for Human Rights  
(*Serbia*)

**Tapera Kapuya** – WYMD Leadership

**Ryota Jonen** – WYMD Leadership

The workshop began with an ice breaker in which participants used balloons to select each other to talk to, learn where they are from, and what they do in their organizations, following which the participants introduced themselves to the whole group. They came to the Assembly from various countries, including Argentina, Costa Rica, Cuba, Lebanon, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Peru, The Philippines, Serbia, Uganda, the United States, Venezuela, and Zimbabwe, among others. All the participants are involved in democracy work in their respective countries.

## Background

Ryota Jonen of the WYMD leadership took the participants through the emergence, work, and structure

of the Youth Movement, highlighting that the beginning of the movement was inspired by the need to see youth taking a more active role in democratic participation at all levels, national, regional, and international. As such, the network emerged in 2003 and has since grown significantly. It is now a strong and well-grounded network that works through an elected leadership and regional representation.

Further, the Youth Movement successfully organized an African regional conference entitled, “From the Cape to Cairo,” which was held in South Africa in February of 2012. It brought together young female and male activists from Belarus, Burma, Cuba, Uganda, Ukraine, Venezuela, and Zimbabwe. The conference mainly sought to strategize about how young activists can contribute

to the democratization agenda in their respective countries and enabled youth to learn about the South African democratic transition and to meet and learn from political party leaders in the country.

Mr. Jonen also described a new youth fellowship program to promote active youth participation in democracy work. The fellowship enables young people to be in residence at the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and initiate and conduct online discussions on various topics relevant to different countries. The fellows are selected quarterly. To increase interaction among Youth Movement members, a web site has been created at [www.wymd.org](http://www.wymd.org).

Tapera Kapuya provided an update on the activities being conducted by the Youth Movement to engage its members. He noted the importance of decentralization of communications in the network to reach new members and to encourage debate on region-specific issues. Examples of such issues include the African Youth Charter and, in Latin America, use of the Internet and ICTs.

To help decentralize the coordination of communications relevant to the various regions, Young Democracy Ambassadors of the WYMD foster communications in their own countries and regions. This strategy has worked well in some regions but not as well in others. There is a need, therefore, to continue the discussion about how to increase the effectiveness of WYMD communications in those other regions.

Workshop participants also learned about emerging opportunities for activists in the WYMD. According to Ishraga Eltahir, to encourage participation of those not directly involved in democracy work, the WYMD introduced an annual photo contest that, after commencing in 2011, received 150 submissions in 2012 in three categories, and most of the winners of the 2011 and 2012 contests were present at the Lima Assembly. The contests were very notable for ways in which the contestants captured spontaneous moments that spoke to democracy. Other opportunities include the online newsletter and recognition of World Youth Day for Democracy every October 18th. The theme this year was "Claim the Future." A large number of youth organizations in the WYMD have been taking part in the annual commemoration, and the Youth Movement has been pushing for its recognition by the UN.

## Evaluation of the WYMD

The WYMD's self-evaluation process involving its members was discussed. The evaluation was aimed at establishing the Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities,

and Threats—SWOT—as a way to inform its improvement. The results of the SWOT analysis were shared with the participants:

### Strengths

- The WYMD is global and inclusive of youth in democracy work; for example, many members of the movement from Arab countries were involved in the Arab Spring.
- The nature of the WYMD structure allows for effective planning and implementation of activities.
- The structure of its Leadership Board enables the WYMD to conduct activities at the national, regional, and global levels.

### Weaknesses

- There is no mechanism by which all the WYMD's Young Democracy Ambassadors can be included in most of the Internet-based social media activities.
- There has been a decline in the enthusiasm of the members of the Leadership Board in Youth Movement activities.
- There are currently few activities and no annual calendar of activities that members can consult.
- Membership is still small considering that the network is global.

### Opportunities

- There are unfortunately many violations of human rights around the globe on any given day, so the Youth Movement should provide solidarity with human rights defenders and help strengthen democracy.
- There is an opportunity to increasingly use social media.
- Many countries are going through democratic transitions, so there is a need and opportunity to reach out to youth in those countries.

### Threats

- The main threat to the Youth Movement concerns its sustainability.

## Recommendations

- The WYMD should organize activities throughout the year in all regions.
- A stronger mechanism should be developed to involve regional Youth Democracy Ambassadors and the Leadership Board in developing activities.
- Increase outreach, since current membership is only 1,200.

- There is a need for face-to-face interaction among Leadership Board members in addition to virtual interaction. For example, new members, or those standing for election to the Leadership Board, should meet before the election at each World Movement Assembly.
- There is a need to “scale up” the Youth Movement’s solidarity, since there are many emerging issues and thus a need to provide solidarity in various ways.

The Youth Movement members were also challenged to act more than just talk. It was reiterated that for democracy to be attained and sustained, there is need to have a deep commitment among WYMD members.

## Priorities

The following three priority areas were agreed to for the WYMD’s next two years:

- Intensify use of social media;
- Develop capacity; and
- Increase communications.

## How to Channel Negative Expressions of Disaffected Youth into Constructive Activism?

### ORGANIZERS:

**Youth Initiative for Human Rights**  
(Serbia)

**OCASA** (Colombia)

### MODERATOR:

**Gina Romero** –  
OCASA (Colombia)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**Ivana Howard** –  
National Endowment for  
Democracy—NED (U.S.)

### PRESENTERS:

**Darko Brkan** – Dosta! Movement  
(Bosnia-Herzegovina)

**Sergio Balladares** –  
Movimiento Puente (Nicaragua)

This workshop was designed to allow for extensive exchanges of experiences among youth activists from around the world on effectively addressing youth apathy with innovative approaches, including using new information and communication technologies (ICTs). Particular emphasis was placed on the challenges youth face in conflict and post-conflict societies.

Gina Romero presented the challenging case of Colombia, where youth find themselves in a perpetual state of conflict, which affects all segments of the population and aspects of life. A lack of greater economic development leads to a higher rate of poverty, with the younger population perhaps the most affected. Integrating young former combatants from the internal conflict in the country back into society poses a particular challenge, since they face discrimination and difficulty securing jobs. Some public services have been designed to address the violent behavior of youth. For example, the city government of Bogota has created entrepreneurship opportunities for youth who have abandoned violence. However, most solutions only address near-term issues and will not have longer-term effects unless other actors, namely the business community, are

engaged as well. Civil society has been working to devise new means to address problems faced by youth and increase their participation in society, but the number and variety of groups engaged on the issues are still too small to comprehensively address the problem.

A history of conflict poses similar challenges for youth in Nicaragua, according to Sergio Balladares. Natural disasters, changes in government, and economic difficulties have added to a feeling of helplessness among youth under 40, a segment comprising over half the population. But even when youth, who feel the weight of past legacies on their shoulders, want to engage more actively or protest the current situation, such forms of participation often draw criticism and even persecution. Consequently, they are rarely involved in social and political processes.

Youth in Serbia face a similar set of challenges; that is, it is not just a transitional country trying to build a sustainable democracy, but one that also has to address a post-conflict legacy. These two challenges have led to a transformation of youth from being a progressive power that helped to bring about democratic change in 2000 to a destructive force that is often radical and violent today. The key factor leading to this negative

transformation, according to one of the workshop participants, is the failure to deal effectively with Serbia's role in the recent Balkan conflicts. Neither the government nor the educational system has properly addressed this key issue, which has produced a "confused generation," one filled with negative energy generated by disillusionment and a lack of future prospects, and no constructive ways to channel it. Without a clear-cut national enemy, these young people often direct their frustration towards those who are different, that is, citizens of different religious, sexual, or political orientations.

To provide an alternative, youth NGOs and human rights organizations should appeal to youth in new and interesting ways, provide an engaging context, and involve individuals who have credibility with young people. Some of the approaches employed by the Youth Initiative for Human Rights in Serbia and its network in the Western Balkans involve:

- Developing informal educational tools and opportunities;
- Facilitating meetings between youth and their peers in other countries in the region to discuss difficult issues that they have in common, thereby exposing them to different views; and
- Providing youth with communication skills so they can present the issues in such a way as to encourage constructive engagement on them and to act to change society.

To elaborate further on tools for constructive youth engagement, Darko Brkan focused on the role of new ICTs, including social media. First, he emphasized the need to consider which tools are most often used in a particular societal context so they can be effectively employed. In other words, just as the activist who hands out leaflets to passersby does so in a busy square, rather than on a quiet street, so youth NGOs should identify and utilize the most frequented social networks when promoting messages online. In addition to identifying where youth meet in the online world, activists should also understand the profile of young people employing a particular online tool. In this case, knowing one's

friends is as important as knowing one's foes: online tools can just as easily be used by those who promote violence or radical behavior. Worse yet, they may be just as effective, if not more so, in attracting youth to their cause. In areas where access to the Internet is limited, extremist movements are more likely to have greater appeal to youth, as confirmed by several workshop participants. Therefore, groups seeking to engage youth constructively should also work offline and provide them with meaningful means of engagement outside the virtual world.

A recurring theme in the workshop discussion was the role that political parties can play in providing space for youth engagement. In most countries, youth apathy is exacerbated by the fact that political figures are often older, even when the general population is young. Political parties may have youth wings, but young people are often told to wait and "mature" before running in elections. In the meantime, politically active youth are given trivial tasks and thus lack meaningful opportunities for youth-related activities within their respective parties. A number of participants noted that youth often enter parties simply as a way to get a job.

When young people act together, governments are often pushed to react. It is important, however, to not just protest but to build the capacity of youth to think differently and act for long-term change. For example, politically active youth should find ways to engage with each other across the political spectrum to discuss common issues and jointly contribute to addressing them in effective ways. Whether employing offline or online campaigns, it is best to begin with smaller, resolvable problems that youth face and their needs at a particular moment, rather than focus on larger, more intractable problems.

It was also noted that new technologies provide expanded opportunities for constructive youth engagement, but the challenge is to move youth from using online networks just to socialize to utilizing them to become more actively engaged in the political and social arenas.

## Democracy Education: Building a Culture of Tolerance

### ORGANIZER:

**Educational Society of Malopolska**—  
MTO (Poland)

### MODERATOR:

**Alicja Derkowska** –  
MTO (Poland)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**Julie Boudreaux** –  
MTO (Poland)

### PRESENTERS:

**Ulviyya Tofiq Mikayilova**  
– Center for Innovations in  
Education (Azerbaijan)

**Gabriel Salvia** – Centro para  
la Apertura y el Desarrollo  
de America Latina—CADAL  
(Argentina)

**Jafar Alshayeb** – Adala Center  
for Human Rights (Saudi Arabia)

**David McQuoid-Mason** – University of  
KwaZulu-Natal (South Africa)

**Steve Harison** – Indonesian Youth  
Movement for Sport and Healthy  
Lifestyles—INVOTE (Indonesia)

**Alicja Derkowska** – MTO (Poland)

One of the pillars of democracy is ensuring respect for others. Education has a key role to play in convincing children, youth, adults, and communities of the importance of tolerance. The presenters focused on the challenges to, and methods for, promoting tolerance in their respective countries.

### Presentations

In Azerbaijan, most children with disabilities are not covered by educational services. The Center for Innovations in Education thus promotes the rights of every child through social inclusion. Initially, the specialized training of teachers was thought to be key, but in fact was insufficient. A large number of teachers have not been implementing mainstreaming properly. Although the attitudes of stakeholders to the mainstreaming of children with disabilities is generally positive, a core problem is that many teachers still believe that children with disabilities are incapable of fulfilling a standard curriculum. Training in social justice was thus used to demonstrate that tolerance alone is insufficient to teach children with disabilities; student activities, such as creating video clips or having discussions that pair children with disabilities and their peers without disabilities are most effective. The International Step-by-Step Program and anti-bias trainings are also very effective. There are also methods for breaking down stereotypes among adults, such as “Name, Voice, Act.”

In Argentina, although it is not an educational institution, CADAL promotes the improvement of democratic institutions, social inclusion, and international solidarity around human rights. The organization designs and implements extracurricular activities for university

students or recent graduates in the social sciences that complement what they study formally. This allows them to hear and learn from other professors and peers who may hold differing views. They also provide opportunities for internships and volunteerism. Projects and programs related to tolerance, such as “Good-Bye Lenin,” include debate, dialogue, and defense of rights, and are designed for active participation in the classroom.

The Shia minority in Saudi Arabia (representing 10-15 percent of the population) is working to foster greater tolerance among those in the dominant majority. With no freedoms and institutionalized discriminatory policies in all spheres, the reaction of the Shia had previously been very passive. In the past 15 years, there have been concerted efforts to mobilize the Shia community mainly on social inclusion issues. Documents, such as “Partner in the Nation” and “National Integration of Shia Persons,” make specific recommendations. People are encouraged to participate in municipal elections (the Shia region had the highest participation in the country), have more community involvement in local councils, register NGOs, and even challenge the government on the process of registration. Through cultural fora and art exhibitions, better communication is being promoted across religious divisions in an effort to break barriers and erase stereotypes. Thanks to outside pressure (particularly after September 11) the school curriculum that had taught hatred against Muslims of different (non-Sunni) sects and against non-Muslims is gradually being modified by reducing the number of religious subjects and taking the language of hatred out.

Since 1985 the Street Law Program has effectively promoted the knowledge of basic rights in South Africa. Initially, the program designers were able to cir-

cumvent government skepticism by claiming that the program would “make good citizens who will obey the law if they understand the law.” They were thus able to train law students to use interactive methods. The hidden agenda was to teach about human rights and democracy. During the first post-Apartheid elections, they created materials to address “why you vote, not just how to vote.” Street Law Inc. and Street Law South Africa jointly published the manual, “Democracy for All,” which is an educational tool aimed at creating a democratic culture with a particular focus on political tolerance and how to combat violence based on intolerance. “The Democracy Challenge” is a popular game that uses 13 signposts for democracy, debates, and quizzes to increase knowledge and skills essential for democracy. It is designed to be used with the “Democracy for All” manual.

Indonesia is a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic country, and the challenge there is to encourage young people to embrace democratic values. This is encompassed in the concept of Pancasila, which is promoted through the school curriculum. Inside and outside of the schools, there are many methods that appeal particularly to youth and can be used to instill democratic values: short movie clips, songs, online games, events, photo and art exhibitions, competitions about democracy, happenings, activities (such as “Visit to Mars” and “Visit to Jail”), and comics about different kinds of tolerance and multi-culturalism.

In Poland, the Educational Society of Malopolska has sought to break down traditional stereotypes about the Roma people. In southern Poland, illiteracy and unemployment are rampant among that population, and a key problem is how to get Roma children to attend school. The position of a Roma assistant in each school was created to address this issue. A pilot group of 20 young Roma men and women were trained to be teaching assistants in public schools and to act as liaisons between the Roma parents and the respective school. In addition to providing employment (they were paid positions), having a Roma adult in a classroom changed the image that Polish children had of the Roma, thus breaking down some stereotypes. School attendance among the Roma children increased and the project was eventually implemented nationwide.

## Observations

The workshop participants offered various ideas, comments, and practical methods to promote a culture of tolerance, even in the most difficult situations.

In repressive societies, promoting tolerance and teaching basic democratic skills requires creativity and patience. Providing information to policy makers over time can actually convince them that change is even in their best interest. Forming alliances with others is often crucial. In South Africa, democracy education was initiated, but it wasn’t called that. People can be trained to “obey the law” (desirable to most dictators), but in the process, and through the use of hypothetical cases (space colonies or other lands, for example), students can learn to analyze and debate. It is imperative to build a culture of democracy among the young now rather than waiting for wider political change.

Of course, it is not only the young who need to learn democratic skills. There often is reluctance to listen to opposing views among adults. Methods such as “Take a Stand,” “Written Debate,” and “World Café,” and techniques like paraphrasing, foster a culture of discussion and are especially effective when using polemical questions with young and old alike. The “people with green hair” activity is an effective way of promoting discussions about stereotypes, since it uses a visible difference to promote discussion about any group that is somehow different from the majority. “Mini-Babel” is a fun way of examining national stereotypes, since it uses discussions over the Internet among teenagers from different countries who examine what they know about one another’s countries. Such games were a source of great interest among the workshop participants who were eager to receive copies to use them in their work.

It was emphasized that teacher training, especially using pedagogical colleges and such, are crucial for promoting a democratic culture in education. Interactive teaching methods can intimidate teachers and many are not ready to discuss controversial issues. It is imperative, therefore, to give them support and opportunities to practice first. Furthermore, integrating democratic education, active citizenship, and leadership into the school curriculum requires support from the government; otherwise, even with the best practices and strongest determination, NGOs are limited in the numbers they can reach.

There must also be recognition that the focus should not be placed only on religious or ethnic differences; living with broad diversity in a society is an acquired skill. It requires empathy, which should be promoted from home or beginning in kindergarten. Finally, if you are teaching about democracy, you yourself must do so in a democratic manner.

# Building Democracy Movements

## Workshops

### Building Democracy Movements: How to Enlist the Broader Public through Education and the Media?

#### ORGANIZERS:

**Mouvement Citoyen** (*Senegal*)

**Potohar Organization for Development Advocacy**  
(*Pakistan*)

#### MODERATOR:

**Siti Nurjanah** – Women and Youth Development Institute of Indonesia  
(*Indonesia*)

#### RAPPORTEUR:

**Siti Nurjanah** – Women and Youth Development Institute of Indonesia  
(*Indonesia*)

#### PRESENTERS:

**Eddie Jarwolo** – NAYMOT Partners for Democratic Development (*Liberia*)

**Muhammad Zubair** – Potohar Organization for Development Advocacy  
(*Pakistan*)

**Rafael Marques de Morais** – Maka Angola (*Angola*)

This workshop addressed the topic by drawing on case studies from Angola, Liberia, and Pakistan, countries that face common problems of poverty, unemployment, voter apathy, distrust, corruption, and marginalization. More importantly, each country has restricted access to media, which may also be heavily regulated, as well as poor educational systems that discourage critical thinking and problem-solving skills, thereby undermining prospects for building democracy.

### Challenges

- How can political and public discourse shift or change, especially when there are constraints on media freedom, as in The Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, and other countries?
- How can communities be engaged on a democratization agenda that will ultimately serve their self-interests?

### Observations

Education and media are key to democratic development. An educational system, formal or informal, should encourage the broader public to participate and to build democracy. The participatory process can generate forceful pressure on a government to initiate democratic reforms. Civic engagement should address the problems of citizens' daily lives, including such issues as domestic violence, education, electricity, water, health care, and unemployment.

When access to media is restricted, other forms of

communication must be found. Information can be transmitted face-to-face. Material can be circulated and copied privately. Documents can be shared informally. However, free access to media does not necessarily contribute to democratization or a shift in political discourse, as the case of Singapore demonstrates. Similarly, although a range of alternative channels may be available, many people will tend to tune in to media that confirm their existing political beliefs. The challenge for media is not only how to inform people, but also how to educate them about the issues and engage them in the democratic process.

### Recommendations

- Strengthen civic education in school curricula and programs to bolster citizens' confidence in engaging in the political system and processes.
- Public education should be designed to encourage citizenship and political participation by addressing themes that affect people in their everyday lives.
- Encourage various forms of citizen journalism.
- While journalists should be protected from censorship, they themselves should create a self-regulating code of conduct as an alternative to government regulation.
- To shift political discourse, advocacy groups and opinion makers could encourage focused group discussions that may help to shape public opinion in favor of democratic reform and human rights.

## Realizing the Vision of the International Women's Democracy Network (IWDN)

### ORGANIZER:

**International Women's Democracy Network**—IWDN

### MODERATOR:

**Mahnaz Afkhami** – Women's Learning Partnership for Rights, Development, and Peace (*Iran/U.S.*)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**Layla Moughari** – IWDN (*U.S.*)

### PRESENTERS:

**Betty Yeoh** – All Women's Action Society (*Malaysia*)

**Andrea Romani** – Cidadania, Estudo, Pesquisa, Informação e Ação (*Brazil*)

**Lina Abou-Habib** – Collective for Research and Training on Development-Action (*Lebanon*)

**Selima Ahmad** – Bangladesh Women's Chamber of Commerce and Industry (*Bangladesh*)

**Soraida Sabbah** – Women's Affairs Technical Committee (*Palestine*)

**Mma Odi** – BAOBAB for Women's Human Rights (*Nigeria*)

**Masuma Hasan** – Pakistan Institute of International Affairs (*Pakistan*)

**Perry Aritua** – Women's Democracy Network Uganda Country Chapter (*Uganda*)

**Atifa Timjerdine** – Association Democratique des Femmes du Maroc (*Morocco*)

The International Women's Democracy Network (IWDN), a functional network of the World Movement for Democracy with a secretariat at the Women's Learning Partnership for Rights, Development, and Peace (WLP), convened its fifth meeting during the Seventh Assembly. The session included a short history of the IWDN; an overview of recent achievements, including advances in women's educational attainment worldwide, and, for network members, a new web site with regional resources and new social networking pages; updates from IWDN members—i.e., women's political and civic engagement in Bangladesh, Brazil, Iran, Lebanon, Malaysia, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine, and Uganda; and a discussion of next steps and priorities, including how to expand the IWDN's reach. During the session participants also utilized WLP's forthcoming toolkit, *Leading to a Culture of Democracy: A Handbook for Women in Transitioning Societies*, which draws on numerous strategy sessions organized by WLP on advancing women's rights during democratic transitions. The participants heard from IWDN members about the achievements of, and challenges faced by, women around the world, including successful advocacy campaigns, establishment of quotas and achieving political advances, on the one hand, and attacks on reproductive health, the rise of fundamentalism, and the obstacles of illiteracy and lack of access to education, on the other.

## Presentations

- Betty Yeoh spoke about successes in Malaysia. Women were able to secure quotas and relax draconian laws, which ultimately increased freedom of movement. Women's rights activists continue to advocate, not just for increased rights, but also for voter rights and on environmental issues.
- In Brazil, the women's movement has made significant contributions to civil society and democracy, largely focusing on reproductive rights, access to land, and labor issues, according to Andrea Romani. Brazil recently elected its first woman president, Dilma Vana Rousseff, which reflects significant progress. However, in terms of formal political participation, women are still vastly underrepresented.
- Lina Abou-Habib suggested a number of policies that would further women's rights in Lebanon. Nationality laws should be reformed so that women receive the same citizenship rights as men. Laws to protect women from domestic violence and quotas to increase women's political participation should be implemented. Family laws should be reformed. Implementation of these policies is difficult due to opposition by powerful religious groups. The women's rights movement in Lebanon must therefore remain vigilant and politically active. Women should continue to mobilize, raise consciousness, hold leadership positions, and maintain the right to challenge religious institutions.

► Selima Ahmed reported on her successful efforts to create the first women's chamber of commerce in Bangladesh, which works to encourage an equal role for women's decision making in the home. She stressed the need for additional female entrepreneurs and the importance of building women's economic capacity.

► Soraida Sabbah explained that the women's struggle in Palestine is closely tied to the fight against occupation, although the movement is also working to increase women's rights within the Palestinian government by advocating for family law reform. Palestine already has a quota system in place and the education gap between women and men is very narrow.

► Mma Odi spoke of the many challenges to enhancing women's political participation in Nigeria, including cultural constraints, such as the idea that "women should be seen and not heard," and the high cost of forming political parties. However, when Nigerian women do come together and mobilize, their efforts are successful.

► In Iran, prior to the 2009 elections, the status of Iranian women's civic and political engagement was among the strongest in the region, according to an Iranian activist. The women's movement gradually moved away from factional politics and focused largely on legal reforms, while simultaneously engaging civil society. Today, women are bearing the brunt of political uncertainty, economic sanctions, and the threat of war. This environment has forced the Iranian women's movement underground, along with other civil society groups.

► Masuma Hasan stated that in Pakistan the greatest need for women is to enter the political mainstream. To do so, Pakistan should implement political quotas, create an environment in which women feel comfortable taking leadership roles and being active in the public sphere, and encourage more women to run for office. The greatest threat to women's rights in Pakistan is the rise of "political religion." The women's rights movement should revise its strategies to respond to these challenges.

► In Uganda, 35 percent of the members of parliament are women and a woman, Rebecca Kadaga, is the speaker, one of the best individuals to hold that position, according to Perry Aritua. On the other hand, political structures must be strengthened and low levels of education and literacy among women, which hinder their access to equal rights and opportunities, must be addressed.

► According to Atifa Timjerdine, the women's movement in Morocco is working towards progress, but is held back due to high levels of maternal mortality and illiteracy and low levels of educational attainment. Building alliances and coalitions has proven to be a successful tool for the women's movement in Morocco.

During the second half of the session, IWDN members divided up into groups to test WLP's toolkit on advancing women's rights and resisting backlash. The following conclusions were reported back:

► Democracy is based on the concept of equal citizenship and must include women's equal participation. For democracy to be truly representative, women and others who have been traditionally excluded from power must be included. Quotas are often a useful tool to achieve this goal over a period of time, but it is not enough for women to merely have political representation. Elected women must also adopt an agenda that advances women's rights and democratic principles in general. In addition, universal human rights are a core element of democracy, which cannot exist in the absence of women.

► Fundamentalist religious groups are becoming increasingly politically empowered in many countries. Therefore, democracy activists must analyze and address how these developments affect women's rights. It is critical that those seeking to advance women's rights enter into national debates and discussions being influenced by these extremist forces. Women's rights activists must not be reactive, but should define and follow their own agenda while at the same time making their voices heard vis-à-vis the agendas of other groups. If they are silent, they will be overtaken. They must oppose censorship and refuse to be silenced.

► Each local context must be analyzed in addressing the challenges and opportunities for advancing women's rights and their full democratic participation. In many countries, a woman's identity with another group, such as with an indigenous group, has a significant impact on her ability to realize her rights.

► Impediments to systems of justice disproportionately affect women and are among the many factors that have adverse implications for women's rights.

► Forming alliances is key to achieving objectives. Women's rights movements should thus include men's voices and work with male advocates to realize full citizenship rights for women. Teachers have

a strong ability to shape society and should therefore be engaged as allies to advance gender equality and encourage girls to take on leadership roles. Women politicians should work together and should be supported by civil society groups to advance a shared agenda.

The moderator concluded the session by encouraging a “culture change.” Women’s issues include a wide range of areas that impact all levels of society. For society and democracy to thrive, women’s movements should advance cultures that embrace full gender equality, tolerance, and participatory leadership, thus recognizing the full rights of all citizens.

## How Networks Promote Shared Principles, Best Practices, and Solidarity in Citizen Election Monitoring

### ORGANIZER:

**National Democratic Institute—NDI**  
(U.S.)

### MODERATORS:

**Rindai Chipfunde-Vava** – Zimbabwe  
Election Support Network—ZESN  
(Zimbabwe)

**Meghan Fenzel** – NDI (U.S.)

### RAPPOREUR:

**Nabil Hassan** – Lebanese  
Association for Democratic  
Elections—LADE (Lebanon)

### PRESENTERS:

**Darko Aleksov** – European Network  
of Election Monitoring Organizations—  
ENEMO (Macedonia)

**Alejandra Barrios** – Mision de  
Observacion Electoral—MOE (Colombia)

**Dammy Magbual** – National Citizens’  
Movement for Free Elections—NAMFREL  
(The Philippines)

The moderators gave a brief introduction of the history and importance of election observation. They also explained the establishment of the Global Network for Domestic Election Monitoring (GNDEM).

### Part 1: Sharing Experiences through Global and Regional Networks

The first part of this workshop sought to address the following questions:

- Why is it important to build global or regional solidarity among civil society organizations? What are the goals of such networks?
- How can civil society organizations establish effective multi-national networks?
- How can social media and new technologies contribute to the sustainability of regional and global networks?

### Presentations

Darko Aleksov launched the discussion by stressing the importance of building networks to achieve the members’ goals through a common effort. Sharing basic objectives, principles, standards, and best practices is essential to making a network work. If not, the network is at risk because its members will start devoting too much time on tackling the politics of the civil society community rather than focusing on soci-

ety’s issues. Mr. Aleksov also underscored that the wider the geographic focus, the harder it is to build a stable network. He also emphasized that with the rise of social media and information technologies, which are efficient, generally free, and can reach a wide audience, civil society will no longer be available so much in person, but more so online. GNDEM exemplifies this trend, since it has managed to get 180 organizations to support one common cause mainly through online platforms.

Alejandra Barrios drew upon her 10 years of experience in networking to illustrate the challenges that networks face. The biggest issue, she said, is to identify an agenda that will keep the network’s members interested and active. Election observation missions brought her network members together and increased solidarity among them. She explained that the use of social media would enable network members to express even greater solidarity and reach a higher number of people, and should thus be the new means to develop her network.

Dammy Magbual also drew upon his experience to illustrate network solidarity. After his network monitored more than 30 elections, people wanted to enhance their own observation mission processes by benefiting from network exchanges. Five experts from around the world looked at their reports and gave them very useful recommendations. He also underscored how useful

the help from the National Democratic Institute was in learning about networks. Keeping volunteers active in between elections was a challenge, he said. They therefore diversified their activities by monitoring government projects and corrupt agencies.

## Discussion

The workshop presenters and other participants engaged in discussion on several issues:

- The issue of credibility was raised several times. One participant reported his experience in Sri Lanka, where he tried collaborating with election monitoring bodies. The network almost lost the credibility it had developed as a result of the independence it had built up throughout the years.
- The workshop participants agreed on the importance of respecting a network's rules. The leadership body should be strong enough to remove the membership of a member who might undermine a network's reputation by breaking its rules.
- Many participants stressed the importance of periodically reinventing a network's agenda to engage its members. For instance, a network can monitor official activities at different levels of public administration, or if electronic ballot machines are used in an election the network should audit them.
- All the participants agreed on the benefits of using new information and communication technologies (ICTs). When a government increases its crackdown on civil society, building solidarity and public support through social media and online networks is the CSOs' best tool.
- Two main issues were raised about ICTs. First, it is important to know your target audience and how to reach it through the Internet. Second, using ICTs in election monitoring raises the risk of gathering some false information. If pro-government or pro-opposition activists share flawed reports online, the network's credibility can be seriously endangered if it relies on those reports. Paying attention to who sends information and double-checking it reduces those risks.

## Part 2: Advancing Shared Principles to Build Political Accountability

The second part of the workshop sought to address the following questions:

- How can networks effectively promote best practices to hold governments accountable?
- How and when should networks formalize shared principles?

- What are the appropriate means for establishing mechanisms for mutual accountability? What are the challenges?

## Presentations

The moderator began the discussion by describing the creation of the Declaration of Global Principles for Nonpartisan Election Observation and Monitoring by Citizen Organizations. Aware of the common challenges that election observation networks face worldwide, a platform was created in 2010 to draft this Declaration. So far, it has been translated into several languages and endorsed by many networks and officially by the United Nations in 2012.

Darko Aleksov added that acting under the principles of the Declaration helped his network regulate itself and provide information to its constituents in a better and more credible way. He then shared good practices that his network implemented in Macedonia. The project, "Mobile Parliament Meeting," consisted of drawing members of parliament (MPs) outside their offices to meet directly with the people and thus make them more accountable. They also created performance cards to monitor MP activities. They continued to diversify their activities by monitoring local councils and reform implementation.

Alejandra Barrios remarked that the Declaration has three useful dimensions: a political dimension that we have to exploit so the quality of the process reflects the democratic nature of the government and citizens have political control of their country; a citizen dimension to strengthen citizen observation; and a legislative dimension in which rights and obligations are framed. She emphasized that the challenge now is to find a way to measure compliance with the Declaration so it will become more than a simple text.

## Discussion

The workshop participants spoke about their experiences and raised several key issues:

- A participant from Lebanon said that the Declaration helped his network gain legitimacy and ownership. He also acknowledged that the Declaration was drafted through an organic, participatory, and consensual process that made it and the GNDEM both useful and legitimate.
- A participant from Asia stated that election management bodies (EMBs) have generally tough attitudes towards observation groups and fear the term "watchdog." However, the Declaration helped observation groups to convince EMBs that they share

the same goals and values and can thus work together.

► To monitor compliance with the Declaration, some observation groups make it part of their annual general assembly agenda by discussing how they give meaning to the Declaration and how the network complies with the Declaration's principles.

► A participant raised the importance of differentiating between a centralized network that has a strong secretariat for sharing knowledge and information, and a "flat" network that has a low-profile secretariat, thus giving more ownership to its members. While the former can be more efficient, it limits ownership compared to the latter. When building a network, therefore, it is important to decide which kind of network one wants and then formulate its structure accordingly.

► A participant from Kenya added that the Declaration also covers human rights protection issues, which thus broadens its implications. The Declaration can therefore play the role of a social contract between citizens and the government because it conveys the duties and principles for both of them. It is the networks' role to consolidate the influence of the Declaration by expanding its audience and widely sharing knowledge of its benefits.

► A member of a Nicaraguan observation group described her experience. In 2006, she said, the government abandoned democracy to consolidate its power and the economy. The observation group directly suffered from this shift and used the Declaration as a key resource to highlight the fraud and to develop indicators to work in this newly repressive environment.



## Building Democracy Movements: Moving from Online to Offline for Effective Activism

### ORGANIZERS:

**Dosta! Movement**  
(Bosnia-Herzegovina)

**Vision of Tomorrow** (Russia)

### MODERATOR:

**Ivana Howard** – National  
Endowment for Democracy—NED  
(U.S.)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**Darko Brkan** – Dosta! Movement  
(Bosnia-Herzegovina)

### PRESENTERS:

**Esraa Abdelfattah Rashid** – Egyptian  
Democratic Academy (Egypt)

**Oleg Kozlovsky** –  
Vision of Tomorrow (Russia)

**Darko Brkan** – Dosta! Movement  
(Bosnia-Herzegovina)

The aim of this workshop was to reflect on the growing trend of online activism, and to determine its implications for the broader field of activism and democracy-building processes, as well as to facilitate an exchange of experiences in integrating online and offline work as effective strategies. The first part of the workshop examined past examples and experiences in using online tools, with a focus on work in Egypt, Russia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, and highlighted lessons learned by the democracy movements in those countries.

Concerning the distinction between real online activism and so-called “slacktivism” (a term that combines the words “slacker” and “activism,” referring to people who support social, political, and other causes exclusively online but without any practical effect and only for personal satisfaction), there was agreement that online activism cannot be separated from offline work. An activist must organize public events, develop strategies, and engage others in carrying out different actions to advance his or her cause. Online activism is but one stage in a cycle of activism, not an activity in and of itself. It is one tool in a set of tools to carry out activism generally and can serve to channel and articulate people’s views. The Internet is thus a great tool, but it cannot address every problem. It is the job of activists to find the best ways to use online tools to help address offline challenges that affect citizens.

The Egyptian experience provides an interesting example of how activists have used public grievances and frustration to mobilize citizens by using online tools (Facebook in particular), and to give them direction to pursue change, according to Esraa Abdelfattah Rashid in her opening presentation. Turning a Facebook group into a tool to communicate with more than 70,000 people began with a call to several friends to go out and watch a movie. A key moment transformed this group from several hundred people who were in-

terested in a film into a movement of tens of thousands who would support a workers’ strike. Using Facebook was the main way to mobilize successfully those people who could not previously demonstrate on the streets. Social media thus helped to give them a sense of solidarity, organization, and strategy in far less time than would have been needed otherwise.

It is important to note that applying the term “Facebook Revolution” to the Egyptian Revolution is inaccurate because Facebook was not the essence of the protests; it was only a clever means used to engage people. The key aspect of the Revolution was the people’s determination to bring about change. Perhaps the best illustration of this point is that during the main protests there was no Internet or mobile connections available; the only form of communication was landline phones. However, the protests might not have grown as large as they did or become as known as they were if it were not for the use of social media. For example, the Internet was crucial for getting the word out about the murder of Khaled Saeed, a young Egyptian killed in Alexandria on June 6, 2010 under questionable circumstances after being arrested by Egyptian police. His death and photos of his corpse sparked the popular mobilization that led to the Egyptian Revolution in 2011. The Internet was thus used as a tool to help facilitate the Revolution, not to create it.

In his opening presentation, Darko Brkan described the case of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the 2008 protests against the local government of Sarajevo, which was an important example for the discussion. Again, online tools were only part of a strategy. The Dosta! Movement was created as a civic initiative by a few members of an Internet forum. Over time, it grew visibly online, but the Movement needed an offline victory to gain greater credibility. The murder of a boy on a tram provided a spark of rage that the Movement channeled—through its Internet tools—to organize

and build protests expressing the public's widespread dissatisfaction with the Sarajevo government. The protests in February 2008 allowed the Movement to press for demands that certain politicians lose their positions, which met with success.

In Russia, according to Oleg Kozlovsky, while there was growing social discontent, it became increasingly difficult to engage people in public protests. This can be attributed to a lack of trust in collective action, which is common under authoritarian regimes. The conventional wisdom was that it was too dangerous to go into the streets and that friends and family would view it as a stupid and naïve act. The Internet provided an open space that allowed people to feel more comfortable about writing and commenting critically online. While Russian activists managed to engage a large part of the online community, however, the public refused to turn out and protest. The 2011 election then provided the needed spark. Activists employed several online tools that harnessed the strong, emotional feelings generated by widespread fraud, which helped people overcome their apathy and fear. As a result, on December 4th that year, there was a protest in which 1,000 to 2,000 people took part, which was easily dispersed by the police. The following day, 5,000 to 8,000 people turned out, and the following Saturday 50,000 people were in the streets. Again, the activists successfully combined their online and offline work to bring about a real change in public mobilization.

While particular incidents served as important sparks in each of these cases, the workshop participants agreed during the ensuing discussion that a dramatic incident, such as a death, is fortunately not always necessary. Alternative examples include the 6th of April workers strike in Egypt, for which the catalyst was a rise in prices, and the campaign calling for the prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina to resign given revelations of property acquired through corruption. Participants concluded that while an extraordinary incident can be important, successful online actions are also often the result of years of offline activism. The Internet enabled activists in the countries discussed to act quickly at the right moment and to seize that moment, and a combination of online and offline creativity was able to capture the public's attention.

The workshop participants also agreed that sustaining online campaigns is among the toughest challenges for activists. The best approaches seem to lie in understanding important political and social dynamics, listening to the voices of the people, and engaging them at the right time in order to inspire them to act

and push for real change. It was also emphasized that online campaigns should promote and celebrate small achievements at regular intervals.

Following the opening presentations and discussion, the workshop also took up the cases of Colombia, Argentina, and Bolivia. In Colombia, several powerful online movements emerged, such as campaigns against violence, mobilization around elections, and to engage university students, but none managed to succeed offline. In addition, special challenges, such as reaching out to marginalized groups, such as indigenous peoples in Bolivia and Argentina, were also raised.

The second part of the workshop featured a discussion on using online tools in the future and ways to build on the experiences that were presented. Concerning the audience and how to expand the number of those engaged, both the Russian and Egyptian cases demonstrate that only a small number of citizens can become involved through online tools, but a small group is important, since social media is generally able to attract and reach key agents of change. This is critical because traditional media do not generally pick up on the outcomes of social networking.

One way to utilize online tools in a sustainable way is to focus on activity around elections, which take place regularly. For instance, in Russia, there are several impressive online parallel voting and election monitoring tools, including [www.mashina.org](http://www.mashina.org) and [www.kartanarusheniy.org](http://www.kartanarusheniy.org).

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, online election-related work focuses on holding incumbent politicians accountable by examining their pre-election promises and post-election performance. The Truth-o-Meter ([www.istinomer.ba](http://www.istinomer.ba)) focuses on evaluating election programs of governing parties and politicians; its influence is now helping to frame election campaigns. A version of the Truth-o-Meter, in Serbia ([www.istinomer.rs](http://www.istinomer.rs)), has demonstrated that the use of such tools can be sustained in between elections; in fact, this innovative online tool has been so successful that it has been replicated throughout the entire Balkans region.

Of course, not every online tool or action is successful. The experience of the Egyptian constitutional referendum campaign is one example, and its failure can be very instructive. Activists should always offer alternatives to online activism, have a timely plan, and begin early. Before going online, they should know the situation on the ground accurately. The Nigerian case shows that different civil society organizations using the same tools, such as multiple Ushahidi election platforms, can produce poor results and confuse

users. In Central Europe, there is a growing feeling of helplessness because a combination of more developed online tools and increasingly available information is not producing essential change.

Participants concluded that the best way to ensure success in moving activism from online to offline, and from offline to online, is to make them parallel and re-

petitive processes and to develop an integrated strategy that will best combine and utilize all tools in the most appropriate way for each specific situation. An online presence is a necessary and useful tool, but it is most successfully used when integrated with offline work in the course of a long-term, coherent strategy.

## Preparing Civil Society for the Potential of Breakthrough Elections

### ORGANIZER:

**Forum Asia** (Thailand)

### MODERATOR:

**Swee Seng Yap** –  
Forum Asia (Thailand)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**Laura London** – International  
Republican Institute—IRI (U.S.)

### PRESENTERS:

**Benigno Alarcon** – Fundación  
para la Organización del Desarrollo  
en las Américas—FODA (Venezuela)

**Oleg Kozlovsky** – Vision of Tomorrow  
(Russia)

**Ben Suffian** – Merdeka Center for  
Opinion Research (Malaysia)

**José Luis Martin “Chito” Gascon** –  
Office of Political Affairs, Government of  
The Philippines (The Philippines)

**E**lections—generally the symbol of a country’s commitment to democratic values and political equality—are all too often co-opted by authoritarian regimes as a means of attaining legitimacy while simultaneously assuring control. In circumstances in which elections are neither free nor fair and results are pre-determined, civil society can and must still play a role in advancing democracy. This workshop thus focused on the mobilization of civil society as a counterforce to the governing party, with an emphasis on preparing civil society for breakthrough elections and maintaining momentum in post-election periods, in cases of both victory and defeat. The workshop moderator, Swee Seng Yap, set the narrative for the discussion by defining three contextual scenarios that determine civil society’s role in breakthrough elections: First, in circumstances of authoritarian rule where reform elections are highly unlikely, if not impossible; second, under conditions of legitimate competition where there is great potential for a breakthrough election; and third, in post-election transitions where democracy risks backsliding if it is not properly consolidated.

In his opening presentation, Benigno Alarcon discussed the failure of Venezuela’s opposition to achieve a breakthrough in recent elections. To move beyond this defeat, Mr. Alarcon stressed the importance of viewing elections as a small part of a larger game:

civil society must work to create the conditions necessary for the potential of breakthrough elections, a process that may last many election cycles. Conditions conducive to reform elections are contingent upon the government’s assessment of the risks of oppression versus those of tolerance, the balance between opposition parties, and the capacity for real, competitive elections. The likely scenario for Venezuela is one of “rupture and reform,” according to which reform occurs via levels of negotiation between moderate stakeholders, since the regime finds itself unable to remain in power through elections but unable to stay in power by any other means. No matter the circumstances, civil society must not abandon its political space, since it is only through participation that civil society can adapt itself to the sophisticated mechanisms of oppression used by the regime.

According to Oleg Kozlovsky, participation is also essential even in cases where the candidates are pre-selected and elections are predetermined. The demobilization of the opposition—a result of boycotting elections—rids it of potential momentum and removes the opportunity to achieve symbolic victories through which reform progress is made. In the case of the Russian elections, he said, the opposition was able to delegitimize the election results by exposing violations and fraud at polling stations, and protests on an unprecedented scale have kept the opposition fervent.

As an economically stable country with a relatively responsive central government, Malaysia presents a unique context for a discussion on this topic, according to Ben Suffian. Mr. Suffian discussed the changing role of Malaysia's civil society, which has traditionally been found only in the upper tiers of society and has largely been kept out of political undertakings. Due to greater technological access, however, through which civil society has increasingly been exposed to the corruption and mismanagement of the government, as well as to the election results in 2004, which were disastrous for the opposition, it has a new recognition of the importance of political activism. In recent years, academics and civil society organizations have come together to create a common agenda on electoral and media reform, recognizing that a united opposition is crucial to achieving breakthrough elections. It is with the momentum from this movement that 2013 is a year of hope for Malaysian breakthrough elections.

Having had its breakthrough elections in 1986, The Philippines offered a context for the discussion that had yet to be addressed. Chito Gascon spoke of the importance of viewing breakthrough elections as part of a continuum in which important steps must be taken prior to the elections, during campaigns, and after the breakthrough. In elections leading up to a potential breakthrough, civil society must evaluate expectations and set a proper narrative. Armed with this narrative, small or symbolic victories can generate crucial momentum, even if outright electoral victory is not achieved. Adopting international standards for free and fair elections and mobilizing both local and international support on the ground for election monitoring is also very important.

## Challenges

- Uniting the opposition is the main challenge to achieving breakthrough elections, but it is key to establishing a viable alternative to the ruling regime. Opposition parties must present a common agenda to solicit support that is sufficient to counter the ruling party. While divisions among the opposition will inevitably become clear after the elections, it is important to put differences aside when the goal is to replace an entrenched regime.
- Maintaining momentum after failing to achieve a breakthrough election is difficult, particularly when expectations were high. It is important to keep civil society members politically active and in communication with each other in between election periods. Russian civil society shows that this can be done through apolitical endeavors, such as keeping civil society members interacting through humanitarian or charitable work.

## Recommendations

- Always participate! Refusing to participate because elections will not be free and fair takes away the opposition's opportunity to capitalize on symbolic victories, and of learning new campaign skills. Non-participation stunts the potential growth of the opposition movement by demobilizing civil society entirely.
- Frame the narrative and manage expectations. Ground can be gained even in circumstances of certain electoral defeat. By framing the narrative of the elections, progress can be appreciated as a slowly evolving and incremental concept. It is important to celebrate strategic gains and victories, no matter how small they are, to keep up the spirit, motivation, and momentum of the movement.
- Empower the people. Mobilize local and international support to ensure the transparency and validity of election results, so that the people themselves can expose irregularities and demand fair elections.

# Defending Civil Society

## Plenary Session

### Preventing Backsliding from Democracy: The Role of Civil Society

**ORGANIZER:**  
**World Movement Secretariat**

**MODERATOR:**  
**Nadia Diuk** – National Endowment  
for Democracy—NED (U.S.)

**RAPPORTEUR:**  
**Ivana Howard** – NED (U.S.)

**PRESENTERS:**  
**László Rajk** – University of Theatre  
and Film Art (Hungary)

**Mehmet Sanar Yurdatapan** –  
Freedom of Expression Association  
(Turkey)

**Inna Pidluska** – International  
Renaissance Foundation (Ukraine)

**Mauricio Alarcón Salvador** –  
FUNDAMEDIOS (Ecuador)

This plenary session began with the recognition that following a democratic breakthrough, the seeds of backsliding are already contained in a country's movement towards democracy. In other words, it should be expected that backsliding will occur in new democracies at some point, and we should thus treat it as a qualitatively different process than a transition and prepare to deal with it accordingly.

### Presentations

According to László Rajk in his opening presentation, the long-term effects of backsliding are corrosive, and can create vicious cycles in which countries with weak democratic traditions can be particularly vulnerable. For example, the imperative in democracies is to win elections, but when democratic institutions are not yet consolidated and the political culture is not yet mature, the electoral process can easily regress through the use of nationalism and populism in campaigns. In Hungary, where nationalism is seen as one of the causes of backsliding, recent elections have centered on nationalist and populist rhetoric, using themes like “independence” from globalization, fight against the EU bureaucracy, and protect national interests. Joining a larger international community like the EU, brings many advantages to a country, but also means giving up some sovereignty, which is then exploited by populist politicians as a campaign tactic.

In his opening presentation, Mehmet Sanar Yurdatapan remarked that in Turkey, nationalism is not just popular but is also broadly understood as being a virtue; it is a sign of an individual's commitment to collective rather than personal prosperity, but this attitude comes at the expense of the country's minorities, particularly the Kurds. In turn, this then allows Turkish nationalists to use the minority issue as an excuse to stifle freedom of expression and other elements of democracy.

In Ukraine, according to Inna Pidluska, the government uses “traditional values” rather than nationalism to foster nondemocratic tendencies. Ms. Pidluska outlined four signs of backsliding drawn from the experience of Ukraine: The first is a shrinking space for freedom, a process that creeps up and often goes unnoticed by the public. Freedom of expression, for example, often starts with self-censorship. Public information becomes increasingly incomplete, inaccurate, and hard to access; consequently, the government stops letting people know what it is doing. Second, corruption becomes so widespread that citizens accept it as a norm. Third, trust in institutions declines, as their legitimacy is replaced with legality. The final indicator is the selective application of justice, most poignantly illustrated in the recent selective prosecution of opposition leaders in the country.

Evidence from Ecuador confirms the trends outlined by Ms. Pidluska, particularly in the areas of corruption and freedom of expression. Mauricio Alarcon Salvador cited in his opening presentation the worrying trends in

his home country, where over 150 attacks on press freedom have been registered recently, including lawsuits against journalists and media critical of the government. Citizens are even prosecuted for simply expressing their dissatisfaction with the authorities. The right of access to public information is limited and journalists who reveal information on political leaders' conflict of interest cases are prosecuted and imprisoned. More than 200 civil rights defenders have been tried under the guise of being threats to national security. Consequently, citizens are afraid to publically protest.

In both Ukraine and Ecuador, backsliding has led to a divorce between the government and society. At the same time, these countries have seen the rise of Government NGOs (GONGOs) and other forms of fake democracy.

## Discussion

Following the opening presentations, the plenary discussion produced a number of points:

For some countries, the process of joining an inter-governmental organization, such as the EU, initially bolstered their systems of checks and balances. However, gaining a stronghold on power allows elected parties to begin attacking national democratic institutions, including checks and balances, that in a young democracy play a key role in democratic consolidation. Therefore, according to Mr. Rajk, one of the first key tests for the EU will be whether it decides to exercise the tools at its disposal and actually punish member states that fail to comply with its rules.

For countries that aspire to EU membership, incentives for reform have also been significantly weakened by the increasingly remote prospects of accession. The pushback experienced by Turkey, for example, has resulted in a weakened enthusiasm for membership among the population. This is one of the reasons why more has to be done from within these countries to reverse backsliding trends.

In Ukraine, civil society is rising to the challenge and has prevented specific cases of backsliding through efforts that bring together domestic NGOs and media with representatives of the international community and sympathetic political forces.

In Turkey, civil society has been successful in creating an alternative public dialogue with decision makers. Mr. Yurdatapan described the establishment of small provincial assemblies as a new method of communication in which NGOs, trade associations, and chambers of commerce meet every month to discuss national and local issues of interest and present them to their district members of parliament and mayors. This process, which involves no decision making, allows civil society to identify common issues across the country and present them to the Parliament for consideration.

For Ecuador, the challenge is greater, since the government has successfully divided and coopted civil society. Therefore, the first major challenge is to create a new civil society whose role will be to promote democratic values, defend democratic institutions and values at risk, and advocate for proactive measures to help consolidate democracy.

## Final Observations

The plenary discussion concluded with several important observations. Backsliding is a broader trend to which we should pay greater attention, and we should expect it after democratic breakthroughs. It encourages a vicious cycle through the use of populism, and is characterized by the creation of GONGOs, limits on freedom of expression, and manipulation of nationalist and traditional values. However, new governments prone to backsliding are also sensitive to international pressure and their own populations because they have established quasi democratic credentials for which they want recognition. Civil society is perhaps the best weapon to oppose backsliding and put democratic transitions back on course.

# Panel Discussion

## Defending Civil Society: Addressing Threats to Freedom of Association and Assembly Online

### ORGANIZERS:

**World Movement Secretariat**

**International Center for  
Not-for-Profit Law—ICNL**

### MODERATOR:

**Ladan Boroumand** –  
Abdollahman Boroumand  
Foundation (*Iran*)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**Waruguru Kaguongo** – ICNL  
(*Kenya*)

### PRESENTERS:

**Maina Kiai** – UN Special Rapporteur  
on the Rights to Freedom of Peaceful  
Assembly and of Association (*Kenya*)

**Doug Rutzen** – ICNL (*U.S.*)

**Maria Leissner** – Community of  
Democracies (*Sweden*)

## Background and Challenges

Before World War II, the nation-state dominated the world political stage as the sole recognized actor. But after the war, with the consecration of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the individual emerged as the primary bearer of rights replacing the nation-state and imposing upon the latter the obligation of protecting and defending the individual's rights. Over the last 60 years, the international recognition of the individual's autonomy and rights, including the right to have a say in decisions that affect his or her life, has resulted in progressive but profound changes. Civil society organizations have emerged as new actors on the political and social stage. As the role and impact of the forces of civil society grew over the years, so did the harshness and sophistication of the counter-attack orchestrated by authoritarian states unwilling to accept the unalienable autonomy of the individual and his/her right to associate and organize in different forms to push for his/her chosen political or social agenda.

The *Defending Civil Society* report, produced by the World Movement and the International Center for Not-for-Profit Law (ICNL), has analyzed the legislative and political arsenal the authoritarian or semi-authoritarian states have put in place to silence the forces of civil society and deny their rights. As repressive governments have stepped up their efforts to restrict civil society space, the Internet has become the latest arena in which civil society is pushing back. This workshop focused on how the virtual arena still available to civil society forces can be strengthened and protected. It explored the challenges faced within the virtual political space and how they can be overcome.

At the beginning of this workshop, participants responded to a series of multiple choice questions on the

topic, and their responses revealed how widespread the use of the Internet has become as a means of expression, association, and assembly. Most participants indicated that they use Facebook and/or Twitter mainly to disseminate news and information, but also to associate with other online groups and to meet or discuss issues online. None of the participants use social media to fundraise.

The ensuing workshop discussion indicated that the opportunities for using social media to exercise freedoms of assembly and association are enormous. YouTube, for instance, received over 1 trillion views in 2011 and the most popular Twitter hashtag in 2011 was #Egypt, while in the last 12 months it has been #Moscow. The use of Skype, Google Hangout, and Magic Jack has been increasing due to affordability, reliability, and anonymity.

Repressive governments have long controlled access to means of communication, such as typewriters, photocopiers, fax machines, and radio, among others, while using the same media to disseminate their propaganda. The same rationale applies to the Internet, as governments try to constrain Internet use by retaining users' personal data, including the web sites they have visited and the content they have downloaded; using data to trace and crack down on online activists; and blocking access to web sites or pulling down material posted on the Internet. Threats also result in Internet users' engaging in self-censorship to protect themselves and other users. Non-state actors, such as multinational corporations, have also been implicated in restricting access to the Internet either directly or in collaboration with governments.

The UN Human Rights Council has emphasized that "offline" rights must also be protected online. The Special Rapporteurs on freedom of peaceful assembly and

association and on freedom of expression have elaborated norms and standards to guide states, and they can provide activists with important advocacy tools.

## Recommendations

- There should be initiatives to encourage governments to respect existing norms on freedom of expression, peaceful assembly, and association, for example, making it costly for governments to resort to restrictive practices.
- Develop an understanding of “association” and “assembly” to include online activities, thus taking advantage of existing international human rights

norms and mechanisms to protect rights to association and assembly online.

- Train activists in digital security.
- Mobilize activists to exploit spaces still available to express themselves, for example, encouraging those not using the Internet or mobile phones in their work to do so; take advantage of the inefficiencies states experience when trying to control numerous Internet users.
- Encourage the effective protection of citizens under threat, for example, by rapid mobilization of activists to respond to emergency situations.

## Workshops

### Defending Civil Society: How to Work in Legally Repressive Environments?

#### ORGANIZERS:

**Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition**  
(Zimbabwe)

**Center for National and International Studies** (Azerbaijan)

#### MODERATOR:

**Leila Alieva** – Center for National and International Studies (Azerbaijan)

#### RAPPOREUR:

**Okay Machisa** – Crisis in Zimbabwe Coalition (Zimbabwe)

#### PRESENTERS:

**Christopher Walker** – International Forum for Democratic Studies, NED (U.S.)

**Khin Lay** – National League for Democracy/TRIANGLE Women Support Group (Burma)

**Carlos Ponce** – Latin American and Caribbean Network for Democracy—Redlad (Venezuela)

## Observations

Christopher Walker opened the session by describing the context of legally repressive environments. He recommended a recent book by William Dobson, entitled *The Dictator's Learning Curve*, and highlighted the following points:

- The main objective of these repressive regimes is to disrupt and prevent meaningful information sharing and political coordination. This objective is distinct from the overwhelming control of every aspect of life characteristic of totalitarian regimes. Instead, current dictators apply calibrated pressure designed to address what matters most, which includes the security of the regime. To illustrate, there is a gulf between the Russia of today and the Brezhnev period of the Soviet Union. In Russia today, unlike in the Soviet Union, there is a tremendous amount of information available and

only limited efforts to block travel or personal commercial activity. But there are significant political restrictions in place.

- Repression cannot be understood purely in legal terms, but also within a broader context. For example, the media are often used to de-legitimize civil society, which in turn paves the way for the tolerance of legal repression.
- At the domestic level, repressive regimes are applying rule by law, rather than the rule of law. Laws are applied selectively and designed to restrict critical voices. The use of law in this way gives regimes a veneer of respectability and the ability to veil their actions behind a cloak of law. Moreover, there is often the “illusion of choice” whereby independent actors must compete with Government NGOs (or GONGOs) and other faux organizations and “independent” scholars. In such circumstances,

genuinely independent NGOs may struggle to deliver their messages. Moreover, they may be perceived as the voice of the political opposition, even where they are politically neutral.

► At the international level, the “appetite is in the eating.” Countries with ambition and resources—e.g., Iran, Russia, Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, China—are using their influence to set lower standards in international settings. For example, in the OSCE, some countries seek to circumscribe work on election monitoring with implications for all 56 OSCE member countries.

► It is important to note that the regimes are taking these steps because they see civil society as an effective and potentially threatening player.

Khin Lay then described how civil society operates in Burma:

► Prior to 2008, there was no independent civil society in Burma, only some UN agencies, GONGOs, and business associations. Anyone carrying a copy of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights could be arrested.

► Following the elections in 2010 and 2012, the current transition period has witnessed much progress in the social and political arenas. Some political prisoners have been released; new laws are being drafted relating to freedom of association; an NGO law is pending in Parliament, which will address the registration of nongovernmental organizations.

► NGOs have been successful in forming networks to defend civic space and to push back against governmental action (e.g., the construction of a dam). The student movement in Burma has a long history of commitment to fighting for human rights. The movement has largely been underground, but has never disappeared, and is ongoing, despite the risks.

For his part, Carlos Ponce emphasized two important points:

► Authoritarians learn from each other, and NGOs should do the same. There is a need to be innovative, to use social networking and the Internet creatively, and to share ideas among those in different countries and across sectors.

► NGOs should break away from donor-based thinking; they should set their own agendas and refuse donor funding to pursue priorities that don't make sense for their mission goals.

## Challenges

► There are emerging donor patterns that cause some concern. For example, emphasis on results-based approaches is unrealistic. A human rights-based approach would be preferable. In addition, the privatization of democracy support is unhelpful and misguided. Moreover, democracy work must be done by local organizations and individuals, while donors often prefer to support international organizations.

► We are beginning to witness the phenomenon of “policy laundering” whereby democratic states use international organizations (e.g., the Financial Action Task Force, FATF) to impose policies on other countries that would not be accepted by the democratic states themselves.

► The “donor knows best” approach is problematic.

## Recommendations

► NGOs should take advantage of international mechanisms.

► NGOs should stick to their mandates and resist corruption.

► NGOs should recognize the necessity of working together.

► NGOs should work with donors to promote a funding relationship marked by flexibility and meaningful impact evaluation.

► Donor governments should invest more in youth and social media.

► Donor governments should engage NGOs in planning funding priorities.

## Additional Observations

► Regimes are sensitive to international pressure, even while their confidence is growing.

► In addition to legally repressive regimes, there are semi-authoritarian states where some space is allowed for protest, but nothing ever changes.

► Established democracies sometimes play a role in perpetuating repression in other countries. Moreover, donor states are often reluctant to grant visas to activists seeking to flee countries of repression.

► We should focus not only on urban areas, but consider how to empower NGOs in rural communities as well.

► The development of an independent business sector is relevant and important to civil society development.

► NGOs are often too reactive and need to plan and carry out proactive strategies.

## Defending Journalists under Attack: What are the Best Strategies?

### ORGANIZERS:

**Center for Media Freedom and Responsibility**—CMFR  
(The Philippines)

**Freedom House** (Mexico)

### MODERATOR:

**Melinda Quintos de Jesus** –  
CMFR (The Philippines)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**Mariclaire Acosta Urquidi** –  
Freedom House (Mexico)

### PRESENTERS:

**Cynthia Cárdenas** – Independent  
Consultant (Mexico)

**Masuma Hasan** – Aurat Foundation  
Pakistan (Pakistan)

**Sandra Romero** – Fundación para la  
Libertad de Prensa (Colombia)

The main objective of this workshop was to identify effective strategies to counter threats to freedom of expression from attacks against journalists. This was undertaken by a brief analysis of two different types of hostile environments against journalists and freedom of the press: those in which there are clear lines of attack against journalists, such as situations of armed or severe political conflict, and those in which the boundaries are unclear and attacks may come from a variety of sources, which are often unexpected or unidentified. Such is the case of attacks coming from criminal elements, corrupt government officials, including, in some cases, suicide bombings.

When threats to the space in which journalists work appear, it was pointed out, journalists can mobilize to help themselves, and international support is important in these cases. However, when physical violence is involved, it becomes more difficult for journalists to help themselves through mobilization, especially when the state is complicit in the violence. In this latter case, the only real remedy is to strengthen society's security at large, especially by addressing the issue of impunity in the criminal justice system.

The general discussion during the workshop centered on the different vulnerabilities of journalists in many parts of the world. Poor labor conditions and low professional standards stood out, among other situations, such as the lack of organization of members of the profession, the lack of support from editors and publishers, and, in general, the lack of social support for journalists in many quarters.

One important point that came across is that society as a whole should protect its journalists. This entails an effort to promote media literacy so that the important role that journalists play is well understood. This is related to education and to the successful organization of journalists to protect themselves and their work. It

is also important to promote codes of ethics for journalism in order to gain social respect and support for journalists' work.

An important part of the discussion centered around attacks on journalists connected to the content of their work through defamation, blasphemy, and security laws, etc. This is the case especially under repressive regimes, but is not limited to them. The cases of journalists in Vietnam, Bahrain, and Sri Lanka were considered.

The situations of "citizen journalists" and bloggers were also considered because they are especially vulnerable in every part of the world and badly in need of help in many cases. Training in digital security and professional ethics is vital to protect them.

The workshop discussion made clear that journalism can be regarded in a broader sense as a profession, and that the situation of citizen journalists should become part of the mainstream discussion on the protection of journalists.

## Recommendations

- International mechanisms for solidarity, both formal and informal, should be strengthened and possible new ones should be explored.
- The content of journalism and the conduct of journalists should be supported by strong ethical values.
- Fighting impunity of attacks against journalists in the criminal justice system is vital.
- Documenting cases of attacks and collecting data about them is essential.
- The creation of alliances and networks is also essential.
- Carefully managing newsroom protocols is important for security.
- Media literacy for the public should be promoted.

- Press councils and journalist unions should be created and supported.
- Digital security and ethics trainings should be developed for bloggers.

- Knowledge of the important role of journalists and the importance of freedom of expression should be disseminated widely to the public.
- National protection programs for journalists should be encouraged and strengthened.

## The Defending Civil Society Toolkit – Tips for Engaging in NGO Law Reform

### ORGANIZERS:

**World Movement  
for Democracy Secretariat**

### International Center

**for Not-for-Profit Law—ICNL (U.S.)**

### MODERATORS:

**Ryota Jonen** – World  
Movement Secretariat (*Japan*)

**David Moore** – ICNL (*U.S.*)

### RAPPOREUR:

**Ryota Jonen** – World Movement  
Secretariat (*Japan*)

### PRESENTERS:

**Inna Pidluska** – International  
Renaissance Foundation (*Ukraine*)

**Ryota Jonen** – World Movement  
Secretariat (*Japan*)

**W**hile understanding that workshop participants attended from different political and social contexts, they recognized a common challenge during this workshop: increasingly restrictive legal environments for civil society. The workshop thus focused on sharing practical experiences in various efforts to improve legal environments.

### Background

In 2007 the World Movement for Democracy and the International Center for Not-for-Profit Law (ICNL) launched the Defending Civil Society project to address the global trend of shrinking civil society space. In 2008, the World Movement and ICNL published the *Defending Civil Society* report, highlighting ways that various governments constrain civil society and articulating the international norms that ought to govern proper government-civil society relationships. The report was updated and re-issued in June 2012. In addition to facilitating discussions at the national, regional, and international levels about those international norms, the World Movement and ICNL also collected examples of practical strategies and tools that more than 400 civil society organizations (CSOs) and practitioners have used to engage in legal reform initiatives. With these practical strategies, tools, and experiences, the World Movement and ICNL launched the “Defending Civil Society Toolkit – Tips for Engaging in NGO Law Reform” in June 2012.

The Report and Toolkit can be found in multiple languages at: [www.defendingcivilsociety.org](http://www.defendingcivilsociety.org).

During this workshop, the moderators used the Toolkit (particularly Chapter 2, on Engaging Civil Society, and Chapter 5, on Engaging Government) to facilitate an exchange of best practices and experiences among the participants.

### Engaging Civil Society

The workshop discussion addressed three main issues in Chapter 2 of the Toolkit: how to mobilize the civil society sector to engage in legal reform initiatives and enhance civil society space; how to use local analysis in legal reform initiatives; and how to communicate messages to society more broadly.

Participants first shared their experiences in how benefiting from overarching political reforms helped mobilize civil society. These experiences came from five cases:

- **Ukraine:** CSOs mobilized to work with the government to improve the NGO law in 2008 because under the EU-Ukraine Association agreement, improving the law was stated as a priority. In April 2012, the improved NGO law was finally passed by the Parliament.
- **The Philippines:** After the transition to democracy in the late 1980s, the NGO sector drastically expanded. With this rapid growth, a need emerged for a self-regulation mechanism. A network of NGOs thus adopted a code of ethics, outlining the

standards for managing and operating an organization and relating to donors. Given the establishment of this code of ethics, The Philippines has no NGO law, just a code of ethics for companies.

► Ecuador: In 2008, the government issued Decree 218, imposing tighter regulations on NGOs, including a vague basis for their dissolution. Responding to this change in the political environment, a meeting was convened with 60 organizations to build a coalition to promote reform of the Decree. The coalition provided its members with advocacy training on how to organize, analyze legal frameworks, and prepare for discussions with the government. This helped build confidence of CSOs in their own power.

► Thailand: The case of Thailand shows that changes in the political environment do not necessarily help mobilize civil society, but sometimes create new challenges. While civil society was very strong in the 1980s and 1990s, the current polarized political environment has weakened and divided the sector.

► Bolivia: Networks of civil society groups met over 15 times to educate themselves on international law and standards and political processes for legal reform. This helped civil society not only to build consensus on priority concerns and issues, as well as approaches to reform, but also to prepare joint proposals to the government. Moreover, the process helped convey the strong legitimacy of the proposals to the government.

The workshop discussion also highlighted the roles of local and international CSOs, as the experiences of three countries demonstrated:

► Sierra Leone: In 2009, the government introduced new NGO Policy Regulations, and there was a need to analyze them from a civil society point of view. A local civil society group sought technical assistance from an international legal expert to analyze the Policy Regulations and measure them against international standards. With this international analysis in hand, the local civil society group then prepared its own analysis within the particular political context of Sierra Leone, which proved very helpful in deepening understanding of the Policy Regulations among local CSOs.

► Indonesia: During the Suharto dictatorship, local NGOs often invited foreign NGOs to participate in their activities given that the Suharto regime was reluctant to harass/arrest foreigners.

► Ukraine: While working with international groups is important for solidarity and technical and financial support, Ukrainian groups have been extremely careful about how their partnerships with international NGOs can be misperceived. In addition, local NGOs recognize the necessity of responding to local needs, which helps build their credibility and legitimacy.

The workshop also took up experiences in packaging advocacy messages in several countries:

► Venezuela: To engage the broader public, a CSO published a comic book, inserted in a daily newspaper, to highlight social issues and concerns and the possible impact of proposed constitutional reforms.

► Ukraine: A coalition of NGOs advocating for an improved NGO law produced pamphlets with simple illustrations and cartoon images that showed how easy it is to set up a business entity compared to an NGO. The coalition also related the ways in which NGOs contribute to Ukrainian society. For example, one cartoon indicated how health services are provided by NGOs in the country and how many people have benefited from them. The pamphlets were an important tool with which the coalition was able to mobilize support for its advocacy.

► The Philippines: CSOs often work with celebrities, such as internationally known music bands and actors, to capture attention.

► Sudan: The civil society sector formed a confederation of NGOs to strengthen and unite their voices.

## Engaging with Government

Chapter 5 of the Defending Civil Society Toolkit lists a number of tools and strategies for building dialogue with government. Using this information, the workshop discussion focused on the key elements for successful engagement with government. Participants emphasized the importance of “mapping” key individuals in the government; it is crucial to identify who has mandates and obligations to work on the process of reforming an NGO law, and among those individuals, it is important to identify a “champion” who is able to mobilize broad political support and enhance political will. CSOs should also be aware that the government is not monolithic, but is often a very fluid, dynamic, and changing composition of entities. The participants focused on examples from several countries:

► Ukraine: The government tends to be attentive when it is committed to delivering something

tangible. Its interest in European Union integration, the EU-Ukraine Plan of Action, and the World Bank's strategy for Ukraine helped ensure that the government was committed to improving the legal framework for NGOs.

► **Ukraine:** In drafting the NGO Law in 2008-12, many different departments of the government or committees of the Parliament submitted draft provisions reflecting different interests. Therefore, it was extremely important for NGOs to keep monitoring the development of the draft law as it kept changing. It was noted that when legal reform in Ukraine was taking place, many other laws were reformed (e.g., the security law and tax law) aside from the NGO law. Monitoring the development of those laws was crucial because they also affected the NGO sector.

► **Ukraine:** The formation of a cross-sectorial working group (made up of representatives of government, Parliament, NGOs, and independent experts) was a crucial means of engagement.

► **Morocco:** As the NGO sector decided to engage in a reform process, the NGOs had to grasp the nature of the "deep state" within the monarchical system of the country.

► **The Gambia:** Experiences in The Gambia indicate that the drafters of the NGO law in the government might not have been aware of issues related to the NGO sector; it is thus important to educate government officials as part of civil society advocacy efforts.

► **Ecuador:** Investing in long-term engagement with the government, an Ecuadorian CSO worked to engage and empower "mid-level" civil servants and government officials, but not "leaders," in its advocacy efforts because such officials tend to be more accessible and more directly involved in drafting laws and policies than their leaders. NGOs should map issues of shared concern to enhance opportunities for engagement.

► **Sierra Leone:** NGOs should take advantage of their personal relations with those in government to identify allies and find contact points for engagement.

The workshop participants also highlighted the importance of packaging persuasive messages to the government:

► **Ecuador:** Given the current, politically polarized environment, civil society's engagement with government officials might be more effective if it focuses on providing government agencies with apolitical technical assistance.

► **Sudan:** To avoid having advocacy efforts perceived as partisan, a participant from Sudan shared her experience of inviting officials from all political parties to a meeting being organized with government officials and parliamentarians. It was also noted that identifying the right messenger for a dialogue with the government, as well as effective communication with the public, were key. Based on the Sudanese civil society experience, social service groups or groups working on health and education can sometimes be better messengers than political and human rights groups. Academics can also be neutral actors in negotiations with the government. This underscores the importance of working with diverse sectors of society.

► **Sierra Leone:** Recognizing the importance of religious authorities in multi-religious societies, Sierra Leonean CSOs worked with the Inter-Religious Council in the country, and having it serve as a messenger, to make their advocacy more effective.

► **The Philippines:** A participant from The Philippines shared his experience as a senior government official and provided insight into how CSOs can approach the government. The government needs to deliver, he said; therefore, it would be easier for the government to build dialogue with CSOs if they can offer concrete, actionable recommendations. It is also important to use language and arguments that the government understands. Given the limitations under which a national government operates, such as the national budget, macro policies, and the high number of political actors and social sectors with which it must negotiate, CSOs can often make a bigger impact on reforms when working with local government instead.

The workshop participants agreed that this exchange of practical information and experiences was very helpful for reflecting on their own advocacy strategies and for developing new ideas. They recommended that the World Movement and ICNL continue to facilitate such information sharing at the country and regional levels.

## Challenges in Democracy Assistance: Confronting the New Authoritarianism

### ORGANIZERS:

**Democracy Digest** (U.S.)

### People in Need Foundation

(Czech Republic)

### MODERATOR:

**Michael Allen** –

Democracy Digest (UK)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**David Kral** – EUROPEUM  
Institute for European Policy  
(Czech Republic)

### PRESENTERS:

**Christopher Walker** –  
International Forum for  
Democratic Studies, NED (U.S.)

**Leila Aliyeva** – Center for National and  
International Studies (Azerbaijan)

**Rodrigo Diamanti** – World Without  
Censorship (Venezuela)

**Renee Xia** – Chinese Human Rights  
Defenders—CHRD (China)

**Marek Svoboda** – People in Need  
Foundation (Czech Republic)

The workshop began with the assumption that the situation of democracy assistance in the second decade of this century is significantly different from that of previous periods. Before 1989, democracy assistance was a highly contentious issue within the context of the Cold War because of the bipolar nature of the world at the time, but after the collapse of the USSR, a shift towards greater government-to-non-governmental cooperation and technical assistance in the building of democratic institutions was observed in many former communist countries. Another significant shift occurred in the aftermath of the “color revolutions,” which were viewed as endangering the already consolidated or semi-consolidated, but new, authoritarian regimes, which viewed those revolutions as potential dangers to their own existence. At the same time, these regimes attempted to appropriate the language of democracy by complementing it with various adjectives that they see as useful to them, such as “sovereign democracy” in Russia or “Bolivarian democracy” in Venezuela.

The authoritarian regimes then became much more sophisticated in their attempts to de-legitimize democracy assistance by portraying it as an intrusion into their national sovereignty. This can be easily illustrated by the recent expulsion of USAID from Russia or the crackdown on Western (especially US) donors and NGOs operating in Egypt. Another illustration of authoritarian regimes defending themselves through the use of democratic rhetoric is the proliferation of Government NGOs (or GONGOs), which are intended to give the impression of civil society serving as a check on government while in fact being under the full control of the government itself.

The nature of the new authoritarian regimes is some-

what ambiguous, but some common denominators can be identified that have helped them consolidate themselves and thus pose a challenge to the Western liberal order. For example, they are often not isolated, but have managed to integrate themselves into the global economic, political, or security structures. This makes it more difficult for Western policy makers to find calibrated responses to the actions of those regimes. They also often like to exploit the weaknesses of liberal democracies by raising their shortcomings, which is particularly easy during an economic crisis when these democracies are under the increased pressure of the international community and their own citizens and when populism is on the rise. Authoritarian regimes also often exhibit some features of democracy: they have elections (although they are often contested as unfair and flawed), which are often used for their self-legitimization. They are often doing economically well (for various reasons), and are often making progress in economic modernization by combining economic development with political control.

Several models of these new regimes can be seen today: Iran (Shia theocracy); Russia (post-Soviet kleptocracy); Saudi Arabia (Sunni theocracy); Venezuela (petrostate with personality cult); and China (which is the most difficult to classify or describe and was described in the discussion as a post-totalitarian, rather than “new authoritarian,” regime, which makes it quite distinct from the other models).

A common denominator among these regimes is that they are centered around a relatively narrow group of leaders, who make decisions with the aim of protecting their interests, thus not allowing meaningful participation of outsiders. Corruption is an indispensable element (it appears in all of them), and helps them to sus-

tain and survive (like the blood the human body needs to function). The regimes view these techniques as successful and are thus adopted by semi-authoritarian regimes, especially in sub-Saharan Africa and Latin America. The overall justification of their methods is “state sovereignty,” which is used both internationally (vis-à-vis the international community) and nationally (vis-à-vis the regimes’ own people). This often includes attempts at delegitimizing civil society and other opposition voices, complemented by a firm grasp over public media. Although the Internet is the principal challenge to maintaining control over public media, the proliferation of Internet access does not mean that politically relevant information is reaching the public.

Still, authoritarian regimes are sensitive to international pressure, which can be documented, for instance, by the Chinese government’s reaction to the Nobel Peace Prize given to dissident writer Liu Xiaobo in 2010. The populations in authoritarian countries also have grievances about the lack of basic goods and services, but the regimes keep control over their dissatisfied citizens through repression. One very large challenge facing the democracy assistance community is the state of civil society in these countries. They are often detached from the broader population and perceived as foreign agents, which helps support the regimes’ use of state sovereignty rhetoric to prevent democratization. One of the recommendations raised in the workshop discussion, therefore, is to involve the general public more in the activities of NGOs, whether through the delivery of social services, volunteerism, computer education, or foreign language training. Many NGOs have developed successful strategies that can be applied in free, partially free, and non-free countries. Sharing experiences can be done across different countries belonging to those three categories.

Another point noted in the workshop discussion is the “watering down” of the language of leaders from democratic countries when they address leaders of these new authoritarian regimes. It is becoming increasingly difficult to defend what can be perceived as a “double standard,” criticizing undemocratic practices in authoritarian regimes abroad while facing criticism for nondemocratic practices at home. Delivering critical messages to the broader public in democratic countries to increase their scrutiny of their own leaders’ statements thus represents an important challenge for civil society in established democracies.

The discussion focused on two cases of the new authoritarianism: Azerbaijan and Venezuela. As an oil-rich state, Azerbaijan shares some characteristics with

Russia and Kazakhstan. The distinctive feature is that it seeks to join Europe through the Eastern Partnership project. It is also geopolitically important for the EU’s energy security, and for this reason Azerbaijan cares about its European image. To some extent, however, it is a “Potemkin” village: its institutional façade is there to comfort the EU, but it is coupled with the persecution of journalists, bloggers, political activists, and average citizens of different classes who express discontent and can threaten the regime. Political prisoners are an important bargaining chip in negotiations with the EU or the U.S. If more domestic actors can be brought into negotiations between the West and the Azeri government there would be greater hope for change.

In the case of Venezuela, the recent presidential election represents another victory for modern dictatorship, but how did this happen? President Hugo Chavez was not only in control of political power, but also public opinion through his control over the media. He is also the top employer in Venezuela, employing 5 million people who enjoy related government benefits. State employees are frightened of the government knowing how they will vote and fear losing their jobs if they are disloyal. The electoral system was changed two years ago to enable Chavez’s re-election, and the oil riches of the country also make a difference. Addressing this situation may rest in innovation. This has been done, for instance, by organizing protests in front of Venezuelan embassies abroad, supporting a movement of artists who are unafraid of acting against the government, holding concerts in support of democracy across the country, etc. Again, bringing dissident activists and NGOs closer to the broader population is part of the solution.

Another problem widely acknowledged in the workshop is the difficulty that the civil society opposition in an authoritarian country has to build electoral support (which is, in turn, linked to its perceived detachment from the broader population) and does not do enough to attract future constituencies. One possible example of doing so is the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, which built its electoral base through bread distribution to the poor, operating health clinics, etc. However, attempting to link the civil society opposition to the broader population runs the risk of it taking an illiberal turn, as in the case of the Muslim Brotherhood, which presents another challenge in confronting new authoritarian regimes.

The importance of the role of elections in countering the new authoritarianism was also disputed in the

workshop discussion, because if the political system is undemocratic, then it is difficult, if not impossible, for the opposition to win elections. In addition, democracy is not just about elections, but also about having free media, leaders who can address the voters on an equal

basis with those of the ruling party, the possibility of campaigning freely, and last but not least, having alternative policies. All of these are necessary for the development and consolidation of democracy.

## Collaborating to Protect Human Rights Defenders: Assessing Current Needs and Strategies

### ORGANIZERS:

**International Federation  
for Human Rights—FIDH**

### National Endowment

**for Democracy—NED (U.S.)**

### MODERATOR:

**Antoine Bernard** – FIDH  
(France)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**Judith Welling** – NED (U.S.)

### PRESENTERS:

**Carlos Ponce** – Consorcio Desarrollo  
y Justicia (Venezuela)

**Dismas Kitenge** – Groupe Lotus  
(Democratic Republic of Congo)

**Ladan Boroumand** – Abdorrahman  
Boroumand Foundation (Iran)

**Swee Seng Yap** – Forum Asia  
(Malaysia)

This workshop examined how collaboration among human rights defender protection efforts can more effectively meet the needs of endangered human rights defenders (HRDs) at the local, national, regional, and international levels. The workshop gathered representatives of HRD protection networks and HRDs and practitioners from intergovernmental human rights protection mechanisms. Reflecting the complexity of the global human rights defender protection system, the workshop addressed three main areas: the definitions and landscape of human rights defender protection; horizontal articulation of protection efforts; and vertical articulation of protection efforts.

### Definitions and Landscape of Human Rights Defender Protection

Participants sought to clarify the definition of “human rights defender” and to address situations in which unclear definitions have undermined support for at-risk HRDs. Substantial numbers of HRDs may find it difficult to benefit from protection systems because their work does not align with “traditional” human rights work. Such groups may include journalists, lawyers, civil servants, democracy and political activists or opposition party members, women’s rights advocates, trade unionists, or those in formal institutions upholding human rights, such as law enforcement,

the judiciary, or civil service. Workshop participants provided examples demonstrating the frequent exclusion of persons in such groups from the human rights protection system; these individuals may not even identify themselves as HRDs. Organizations can work together to educate these groups, along with grassroots activists and representatives of marginalized communities, about HRD protection mechanisms and tools. For example, a Kazakhstan-based NGO distributed the Special Rapporteur’s handbook to its networks, which assisted defenders in Eurasia.

The participants also noted that persons within these groups actually would fall under the definition provided in the 1998 Declaration on Human Rights Defenders, which defined a human rights defender as anyone acting in accordance with and supporting international human rights. The participants agreed that it was time to reaffirm this broad definition, both to acknowledge and embrace all bona fide HRDs and to expose and counter the reluctance of many self-proclaimed human rights groups to extend the universal application of human rights protection to marginalized populations, such as sexual minorities, religious minorities, women, and others.

The participants also discussed the complex issue of how to categorize those who cooperate with international human rights mechanisms, such as the International Criminal Court, but who themselves may be

perpetrators of crimes. While these individuals may be threatened on account of their willingness to cooperate, they may not qualify under the formal definition of “human rights defender.”

### Horizontal Articulation of Protection Efforts

The participants discussed notable gaps in HRD protection, including longer-term support for HRDs both in country and in exile, and support for dependents and medical care. Participants noted that stronger collaboration and communication among HRD protection groups could help to address these gaps; for example, different nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) should cooperate to provide support at different times during the ongoing period of a safe haven. Updated mapping efforts can also help protection groups identify one another, as well as those organizations positioned to provide dependent and medical support. Donors can support horizontal networking efforts (local/regional/international) to facilitate the sharing of information and strategies for HRD protection.

Participants recognized that local and regional protection groups often need to collaborate with International NGOs (INGOs) to get HRDs the assistance they need. While INGOs may have greater capacity and funding to draw upon, they are also beholden to bureaucratic processes that reduce response times and flexibility. Local and regional organizations are very adaptable and can often provide the most effective protection, but they may lack capacity and adequate funding. The INGOs and local groups may thus work together more effectively by accommodating each other's weaknesses: local groups should devise stop-gap measures to meet the immediate needs of HRDs, while INGOs should flexibly and expeditiously respond to cases shared by local protection groups by minimizing bureaucracy and maximizing responsiveness to crises. INGOs should also focus on building the capacity of their local partners, since the most effective responses often come from the front lines.

Participants offered many novel strategies to leverage the impact of protection groups via collaboration. Examples included joint lobbying, mission visits, and prison visits to demonstrate solidarity with HRDs and concern for their situations. NGOs can also collaborate with other groups, such as the media, trade unions, etc., to strengthen such efforts. As illustrated by the FIDH/OMCT Observatory experience, these local/international partnerships have been shown to counteract repressive practices and legislation effectively. To pro-

tect against persecution from non-state actors, as in the case of religious fundamentalists, the International Center for Islam and Pluralism is networking to bolster the voice of progressive-moderate Muslim activists and intellectuals in Southeast Asia. The effectiveness of regional HRD networks to address violations has also been illustrated through Forum Asia's work in Southeast Asia, the African regional human rights defenders networks and the emerging Defenders Fund to Support Persons in the Americas, 2013. Furthermore, there was discussion of how networking among HRD protection organizations through the World Movement for Democracy can bolster the work of protection groups around the world.

### Vertical Articulation of Protection Efforts

The workshop explored how collaboration between NGOs and inter-governmental human rights mechanisms can lead to better outcomes for threatened HRDs. Opportunities for interaction among NGOs working at different levels (national, regional, and global) were also considered.

Participants noted that the inter-governmental mechanisms and assistance provided by the United Nations can be weak and lack funding; therefore, protection groups should work collaboratively with these mechanisms to share information and bolster effectiveness. The West African Human Rights Defender Network (WAHRDN) has facilitated visits by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights to inform her of the situations of particular HRDs. In Southeast Asia, organizations are encouraging the adoption of a focal point for HRDs within the ASEAN Human Rights Commission. Participants agreed on the importance of facilitating mission visits by special rapporteurs and other inter-governmental representatives working to support HRDs on the regional or international levels. Such collaborative missions can also help counteract the problem of reprisals against HRDs who cooperate with those mechanisms. Working with diplomats can provide HRDs with additional protection, and democratic governments should be encouraged to provide safe haven, visa, and financial support for HRDs at risk.

In conclusion, participants emphasized that greater horizontal and vertical collaboration among nongovernmental and governmental actors at all levels is required to support the protection of HRDs. The workshop itself demonstrated the value that such collaborative efforts may yield.

# Making Democracy Sustainable

## Panel Discussions

### The Changing Role of Civil Society in Transitions to Democracy: The Case of Egypt

**ORGANIZERS:**  
**Egyptian Activists**

**MODERATOR:**  
**Ahmed Samih** – Andalus Institute  
for Tolerance and Anti-Violence Studies  
(Egypt)

**RAPPORTEUR:**  
**Abdallah Helmy** – Al Sadat  
Association for Development  
(Egypt)

**PRESENTERS:**  
**Esraa Abdelfattah Rashid** –  
Egyptian Democratic Academy (Egypt)

**Hisham Kassem** –  
Algomhouria Algadida (Egypt)

This panel discussion sought to capture the short history of the transition to democracy in Egypt, and the state of that transition at the time of the Assembly, and to offer a number of recommendations to help ensure the transition moves forward.

The spark of the January 25th Revolution in Egypt in 2011 was a quick, spontaneous action that no one anticipated—thus, no one was prepared for the subsequent period of transition. In this difficult situation, significant solidarity and organization were demonstrated by courageous young Egyptian activists. This experience created a new domestic political landscape and a potential new model for democratization globally. It is difficult to fully comprehend the new political matrix, including well-organized Islamic groups in power, a weak and fragmented secular opposition, and a huge wave of rights-claiming groups that terrify government, which must deliver on citizens' demands in a challenging economic situation.

In the absence of both a constitution and parliament, the newly-elected president and newly-formed government had to confront the matter of how to assign and delegate responsibility. However, the bureaucratic, deep-state system in Egypt is helping to fill gaps in the competency of the new administration. For the first time in history, Egypt has an elected president, and military authorities have stepped back to their barracks with no chance or interest to take over again. While the military has refrained from direct control over public policies, however, it still controls several economic and industrial state-owned resources. The process of transferring those resources from military control will take years, but this is publicly understood and is considered a huge achievement for the new administration.

As the government of a strong regional power, Egypt's new administration is working to regain lost regional and international influence by playing a role in resolving regional conflicts, such as in Syria, and the Palestinian-Israeli peace process. Cooperating with the "deep-state institution" that has handled this latter case for decades, the new administration is trying to relate to different sides to ensure that a message of peace is reaching its proper audience. While all such efforts have only been on the statement level, they nonetheless highlight the position of the new administration toward important regional conflicts, especially the efforts regarding peace with Israel.

Civil society faced many challenges in the years before the Revolution in 2011. It worked under severe pressure to spread awareness of basic rights, to engage people in public life, and to prepare leaders to advocate for democracy and human rights. This generated huge suppressive actions from the Mubarak administration. Within the Revolution, civil society brought a new model of solidarity and support to activists on the ground by supplying essential elements of survival and medical care. Within the Revolution, we witnessed civil society successes in organizing and mobilizing people to demand their rights. We also saw civil society leaders driving huge protests and setting up small groups in Tahrir square to educate and organize protesters. The vast successes of the elections of 2011 and 2012 were a result of a long struggle of civil society to develop election standards and monitoring over more than 20 years.

Now, political decision making is a subject of every debate in Egypt, and civil society thus has a golden opportunity to bring public demands into political decision making, and they need to act upon this. They face

a major problem of mistrust due to a now famous court case in which employees of several local and international NGOs were accused of illegally funding political operations. In fact, those associated with the former regime use these accusations to stir up media campaigns to instill a mistrust of civil society in public opinion.

One critical question now is, “How does Egypt’s new administration stand on basic human rights?” With obscure political processes, the lack of transparency, and a very low level of access to information for civil society and the public, the new administration has much work to do on several aspects of human rights, for example, concerning the rights of women and labor. On women’s rights, the new administration is imprisoned by old stereotypes, while liberal activists and feminist groups call for more progressive protection of women’s rights by the Constitution. On labor rights, trade unions are demanding an endorsement of free association in a new law, but achieving this may not be a smooth process.

The media in Egypt is considered a disaster and viewed as providing fuel for every conflict. The legal structure for media ownership blocks any possible solution. Given that both state-owned media and private enterprise-owned media suffer from their owners’ interference in content, which reduces the media’s independence and shifts its bias in favor of business interests, securing the place of a free media in Egypt will require further effort.

In general, looking to the future, there is an opportunity for Egyptian civil society that is both challenging and golden, and it therefore needs to undergo an in-depth transformation by understanding its important mission clearly.

## Recommendations

- Civil society should work to engage, organize, and mobilize citizens in rural areas to achieve their demands.
- Civil society should provide social services and concrete ways for engaging people in public life, and donors must be open to supporting this.
- Civil society should build its capacity to influence decision making by having more think tanks, research institutes, watchdogs, and advocacy organizations.
- Civil society should increase its outreach to all political groups and seek maximum consensus on all critical issues with a results-oriented strategy.
- Civil society should encourage activists to create structured organizations and promote teamwork and political party membership as a way to build political institutions.
- Civil society should begin addressing socio-economic rights with more debate and discussion of on-the-ground solutions to meet the people’s needs.
- Civil society should start engaging new players in public life, such as small business owners.



## The Changing Role of Civil Society in Transitions to Democracy: The Case of Burma

### ORGANIZER:

**Center for Democracy and Culture**  
(Czech Republic)

### MODERATOR:

**Igor Blazevic** – Center for Democracy and Culture (Czech Republic)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**Tenzin Dorjee** – Students for a Free Tibet (Tibet)

### PRESENTERS:

**Aung Din** – U.S. Campaign for Burma (Burma)

**Khin Lay** – National League for Democracy/TRIANGLE Women Support Group (Burma)

**Brian Joseph** – National Endowment for Democracy—NED (U.S.)

**Larry Diamond** – Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law—CDDRL, Stanford University (U.S.)

## Introduction

The moderator, Igor Blazevic, opened the panel discussion by remarking that there is much optimism about Burma, perceptions of things moving in a surprisingly positive direction, and expectations that, for example, the junta is changing itself into a reform government. He then posed several questions to the opening presenters:

- Do we have top-down, negotiated reform that will put the country on a solid path to democracy?
- Do we only have the transformation of a junta into a relatively new type of authoritarianism in which it re-packages itself just to stay in power; what can we learn from the Eastern European experience?
- Do you see the possibility of a semi-civilian, weak government that will only open a Pandora's box out of which social tensions will break into the open and an unpredictable, chaotic situation will emerge that the government cannot control?
- Do you foresee serious election confrontations between the two major political blocs, one being pro-regime and one being the National League for Democracy (NLD) headed by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi?

## Presentations

In his opening presentation, Aung Din stressed that Burma needs more active participation of civil society in the changes underway, especially as the country prepares for the 2015 elections. The opposition is working within a political system based on the 2008 Constitution. Some changes have been introduced in the country that are impressive, he continued, but they just form a façade. He gave several examples: First, political prisoners have been released, but the law allows for their re-arrest at any time. Second, the

government has announced that there is no censorship, but it still exists. Third, the government presents itself as a partner in a dialog with the regions, but this dialog is not real.

According to Aung Din, there are, in fact, many reasons why what is happening is not a true transformation: First, the judicial system is not independent, but functions under great pressure; there is corruption and prisoners are forced by torture to confess to what their jailers want to hear. Second, the economy is controlled by the military and chosen families in the regions; no ordinary citizens are able to compete with their position, and the military dominates and controls society. Third, the military powers are independent from all controlling institutions; civilian judges have no control over the military, which can dissolve Parliament and introduce marshal law. Fourth, to pass any legislation in Parliament for change requires a vote of 75 percent of all representatives in both chambers.

The situation in Burma can thus be called a “transition to limited democracy,” Aung Din continued. The opposition can contest elections but are unable to get into power and amend the Constitution. The government wants to legitimize the system so it will be accepted by the international community, which is why limited space has been given to the opposition. The government has released some political prisoners to show their good will. In the meantime, while the opposition leader, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, theoretically can call on the regions to abolish the undemocratic Constitution, she has chosen to accept political compromise because of the great pressure she is under.

The important role of the opposition is more difficult now than before because people are not encouraged to make real change. Therefore, civil society should make members of parliament more accountable and encourage them to support democratic processes; violations of

human rights should not be ignored, but reported on; and the opposition should do everything it can to assure free and fair elections in 2015.

Khin Lay began her presentation by saying that Burma is only at the starting point of becoming more democratic and transparent. If we try to find an ideal plan from the government, she said, we're going to be misled. There is no clear agenda for gradual top-down democratic change. The main goal of the government is to keep power in the military. The new government has its agenda for its own safety and for limiting the democratic forces. There is no clear agenda on social, economic, and ethnic issues. The government has never publicly explained its plan in detail, so no one can dare trust it. We have the experience of former regimes trying to wash away their bad reputations and thereby obtain credibility in the international community. Although the top officials shout reform, Ms. Lay continued, true reform has not reached the regional or local levels. No one knows the relationship between the President and opposition leader Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, who has said the relationship is quite personal, but of course it should be more political and inclusive. In addition, we should recognize that the government has seen the Arab Spring uprisings and is determined to prevent one in Burma. The last factor is the government's desire to balance the power of China.

Brian Joseph said in his presentation that he fully agrees with Aung Din and Khin Lay's analyses of how Burma got to where it is. Remarking that he has managed the Burma program at NED for nearly 20 years, he recalled that the regime used to run full-page ads attacking what NED was doing. In early 2012, however, he met with a number of high-ranking government officials who acknowledged that their jobs previously required them to attack the NED but that those days were now behind them and the country was willing to collaborate on efforts to advance democracy. Mr. Joseph noted that the transformation at a personal level has been unbelievable. Yet the same people who were responsible for previous abuses are still in charge, so we're trying to understand if the transformation is sincere.

One thing to observe is the government's "seven-step roadmap," Mr. Joseph continued, which the regime has followed more closely than any of us had thought possible. Now, at the end of the roadmap, the regime is beginning to open up, but still seeking to strengthen its own control. The government's old way of managing the economy and control of the country was leading to a situation in which Burma was being left farther and farther behind other countries in South and Southeast

Asia. So they needed to reengage the international community, and to do so, they needed to recast their image and reverse the sanctions. They've been successful with that, and today there are few sanctions left. Burma is open for business, but business remains controlled by the regime and a select few cronies.

On the question of Burmese dependence on China and its role in the changes that have been initiated, the "China card" was not the determining, but still a significant, factor in the shift in Burma, according to Mr. Joseph. In the 1990s, India introduced policies to reorient its economic policies eastward. Burma was dependent on China economically and politically, so having not just the U.S., but also India to the West and ASEAN neighbors to the East, allowed the Burmese government to realign its relationship with China.

There is transformation taking place in Burma today and people are often referencing the Arab Spring, but in 2007 there was the Burmese spring, when monk-led protests quickly grew to a mass protest with hundreds of thousands taking to the streets. Mr. Joseph argued that it was hard to imagine that there was no dissent within the ranks of the army after the government crushed the monk-led protests. The Saffron Revolution, as it came to be called, was quickly followed by cyclone Nargis, which also exposed the government's lack of concern for its citizens. Taken together, these two events must have impacted the military in a way that we might not yet understand, but which may become clear later when more public records are available.

Today, Mr. Joseph said, Burma faces widespread poverty and the lack of a viable economic infrastructure. It is worse off than any place in Asia, except Nepal. It has a history of political violence, and 50 to 70 years of political violence cannot be undone with the flip of a switch. Related to this is the question of identity: What does it mean to be Burmese in a country with many distinct nationalities? In addition, the educational sector has been decimated. Interest from around the world is pouring in, but there is a very limited educated class in Burma to tackle the challenges the country faces; there must be an effort to rebuild Burma's educational sector.

According to Mr. Joseph, it's not clear exactly where the government wants to go, but its reforms are opening up opportunities and unleashing new political forces. People are able to communicate, network, and organize in a different way. There are new centers for competing political authority. Limited financial resources and ethnic groups competing for territorial control will give rise to a range of voices and centers of power that didn't exist before.

In his presentation, Larry Diamond asked what a path forward to a democratic transition might be. It is hard, he said, to imagine that the regime will accept electoral democracy, even undertaken in many steps. That is not their framework and it is inconsistent with the 2008 Constitution that was imposed with no democratic dialog or participation.

There is much heavy lifting that has to be done between now and 2015 to make a real transition possible, Mr. Diamond continued. If the government wants to be taken seriously by the U.S. and Europe as delivering on a transition to democracy, then it needs to introduce constitutional reform.

There are two possible scenarios, Mr. Diamond said: One is that Burma will get stuck in one place (like Cambodia) for a long time. The regime might be putting on the mask of democracy, and while there may not be real democracy, many actors in Burma may accept it, or at least not object to it, because there is a little bit more space for civil society. This might be tactical based on the fear that the “old” and far worse times can return. So it might seem better to accept at least a better, if not a perfect, situation. That’s one possible scenario.

In the other scenario, he continued, the democracies around the world give very serious signals to the government that much more needs to be done than just running technically correct elections. It is not so much that those in the government want sanctions lifted for the good of the country, but to be able to travel around the world freely, so they want the changes for themselves. Sanctions on individuals in the government can be easier to reintroduce, however, so the government should be made aware of that.

The provision that gives the military the power to appoint 25 percent of the seats in Parliament has to go, Mr. Diamond continued. Maybe this will have to be done in a few stages. If Burma is going to have democracy, maybe the democratic forces should offer a plan to the regime to define a period of power sharing. It may be possible to imagine a South African scenario, with negotiations between opposition and government. The majority of democratic forces might accept negotiations with the regime and such a transition. In the first stage, some small change might be accepted, for instance, a modest reduction of parliamentary appointments. The reduction could be made subject to a provision that the reserved seats for military appointment will be eliminated entirely in a following brief period of time. This kind of negotiated agreement is needed in other power sharing areas as well. Such agreements can be included in the Constitution, but some changes could

be agreed to just on the basis of common understanding. A serious dialog about vertical power sharing and real autonomy for different regions of Burma, including geographic minority issues, should also take place.

Negotiations and dialog on constitutional reform will involve many steps. Democratic opposition forces should do more than before, according to Mr. Diamond; they have to reach consensus among themselves and build a team ready for talks with the government. A broader opposition front is needed. In addition, there is a need to be engaged in negotiations about power sharing, constitutional changes, and minimal conditions for a democratic transition (including the release of some 300 political prisoners and the lifting of pressure on those released) that will be recognized by the international community. There is also much work to be done before 2015 to build structures and political parties and to modernize organizations (in particular, the National League for Democracy, which has not held internal elections for a long time). A civil society network for the 2015 elections should be established and prepare itself for the work to be done.

## Discussion

During the workshop discussion, a participant asked the presenters what makes them distrust the government’s willingness to transform the system. In response, Khin Lay said we don’t trust them based on our experience. It’s the same people. We know them, and they are the same guys who jailed us. The new law on freedom of association was a fake; everyone can set up an association but can’t demonstrate in a public place. People must apply for permits to demonstrate, but permit requests are denied. As a result, young demonstration leaders are charged by the police.

For his part, Brian Joseph responded by saying that the government has not earned trust, just a degree of support and good will.

Aung Din responded by saying that trust is unnecessary; it cannot justify what we’re doing now. We don’t need trust to work with the government. We base our actions on the situation on the ground, and trust alone should not lead us to do something good or bad. Even though we’re not happy with the situation, we’re moving forward, we’re going to face the elections of 2015 whether we like or not. We know there are challenges, but we’re going to try; this is the only thing we can do.

Another participant in the discussion pointed out that the presenters had said the changes in Burma are personal not institutional, so, he continued, we can exploit that by casting those individuals as champions.

How can we get them involved in drafting the institutional and policy changes needed? Can we use this personalization to get some of the government staffers more invested, to give them more ownership of the changes? Can we also get civil society to be more proactive and less reactive?

Finally, a participant from Cambodia remarked that when looking back on 20 years of Cambodian history we can see a good example of what happens with money flowing into a country. Fundamental change in Cambodia has not taken place, and there is no unity among the donors. Many donors are pleased about the “reforms,” but many are unwilling to stand up for the rule of law

or an independent judiciary, and some are now starting to say, “if we say something critical, the government will turn to China.” The fact that the Burmese government has opened up and allowed some reform shows that some of the sanction tools the international community used have worked. Therefore, looking for champions within the system is not the right strategy. The only role the global community can play is to support the grassroots groups so they will hold their own someday. We should also treat civil society not as a single unit, but as many different groups.

## Workshops

### From Leading Civil Society to Serving in Government: What are the Challenges and Opportunities?

#### ORGANIZERS:

**Undersecretary - Office of Political Affairs** (*The Philippines*)

**Idasa: An African Democracy Institute** (*South Africa*)

#### MODERATOR:

**Inna Pidluska** – International Renaissance Foundation (*Ukraine*)

#### RAPPOREUR:

**Yuyun Wahyuningrum** – Human Rights Working Group—HRWG (*Indonesia*)

#### PRESENTERS:

**Amina Rasul Bernardo** – Philippine Center for Islam and Democracy (*The Philippines*)

**Krzysztof Stanowski** – Solidarity Fund PL (*Poland*)

**Diego Sueiras** – Fundacion Nueva Generación Argentina (*Argentina*)

Civil society members serving in government is an unavoidable reality in the process of democratization and establishing a culture of democracy in some countries, such as The Philippines, Ukraine, Poland, Argentina, South Africa, and Indonesia. It is thus very important for civil society members who go into government to focus on the delivery of services.

During the discussion, both the values of and challenges to civil society leaders serving in government were presented, as well as issues that civil society faces when their leaders step down from having served in the government, including limited spaces and positions to continue working in their new role and identity.

The presenters agreed that despite being very different from each other, there is a need for both civil society and government to have a certain level of understanding and appreciation of each other, and the differences between them should not prevent them from interacting with each other. Both must change their mindsets on how to perceive each other.

Civil society frequently sees government as an enemy rather than as a partner for change, while government is composed of systems and structures and is often resistant to change. Being in government means that one should be both ready to compromise and have the capability to know what a good compromise looks like.

There are conditions and ways to change systems. The first is to continue to struggle as part of civil society and the second is to become part of the system. The latter requires political parties that compete in elections and run the government when they win. Striking a balance between being independent and not preoccupied with political party agendas and ensuring service delivery has been seen as one of the biggest challenges for civil society.

The workshop discussion also focused on the questions of cooptation, the weakness of political parties, and the capacity of civil society leaders to serve as government officials while their organizations continue to operate after those leaders have left them. The par-

ticipants also recognized that some governments create Government NGOs (or GONGOs) to help legitimate what those governments are doing.

## Challenges

- While there are some limits to what can be achieved while serving in the NGO world, there are more limits while serving in government.
- Preparing civil society leaders to serve in government while strengthening their organizations is a big challenge.
- Leaders of civil society organizations must be prepared to deal with issues of cooptation by government.
- Developing a common agenda with other parties while remaining independent is also a challenge.

## Recommendations

- It is very important for civil society leaders who move into government to focus on ensuring delivery of services.
- Civil society leaders need guidelines for serving in government.
- It is very important to strengthen political parties.
- While civil society leaders must prepare to serve in government, they also must prepare to leave government.
- It is very important for civil society leaders serving in government not to function as validators of non-democratic government policies.
- Civil society work should be based on a long-term democratization agenda.

## Additional Observations

- There are no guidelines for moving from civil society into government, so civil society leaders have to learn by experience and have open minds; a government job is totally different from a civil society job.
- Change is possible through government, but it takes time for the goal to be achieved.
- A favorable political landscape is necessary to enable civil society leaders to move into government successfully.
- Civil society should be seen as an institution, not a platform.
- Both civil society and government have the potential to fake the process of consultation to achieve the legitimacy they require. Government imitates the work of civil society while civil society acts as if they are the government.
- All systems resist change.
- When participating in political parties, civil society should remember that votes can be bought in the process.
- Engaging government requires skills and understanding regarding the language of governing, policy-making routines, and budget-making timelines.
- Working as a government official often means working very hard while hardly getting the appreciation for one's accomplishments.
- The right people, education, processes, and time are all needed to reform an institution.

## Network of Democracy Research Institutes (NDRI): Enhancing the Policy Impact of Democracy Research

### ORGANIZER:

**Network of Democracy Research Institutes—NDRI**

### MODERATOR:

**Marc F. Plattner** – International Forum for Democratic Studies, NED (U.S.)

### Christopher Walker –

International Forum for Democratic Studies, NED (U.S.)

### RAPPOREUR:

**Melissa Aten** – International Forum for Democratic Studies, NED (U.S.)

### PRESENTERS:

**Gabriel Salvia** – Centro para la Apertura y el Desarrollo de America Latina—CADAL (Argentina)

### Martin Butora –

Institute for Public Affairs—IVO (Slovakia)

### Tanya Hamada –

INCITEGov (The Philippines)

This workshop was divided into two parts: The first was a discussion on “Enhancing the Policy Impact of Democracy Research,” which is part of a broader initiative organized by the International Forum for Democratic Studies with NDRI members on this topic. The second part focused on NDRI business, including ways in which members can gain more value from participation in the network.

Marc F. Plattner opened the workshop by explaining how it is part of an ongoing project undertaken by the International Forum that began at a conference in South Korea in 2011. The project is a collection of 10 case studies (from South Korea, Ghana, Romania, Lebanon, Ecuador, Turkey, Georgia, The Philippines, Slovakia, and Argentina) of NDRI members’ strategies for ensuring that their research reaches policy makers and enters into the public debate. These case studies will be published as part of a report by mid-2013 (for information on the “Enhancing the Policy Impact of Democracy Research” project, please contact Melissa Aten at: [melissaa@ned.org](mailto:melissaa@ned.org)).

### Opening Presentations

Gabriel Salvia discussed CADAL’s efforts in Argentina to influence policy through the use of a “legislative barometer.” CADAL seeks to reach consensus on issues the public, including minorities, deems important, and once this consensus is reached, CADAL surveys parliamentarians on their views on these public policy issues, and through the surveys seeks to influence policy. CADAL specifically targets parliamentary committees, depending on the issue. For example, if the policy they are attempting to influence is applicable only to a particular committee, they target that committee; if the policy relates to a broader issue, such as economic development, they target all the commit-

tees. One of the main obstacles CADAL has faced in conducting this legislative barometer is that members of the ruling parties have been reluctant to respond publicly to the surveys, so CADAL has made the process anonymous.

Martin Butora emphasized three distinctive kinds of think tanks in Slovakia: those stemming from the fascist, communist, and post-communist legacies in the country; those reflecting civil society involvement in politics and the struggle for the democratic character of the state; and those drawing upon civil society involvement in reforms. IVO and other Central European think tanks were actively and substantively involved in shaping the democratic character of the state since the fall of communism.

IVO has initiated several projects seeking to influence policy:

- The IVO Barometer on the Quality of Democracy, which measures the levels of institutional democracy and rule of law, the quality of legislation, human and minority rights, and freedom of the media in Slovakia;
- Public opinion polls that reflect problems perceived by the public;
- Reports on elections in Slovakia, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Poland;
- Providing media commentaries on key political and social issues in Slovakia;
- Reports on the state of minorities, including women, the elderly, the Roma, and the Hungarian minority;
- Survey on the quality of the judiciary in Slovakia, in which experts, citizens, and judges were polled;
- Research on new forms of populism in Europe.



IVO faced a common challenge in its attempt to influence policy in Slovakia: reducing its long research products into concise summaries that were easily understood by the public and policy makers.

Tanya Hamada discussed how INCITEGov in The Philippines differs from many think tanks because many of its researchers go in and out of the government, ensuring that the research it conducts reaches policy makers. The people in The Philippines have been successful in overthrowing autocratic government, but not as successful in establishing the day-to-day processes of democracy. INCITEGov was formed within this context and attempts to connect democratic politics with good governance. Prior to 2010, it decided to engage political candidates. The organization created a social contract that later became the basis of President Benigno Aquino's campaign. The 2010 elections brought to power reform-minded politicians who were eager to engage civil society. Many INCITEGov researchers entered government after these elections, which allowed the issues they worked on to take prominence in the government. Ms. Hamada gave two examples of such policies: security sector reform and the use of the budget as a tool of reform. Ms. Hamada outlined the difficulty in influencing and building platforms for local elections after the success of the 2010 national elections.

## Discussion

During the discussion, participants identified a few additional ways that think tanks can influence policy: using charts and graphs to make analytical research easier for the public and policy makers to consume and publishing regular columns in reputable news outlets.

There was also discussion on the importance of distinguishing between think tanks that operate in environments in which they have the opportunity and ability to influence policy and those that operate in closed and more repressive societies. Participants identified competition with government-sponsored research centers as a major impediment to the ability of nongovernmental think tanks in semi-closed societies to get their messages out.

## NDRI Participation and Activity

The second part of the workshop was chaired by Christopher Walker and focused on how to make the NDRI more effective as a network. Mr. Walker pointed out that the research project mentioned in the introduction above is relevant beyond democracy think tanks; all nongovernmental organizations should know how to get their message across effectively.

Participants identified several areas on which the NDRI could focus:

- The problem of backsliding in various countries, such as Bangladesh, Romania, and Argentina, which were once considered “graduated,” but in which democracy is now considered under threat;
- Organizing conferences on any number of topics to see what other countries are doing to address particular issues; and
- Establishing a mentoring program where young think tanks can benefit from the experience and expertise of more established centers.

Finally, NDRI members were encouraged to consider ideas for potential joint initiatives that can help inform key challenges to democratic development and the democratic idea.

## Enhancing Government Transparency and Accountability through Technology Platforms

### ORGANIZERS:

**Omidyar Network**

**Global Integrity** (U.S.)

### MODERATOR:

**Mathew Bannick** – Omidyar Network (U.S.)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**David Sasaki** – Omidyar Network (U.S.)

### PRESENTERS:

**Nathaniel Heller** – Global Integrity (U.S.)

**Ellen Miller** – Sunlight Foundation (U.S.)

**Felipe Heusser** – Ciudadano Inteligente (Chile)

**Swati Ramanathan** – Janaagraha (India)

**Oluwafemi Longe** – Co-Creation Hub Nigeria (Nigeria)

The moderator, Matt Bannick, began the workshop by noting that the use of technology by both the activists in the Arab Spring and by the Iranian government against activists following that country's Green Movement demonstrates the increasing prominence of technology in democratic developments worldwide. He also briefly described the work of the Omidyar Network, which was founded in 2004 by Pam and Pierre Omidyar on the belief that every person has the power to make a difference. The Omidyar Network began investing in transparency and accountability initiatives in 2006, and so far has deployed over US\$60 million in support of such initiatives. It aims to empower people with information about how government works and to support technology and media platforms through which they can hold their leaders accountable and bring about positive social change. In the view of the moderator, innovative uses of technology and widespread access to mobile phones fundamentally transform the relationship between the governed and the governing in a very positive way.

### Presentations

In his opening presentation, Nathaniel Heller described Global Integrity as a convener and supporter of the global transparency and accountability ecosystem. It aims to push the whole field of transparency toward faster innovation by identifying and supporting the best ideas, initiatives, and technology. Mr. Heller mentioned several specific initiatives to do so. In its early years, Global Integrity managed a network of over 1,500 researchers spread across 120 countries who collected data on hundreds of indicators. At first, they did this by emailing spreadsheets around the world, which inevitably ended up introducing errors

into the data. As a result, they developed Indaba, an online platform that creates simple workflows to manage distributed teams of researchers who work collaboratively, often without ever meeting in person. Indaba has been used by Publish What You Pay to facilitate their recent Global Aid Transparency Index, by the World Wide Web Foundation for their Web Index, and by the Mexican Institute for Competitiveness to measure access to information on municipal government web sites in Mexico.

Global Integrity also manages the Networking Mechanism within the Open Government Partnership to share best practices among national governments that are introducing open government reforms. Most recently, Global Integrity has created an Open Government Hub in Washington, DC to bring together like-minded organizations in a single physical space, and they are currently accepting “half-crazy” proposals to support high-risk, experimental prototypes for innovative transparency and accountability initiatives with the Innovation Fund.

In her presentation, Ellen Miller indicated that her organization believes firmly that open networks create spaces of participation and greater access to information that challenges closed, hierarchical systems. It's not just that information is power, she noted, but, quoting Clay Shirky, “disproportionate access to information is power.” The Sunlight Foundation is committed to making democracy work for all by bringing a bit of Silicon Valley to Washington, DC. Ms. Miller mentioned four projects that demonstrate her organization's approach: Political Party Time, Influence Explorer, Foreign Lobbying Influence Tracker, and Scout, the last a regulatory and legislative alert system that enabled a partner NGO to stop an amendment to proposed leg-

isolation that would have exempted foreign companies from the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA).

Felipe Heusser of Smart Citizen Foundation (<http://www.ciudadanointeligente.org/>) began his presentation by highlighting research by the Latinobarometer polling group that has found that more than half of surveyed Latin Americans say they don't care if they live in a democracy or a dictatorship as long as there is economic and social progress. Mr. Heusser believes that this disillusionment with democracy is rooted in inequality and the lack of channels of participation for citizens who don't belong to the economic and social elite. Such dissatisfaction has expressed itself recently in the Chilean student protests for greater access to education, the widespread protests against extractive industries that benefit only a few, and against the high costs of basic commodities, which disproportionately affect the poor.

Swati Ramanathan remarked in her presentation that she founded Janaagraha in Bangalore, India, with her husband in 2001. Janaagraha's ambitious mission is to transform and improve the quality of life in urban India. Its theory of change is based on a framework that they call REED (<http://www.janaagraha.org/content/pages/theory-change>): bringing a Regional perspective to urban issues; Empowering citizens and local governments; Enabling citizens and local governments; and holding local governments Directly accountable by the people. Ms. Ramanathan emphasized that the organization works with both civil society and government, and that too often governments' lack of capacity to implement sensible recommendations from civil society organizations is not sufficiently appreciated.

In the last presentation, Oluwafemi Longe presented Co-Creation Hub, a co-working space in Lagos, Nigeria, that leverages shared space, access to technology, and access to the best ideas to bring about social and economic prosperity. They help Nigerian social entrepreneurs on a range of activities, from the initial excitement of "I have a great idea" to bringing the product to market and scaling up its impact. Mr. Longe noted that unlike the other presenters' organizations, his organization is not solely focused on transparency and accountability; however, it is increasingly interested in how new technologies can help young Nigerians become more involved in the governance of their nation. This new interest began when Mr. Longe and his colleagues realized that Nigeria was ranked far below countries like Tunisia, Egypt, and Libya in the Ibrahim Index of African Governance; so why weren't Nigerians taking to the streets to demand more democratic and transpar-

ent governance like their peers in the countries of the Arab Spring? The organization concluded that most Nigerians simply weren't aware of the level of corruption and illicit influence in their country. The organization decided to invite local programmers to a "hackathon" (a marathon of "hacking" innovative solutions) to develop tools that increase transparency and participation. Two platforms that Mr. Longe described in greater detail emerged as a result: a budget monitoring platform called Your BudgIT and the Nigerian Constitution for All project, which has developed mobile applications for BlackBerry, Android, Nokia, and Java-enabled phones. At the time of this workshop, Co-Creation Hub was planning a "Hack Bootcamp for Trade Transparency," which aims to provide Nigerian consumers with information on how trade-related costs and trade barriers affect them.

## Recommendations

During the workshop discussion three main questions emerged:

- What do we know hasn't worked, and what have we learned from those experiences?
- How do we know what is working?
- Once we know what works, how do we replicate it as fast as possible?

Regarding what hasn't worked, Mr. Longe warned that it's important to distinguish impact from hype. Many people are excited about the potential of using new technologies to improve governance, but so far there are few case studies of demonstrable impact. It's also important to keep in mind that this is a new sector, and even "veteran" organizations have only been around for about five years. He offers the example of Ideas 2020, which was meant to support the ideas of local entrepreneurs so that Nigeria could meet its goal of being among the top 20 economies in the world by 2020. Ultimately, the platform wasn't able to attract broad usage. For Mr. Longe, it was the experience that underlined the importance of having an entire ecosystem in place, and not just a web platform, to achieve impact.

Mr. Heusser pointed out that transparency and technology are tools, not objectives. They must be employed intelligently to achieve other objectives. His example was the "Citizen Balloon." In 2012, his organization used a helium balloon and a mobile video camera to live-stream the Chilean student protests, which were purposely ignored by the country's mainstream media. At one point over 10,000 viewers tuned into the live



video, which forced other media outlets to report on the story.

Ms. Miller emphasized that the transparency sector is young, but that in the past five years it has been very successful at making the transparency agenda much more visible in the media and in political debate. Her team noted the number of times the word “transparency” was mentioned in the *New York Times* from 1990 to 2009 and found significant growth.

Mr. Heller distinguished between outputs and outcomes. Outputs might be the number of site visits, downloads, and registered users, but outcomes refer to instances of institutional change. He says his organization is less interested in reaching the largest number of individuals, and more interested in reaching the individuals who are capable of bringing about institutional change. One example is the State Integrity Investigation in partnership with the Center for Public Integrity and Public Radio International, which developed road maps for states like Florida to improve their accountability.

Ms. Ramanathan, on the other hand, says it’s important not to discount the importance of mass participation. Politicians and decision makers are more likely to respond to advocacy campaigns when they believe it will affect election outcomes and public perception.

The moderator asked the presenters for strategies to replicate the best ideas and approaches to make sure they impact as many lives as possible in the shortest time frame. In response, Ms. Miller pointed out that all of their programming code is open source and available

for download at GitHub, but even so, adapting software to different linguistic, cultural, and political contexts can be very time consuming.

Mr. Heusser responded by saying that his organization is working with the British group, MySociety, to take a modular approach to software development. So far they have developed the MapIt component and are now working to develop two more components for parliamentary monitoring.

Mr. Heller said he hopes that more technology for transparency platforms will use “software as a service” models that don’t require NGOs to install and update software on their own servers. This is the approach that Global Integrity has taken with Indaba, which has enabled them to make iterative improvements to the platform without requiring their partners to constantly update the software. It also has allowed them to collect a sizable repository of data that they can easily cross and compare.

Finally, Mr. Longe noted that making software easily replicable is one challenge, but it’s not the only one. It has become so easy, for example, to install Ushahidi to monitor elections that during the last Nigerian elections there were no less than 12 competing web sites that attempted to crowd-source reports of electoral fraud. In addition to software that is replicable, he said, there is also a need for more spaces that encourage collaboration among like-minded actors.

## Money and Politics: Combatting Electoral Corruption

### ORGANIZER:

**Network of Democracy Research Institutes—NDRI**

### MODERATOR:

**Larry Diamond** – Center on Democracy, Development, and Rule of Law—CDDRL, Stanford University (U.S.)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**Christopher Walker** – International Forum for Democratic Studies, NED (U.S.)

### PRESENTERS:

**Felipe Heusser** – Ciudadano Inteligente (Chile)

**Aurelio Concheso** – Transparencia Venezuela (Venezuela)

**Boris Begovic** – Center for Liberal-Democratic Studies (Serbia)

**William Sweeney** – IFES (U.S.)

This workshop featured a comparative discussion examining the role of money in politics in four diverse settings. The moderator opened the session by observing that the issue of money in politics is a problem that transcends political system types; established democracies, as well as emerging ones, face vexing challenges in this regard.

In his opening presentation Felipe Heusser explained that his organization seeks to “get democracies to work right,” a critical part of which is getting the incentives of democracy correctly, so the will of the majority is reflected in policy making; countries in Latin America confront ongoing challenges in this regard. Only 30 percent of citizens in Latin America think they are being governed well, while the role of money in political systems is high among the challenges in ensuring that governance serves the interests of the many, rather than benefitting the few. In the region generally, the tendency of elites is to maintain power with little meaningful change.

A useful, baseline response to the challenges is enhancing transparency. Poor transparency of money in politics, including disclosure of uneven assets and interests, is the standard for most cases in the region. The intersection of access to information and rapid development of new information and communications technologies offers new ways to strengthen transparency. However, while there is considerable information available, all too often it is not gathered, organized, and presented in a manner that the public can easily use. Initiatives for online transparency must overcome “data smog”—the vast amount of information of varying quality available online—in communicating with their audiences. On this point, Mr. Heusser stressed the need for the democracy community working on these issues to deepen its relationship with the technology community.

Aurelio Concheso cleverly tested the proposition that Venezuela’s recent elections were free and fair by quantifying the value of state administration resources, and media access in particular, that were at the unchecked disposal of President Hugo Chavez. To provide context, Mr. Concheso reminded the group that in Venezuela 95 percent of exports and 60 percent of the federal budget come from the country’s oil windfall. The incumbent’s domination of the media in Venezuela is crucial. Of 830 radio stations, 430 are owned by the government. Of eight national TV stations, six are government owned. The estimate of the value of the total airtime enjoyed by the incumbent in the course of the election campaign was more than \$2 billion, which was only part of the incumbent’s wider state administrative advantage. In the end, it is estimated that Chavez outspent the opposition in the media by 25 to 1.

Boris Begovic shared his observations on the role of money in Serbia’s politics since 2000. He noted specific cases in which money has impacted elections:

- Informal links between the political leadership and major business interests, which had the effect of tilting the political playing field.
- Similar informal links between the incumbent political party and media tycoons, which leads to biased reporting favoring the incumbent.
- Widespread abuse of the public procurement process.

Proposed steps to address these issues include deepening privatization and advancing laws to improve the transparency of media companies. Mr. Begovic noted that in Serbian political finance law, there are many actions that are forbidden, which tends to push a good deal of money into “gray” areas of behavior.

William Sweeney outlined the main aspects of political financing in the U.S. and described three models for managing the role of money in politics:

- The disclosure model, providing meaningful information to the public; such disclosure efforts should be accompanied by public education initiatives.
- The regulatory model, which sets forth boundaries and rules of the game for corporate and special interest money in the political process.
- The public finance model.

Mr. Sweeney noted the steps that have been taken over time, since the Watergate era in particular, and the support provided by campaign reform advocates, and stressed that these advocates have a responsibility to defend the system they helped create.

Mr. Diamond summarized the discussion by emphasizing several key points that emerged from a working consensus among the participants:

- There is a critical need to value transparency, including declarations and timely and complete disclosures of assets.
- There is a need for strong independent institutions for enforcement.
- More attention should be paid to the context when combatting corruption.

## Using Citizen-Led Assessments of Local Democracy to Advance Reforms

**ORGANIZER:**  
**International IDEA**

**MODERATOR:**  
**Helena Bjuremalm**  
– International IDEA (Sweden)

**RAPPORTEUR:**  
**Abdi “Yenni” Suryaningati**  
– YAPPIKA: Indonesian Civil  
Society Alliance for Democracy  
(Indonesia)

**PRESENTERS:**  
**Keboitse Machangana** –  
International IDEA (Sweden)

**Amina Rasul Bernardo** –  
Philippine Center for Islam and  
Democracy (*The Philippines*)

**T**his workshop aimed to develop the capacity of citizens to assess local democracy and to review the local democracy assessment framework produced by International IDEA (<http://www.idea.int/sod/framework/>). The workshop began with an explanation of the assessment framework and the experiences of the Philippine Center for Islam and Democracy in implementing it, followed by discussion. Participants in the workshop included civil society activists, members of community groups, representatives of donor agencies, former members of local governments, and researchers and academics.

Keboitse Machangana began by explaining why IDEA facilitates citizen-led assessments of democracy in light of the fact that most assessments are externally-led without proper feedback processes. IDEA thus sought to produce an assessment tool that enhances the role of citizens in assessing their own democracies. Assessments should be based on universal democratic principles, but adapted to local contexts; the idea is to allow citizens to explain “what democracy means to us without undermining the basic principles of democracy.”

The IDEA framework includes assessment of two pillars of democracy—representative democracy and participatory democracy—and looks into both processes and institutions in each of those pillars. For example, an assessment in Ghana shows that political parties do not exist at the local level. What does this mean for local democracy? It is also important to calculate and identify strengths, not just to find problems. Democracy assessments should not only serve as research agendas, but should also be accompanied by political dimensions by getting all stakeholders, including community members, to engage in constructive dialogue regarding the status of democracy and what the stakeholders want to achieve in the future.

Amina Rasul Bernardo shared her experience in using the assessment tool in the Autonomous Region of Moslem Mindanao (ARMM). She explained why ARMM, as a conflict affected region, was chosen to conduct the assessment. She also explained the steps and components for conducting the assessment, which include choosing the assessment team; understanding the diverse array of methods chosen for the assessment (surveys, key informant interviews, and multi-stake-

holder focus group discussions at different levels); and some of the important and surprising findings and important lessons learned from conducting the assessment. The surprising findings, for example, include the community's perspective regarding the compatibility of Islamic preaching and democracy and its judgment and practices concerning bribery during the election (the refusal to pay bribes if they think the candidates will not serve their needs after the election).

## Challenges and Recommendations

► There are two principal questions regarding the ways civil society organizations (CSOs) can ensure that citizen-led assessments of democracy will be used by a wide variety of stakeholders who are able to influence reform: First, how can the results of an assessment serve as the foundation for reform in a country with no accountability and where research results have never been used for decision-making processes? Second, how can the capacity of CSOs be developed to enable them to work effectively with politicians and decision makers? The following recommendations were offered:

- Enhance local ownership by involving key stakeholders in setting indicators and adjusting assessment tools according to the local context from the start.
- Local CSOs should build their credibility to become trustworthy organizations by creating correct procedures for informing all stakeholders about the processes and follow-up of the assessment.
- CSOs face the challenge, in trying to promote collaboration among different actors, of finding ways to get citizens to participate in dialogues without getting paid given that development projects usually pay per diem to people to attend meetings; there is also a need to create good feed-back processes so that the community involved can understand what the impact has been of, for instance, the focus group discussions at village level; how to ensure inclusion of women and minorities in all processes of an assessment, is also a challenge especially where women and minorities are usually left out of decision making.
  - Use house-to-house discussions with people about their experiences in engaging with government, rather than having them attend meetings for which some payment would be expected; create a good monitoring and feed-back mechanism to inform communities about follow-up to

the assessment results; and ensure the involvement of women and minorities.

► To ensure that a diversity of voices, perspectives, and experiences are clearly captured in democracy assessments at the local level, a key challenge is how to develop an assessment process that is applicable in many different contexts.

- Ensure the credibility of the local partner that conducts the assessment, and include feed-back procedures in the process to ensure that citizens who are consulted are aware of the follow-up to assessment results.

## Additional Observations

► Choosing the proper team is a very crucial step to implementing good citizen-led assessments of democracy. Combinations of respected academics with experience in implementing democracy assessment tools, NGO activists with good knowledge of local culture and customs, and persons with a good network of decision makers to promote reform are probably the best to produce excellent results and to enhance the possibility of reform.

► In citizen-led assessments of democracy, there is no exact number of respondents to make it meaningful or more valid. The most important aspect is to ensure that all important stakeholders at different levels, including the most marginalized groups, such as minorities and women, are adequately represented to ensure their opinions and perspectives about local democracy are heard. Diverse methodologies, such as desk-study, surveys, key informant interviews, focus group discussions, village meetings, and multi-stakeholder workshops, are recommended to obtain a variety of opinions from different stakeholders to enrich assessment findings. In addition, clarification of certain results and feed-back processes can be included in the assessment process by using various methodologies to collect information.

► When used properly, and if all the important stakeholders in a region or municipality are involved, this tool can clearly capture the “meaning” of democracy in the local context (what do people perceive as good democratic governance at the local level?) and the innovative ways to move forward to promote reforms (how to improve local democracy?). It can also generate local solutions to problems of democracy discussed during the assessment's multi-stakeholder dialogues. Therefore, in addition to assessing the status of democracy, this type

of assessment can also be used to promote transparency and accountability at the local level while perspectives, opinions, and critical issues are being discussed and shared among the participants.

► Creating a neutral and safe environment for dialogue and debate is important for obtaining honest opinions on the status of local democracy.

Therefore, it is important to use skilled facilitators who can provide that sense of neutrality and safety to all parties involved in the citizen-led assessment. People with good understanding of local customs and culture will definitely be an asset to obtaining valid data and information from respondents.

## Civic Education: It's Not Just About Voting

### ORGANIZERS:

**Council for the Community of Democracies**—CCD (U.S.)

**Taiwan Foundation for Democracy**—TFD (Taiwan)

### MODERATOR:

**David McQuoid-Mason** – University of Kwazulu-Natal (South Africa)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**Christopher Brandt** – CCD (U.S.)

### PRESENTERS:

**Li-hua Chen** – Taipei Municipal University of Education (Taiwan)

**Abraham Magendzo** – Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano (Chile)

**Michael Kau** – TFD (Taiwan)

**Robert LaGamma** – CCD (U.S.)

This workshop focused on best practices for democracy education, and in their opening presentations, Michael Kau and Robert LaGamma established the context and importance of democracy education for the ensuing presentations and discussion.

In her opening presentation, Li-hua Chen emphasized the importance of action in civic education and that it should not be a passive exercise. Rather, students should be encouraged to be proactive to better their world. She discussed an elementary school program in Taiwan where the Civic Action Approach (CAA) was used: the program emphasized awareness of, and care for, social issues; inquiry and empowerment; and civic action. Students learned about the pollution and erosion of a local beach that led to its closure and were encouraged to discover the causes and effects and to take action to repair the damage. According to Professor Chen, programs such as this encourage students to be active citizens and involve other local citizens, including parents, teachers, and other community leaders.

In his presentation, Abraham Magendzo emphasized the importance of training teachers to teach democracy education. Many teachers, he said, do not know anything about democracy or citizen participation, so it is important that they be equipped with the skills and the know-how to teach these subjects effectively.

He also stressed that democracy education should be taught across disciplines; it should be part of math, biology, and all other subjects, not just limited to the social sciences.

The workshop participants then broke up into separate groups to discuss six themes in democracy education:

- What is Democracy?
- How Government Works in a Democracy
- Checking Abuse of Power in a Democracy
- Human Rights and Democracy
- Elections and Democracy
- Citizenship Participation in a Democracy

The groups then reported the ideas and best practices that emerged from those discussions, summarized as follows:

- For teaching on “What is Democracy?,” it was recommended that democracy should be connected to students’ lives; they should see where it holds value for them and their families, not consider it only as an abstract process.
- Democracy should be “modeled” within the learning environment; this can be done through student council elections or other decision-making processes that affect students, such as deciding where to go on school field trips.

- When learning about the role of government in a society, students should understand the role that civil society can or should play in checking government excesses and holding it accountable; it is important that civic education teaches students to think critically about their government.
- In restrictive societies, it is crucial that democracy education be carried out by NGOs. In Malaysia, for example, where the government has been in power for 55 years, civic education in schools exists only as a tool to consolidate the government's power. In such a case, NGOs must step in and provide real and balanced democracy education.
- When learning about elections, the two- to three-month period before elections take place is the best time to educate students on the subject. During this period, campaigning is in full swing and students can learn about the election process in an interactive way.

- Citizen participation can best be encouraged by localizing it. Getting involved in local issues makes democratic participation tangible for students and allows them to witness the impact of their own involvement.
- NGOs and community groups that engage in democracy education within a given country should share materials and best practices with each other.
- David McQuoid-Mason stressed that students should understand the role of the media within a democracy, as well as the pitfalls of biased journalism and the importance of making informed decisions based on fact.

Several questions arose about human rights education: Should it be limited to civil and political rights or should there be a broader definition? Who should be teaching this subject? Are these rights linked to certain duties? These questions should also guide thinking about democracy education.

## Challenges in Established Democracies and How to Address Them?

**ORGANIZER:**  
**Global Integrity** (U.S.)

**MODERATOR:**  
**Nathaniel Heller** –  
Global Integrity (U.S.)

**RAPPORTEUR:**  
**Nathaniel Heller** –  
Global Integrity (U.S.)

**PRESENTERS:**  
**Paul Graham** – IDASA: An African  
Democracy Institute (South Africa)

**Morton Halperin** –  
Open Society Foundation (U.S.)

**Manfredo Marroquin** –  
Acción Ciudadana (Guatemala)

**P**articipants in this workshop held a robust discussion exploring the challenges facing “established” democracies around the world. The discussion was divided between an exploration of the unique challenges facing established democracies, particularly in the wake of the 2008 financial crisis and subsequent European debt crisis, and solutions and innovations that might be brought to bear to address those challenges.

### Challenges

- Undue influence is exerted by special interests over the political process through “legalized corruption,” such as lobbying and political donations.
- “State capture” of politics and democratic governance by financial elites and powerful interest groups.
- A general crisis of confidence in many established democracies, especially in Europe, in the wake of the financial crises of the past four years.
- Often underdeveloped judiciaries and legislatures that provide few checks on powerful executives.

- An erosion of independent media in the face of declining advertising revenue and flawed business models.
- A risk that flaws in established democracies send negative signals to emerging democracies about the importance of the democratic project.

## Recommendations

- It is important to recognize that even in established democracies, democracy is not a destination but a continuous journey.
- While it is impossible to control fully for outside influence (financial or otherwise) over politics and politicians, greater transparency around political financing could prove helpful in many countries.

- Strengthening the media in established democracies should remain a priority to help elevate the political debate and discourse.
- Despite their imperfections established democracies remain models for new and transitioning democracies.
- New norms affirming the neutrality of elections agencies and political financing can contribute positively to strengthening established democracies.
- Focusing on the sub-national level in established democracies may yield greater short-term successes with respect to strengthening democratic governance.

## Addressing the Corruptive Effects of Transnational Criminal Networks on Democratic Institutions and Civil Society Efforts to Build Democracy

### ORGANIZERS: International IDEA

**Network for the Affirmation of NGO Sector**—MANS (Montenegro)

**MODERATOR:**  
**Alejandra Barrios** –  
Mision de Observacion  
Electoral—MOE (Colombia)

**RAPPORTEUR:**  
**Leopoldo Martinez** –  
Center for Democracy and  
Development in the Americas—  
CDDA (Venezuela)

**PRESENTERS:**  
**Santiago Villaveces-Izquierdo** –  
International IDEA (Colombia)

**Vanja Calovic** – MANS (Montenegro)

**Leopoldo Martinez** –  
CDDA (Venezuela)

Through the opening presentations and discussion at this workshop, a number of crucial issues emerged on the topic. One of the biggest threats to democracy in many countries today comes from the impact and penetration of organized crime, and it is very much the result of poverty plus weak institutions plus limited public budgets. Although the focus is usually on drug trafficking, we must “de-narcotize” the debate to get the full picture of corruption, money laundering, all kinds of trafficking, the markets of illicit activities, and the legitimization of illicit assets; these all feed into each other and create highly destructive networks.

The challenges law enforcement faces to combat transnational criminal networks are formidable, not least being limited resources, the role of militaries and other institutions in such networks, and, in effect, the

cultivation of cultures of tolerance. A number of cases in Latin America were raised that illustrate some of these challenges:

- The spill-over effect on the local economy. For example, during the week of the Assembly there were two headlines in the Peruvian daily newspaper, *El Comercio*. One headline reported that areas in the city of Cusco are under the control of drug lords, while the other reported that a square meter of real property in Cusco sells for US\$5,000. Surely, the latter is at least partially the result of the former.
- The spill-over effect on public safety, including the kidnapping industry (“*secuestro express*”) and automobile theft.
- The high level of violence in Mexico and Guatemala. There is even the question as to whether Mexico is going back to the days of its permissive

policies “as long as the drugs are only in transit.”

- In Venezuela, a lack of judicial independence contributes to the flourishing of criminal syndicates, the armed forces have been identified as complicit in the drug trade, and there is widespread criminal control of the prisons (“*Pranes*”).
- In Colombia, the guerrillas and paramilitary forces have conspired with drug traffickers and other illicit actors.

Therefore, how can we not be concerned about the potential of these forces playing a role in politics, values, and civil society in general?

National sovereignty and international cooperation issues present another challenge. There are cross-border law enforcement issues and issues regarding tax havens. But there are also issues concerning the territorial reach of laws against corruption, such as the U.S. Foreign Account Tax Compliance Act (FATCA), anti-bribery statutes, and other laws, such as the U.S. Patriot Act, as well as the UN Convention against Corruption. The question is whether we are doing enough through such legislation and enforcement.

The other pressing questions that need to be addressed include: Where is the money coming from that supports transnational criminal networks? Where are the markets? Are countries in “the north” or in the developed world sharing the cost of combatting these networks? Can de-criminalization of some trades help? Are we putting the money where our mouth is?

It is also important to understand the structure of contemporary transnational crime: it is a collaborative international network, horizontal and dynamic, with a sophisticated legal arm to “legitimize capital.” It is not a pyramidal and hierarchical structure as in the past, and this poses a difficult law enforcement challenge to governments.

Finally, in meeting the challenges to defeat organized crime, civil society can organize an international network of its own to investigate and denounce criminal networks and the government corruption that supports it.



## Independent Media in New Democracies: The Roles of Conventional and Citizen Journalism

### ORGANIZERS:

**Malaysiakini** (Malaysia)

**Women Media Center** (Pakistan)

### MODERATOR:

**Premesh Chandran** –  
Malaysiakini (Malaysia)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**Marguerite Sullivan** –  
Center for International Media  
Assistance—CIMA (U.S.)

### PRESENTERS:

**Premesh Chandran** –  
Malaysiakini (Malaysia)

**Fauzia Shaheen** – Women Media  
Center (Pakistan)

The days of the traditional journalist, working in print or broadcast news operations, as the gatekeeper of the news is no more. Today, there is a convergence—a merging—of the professional journalist and the citizen journalist. Today, the man or woman on the street has a powerful new ability to record what is happening around him or her, according to Marguerite Sullivan. Citizens shooting video or tweeting news updates and then spreading them through social media have become critical eyewitnesses in exposing everything from election fraud to local government corruption. Citizen journalists have reshaped the landscape, creating alternative ways of getting information, and they often are setting the agenda for mainstream media.

Citizen journalists are key to the news gathering operation of *Malaysiakini*, Premesh Chandran pointed out in his opening presentation, and while *Malaysiakini* has a professional staff of 80, it also has 300 citizen journalists whom it has trained in journalism ethics and shooting video, among other areas. They are tested at the end of an eight-day training program and then become *Malaysiakini*'s “journalists on the ground.” The citizen journalists have even formed chapters around the country.

In Pakistan, after decades of state-controlled television and radio, electronic media have witnessed an explosive expansion in channels and unprecedented diversity in programming, according to Fauzia Shaheen. However, on issues of national security and religion, the media's freedoms are heavily curtailed. Still, the days when information used to flow top-down from powerful media institutions to a passive audience are gone. Citizen journalism has taken root through digital media, but the most powerful tool is the short messaging system, SMS, used via mobile phones, given the country's low rates of literacy. In urban areas, the use of social media is particularly strong. During Pakistan's cata-

strophic flooding in 2010, citizen journalism was particularly effective in getting the word out about charitable opportunities, emergency relief needs, and coordination of donations. Through digital media, citizens were able to highlight where emergency relief help was needed and where relief supplies were being distributed.

Several workshop participants provided examples of how digital media have given voice to the voiceless in their countries or allowed them to give witness to injustices and harassments of certain populations, such as in gay and lesbian communities. Participants also acknowledged the challenges digital media can bring with it: vitriolic language, falsehoods, and cyber bullying can all surface, and a number of participants pointed out that media literacy is essential, since more and more citizens have become citizen journalists. The public thus needs to be more discerning producers and consumers of information. Programs are proliferating, not only in classrooms for youth but also in online and offline projects for adults, to help foster media literacy.

The legal status of citizen journalists and their security was also raised in the workshop discussion. Many press freedom groups count more bloggers in jail today than traditional journalists. Bloggers and other citizen journalists often operate without the institutional protections available to traditional journalists, and can thus put themselves at risk as they tweet or blog to the world injustices they have experienced or witnessed. It is essential, therefore, that they get information on cyber-security techniques.

Finally, the participants noted the highly important need to recognize the universal standards of good journalism: accuracy, verification, unbiased approach, and having a variety of sources. While professional journalists have always recognized these standards, it is now essential that all citizens do as well.

# Regional Networking

## Workshops

### Building an Asian Regional Network for Democracy and Human Rights

#### ORGANIZERS:

**Asian Members of the World Movement Steering Committee**

#### MODERATOR:

**Premesh Chandran** –  
*Malaysiakini (Malaysia)*

#### RAPPORTEUR:

**Yuyun Wahyuningrum** – Human Rights Working Group—HRWG  
*(Indonesia)*

#### PRESENTERS:

**Melinda Quintos de Jesus**  
– Center for Media Freedom and Responsibility—CMFR *(The Philippines)*

**Erdenejargal Perenlei** –  
Open Society Forum *(Mongolia)*

**Jose Luis Martin “Chito” Gascon** – Office of Political Affairs, Government of The Philippines *(The Philippines)*

#### Brian Joseph –

National Endowment for Democracy—NED *(U.S.)*

**Hannah Forster** – African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights *(Gambia)*

**Carlos Ponce** – Latin American and Caribbean Network for Democracy—Redlad *(Venezuela)*

**Ryota Jonen** – World Movement for Democracy Secretariat *(Japan)*

**Han Dongfang** – China Labour Bulletin *(China)*

Asia is complicated in terms of geography, culture, history, borders, political identity, ethnicity, etc. This workshop focused on the potential for creating a new network in Asia and included members of networks in Africa and Latin America so they could share their experiences.

Building a network has to begin with existing interaction among those who would be members, at least at the conceptual and practical level. Having a network on democracy in Asia is not new, and current ones usually focus on specific themes and cross-border issues, such as press freedom, human rights, women's issues, democratic processes, migrant worker issues, legal aid, etc.

### Challenges

- It was observed that many democracy networks have little interaction among their members, and while their commitments to democracy exist, they vary from one country to another.
- In Asia, the focus has mainly been on the least democratic countries with less focus on the governments that are committed to democracy in the region. China, of course, is still playing a negative role on democracy.
- Given the diversity on the Asian continent, the variety of civil society entities and their dynamics, and the different existing networks, the workshop

participants emphasized the need to revisit the strategy for advancing democracy and to study the connection between the reality in the region and the mission of a new network.

- There is also a need to analyze the reasons why Asia-wide networks have hardly ever survived.

### Recommendations

- Participants agreed that an inclusive pan-Asian network should be created as a platform for developing different capacities, themes, and activities on democracy. The network would be the venue to examine different levels of democracy in Asian countries and to investigate why there is a lack of democratic practices and culture. It can take the form of a “network of networks.”
- The workshop recognized the differences in democracy across Asia, which is a challenge to building a network, especially regarding freedom of the press, assembly, and association. The participants suggested engaging local initiatives on democracy, such as the Bali Democracy Forum initiated by the government of Indonesia.
- In April 2013, Mongolia will host the Ministerial Meeting of the Community of Democracies (CD), which will provide an opportunity to discuss an Asian network further (the CD is a global

intergovernmental association of democratic countries with the goal of promoting norms and institutions around the world). The government of Mongolia is committed to establishing an Asian civil society caucus within the CD that can engage government members of the CD if that is desired. This is something that can be explored in connection with a new regional network.

To build and maintain a network, it is important to:

- Base it on a voluntary motivation among potential members to join;
- Maintain a spirit of sharing the burdens and resources, which in turn creates a sense of collective responsibility and ownership of the goals and achievements;
- Show support for members' advocacy efforts to enhance their impact;
- Always be open to new ideas from members;
- Ensure the members share the same values, and that there is complementarity rather than competition regarding members' initiatives; and
- Ensure that members respect each other's views, agree to disagree, and recognize that having differences of opinion is a network strength.

In addition, to be effective, a network should:

- Have appropriate by-laws;
- Have a collectively agreed upon and clear goal;
- Have plans of action for the short, medium, and long terms;
- Have an institutional target for network advocacy;
- Avoid duplication of efforts and resources, both human resources and funding;
- Speak in one voice—especially for the voiceless;
- Encourage dialogue among members;
- Maintain internal and external communications;
- Ensure that all network members can appreciate the achievements and challenges;
- Be open to new discourses and interests; and
- Build the capacity of the network and its members.

Moreover, members should agree on what kind of network would fit best with the context, needs, and ways of working in Asia. The network can take the form of a coalition on a particular theme, be membership driven, or just be an informal movement.

Workshop participants suggested the following ideas for a network:

- Engage in advocacy on human rights and democracy with a focus on non-democratic countries;
- Divide the network according to the three sub-regions (East Asia, Southeast Asia, and South Asia) and/or base it on caucuses to engage with the CD, the World Movement, or other governmental and nongovernmental initiatives;
- Base the network on an analysis of need, not just on the intention to create a network;
- The network should enable its members to share hopes and experiences despite challenges and difficulties, thus contribute to a movement that is hopeful;
- The network can be composed of different stakeholders, including civil society, think tanks, academics, religious-based movements or groups, etc.;
- Have a secretariat to take on the coordination role of the network;
- Engage exiled groups from closed societies; and
- Have a modest, broad, and basic purpose.

## Conclusion

- Participants agreed to use the April 2013 CD Ministerial Meeting in Mongolia to follow up on the Lima discussion of creating an Asia network and to take concrete actions to move it forward.
- Explore the possibility of building links with CD governments.
- The Mongolian government should be encouraged to facilitate the creation of an Asian civil society caucus of the CD.

## Fostering Cross-Border Work: Lessons Learned and Future Possibilities

### ORGANIZER:

**People in Need Foundation**  
(Czech Republic)

### MODERATORS:

**Marek Svoboda** – People in Need Foundation (Czech Republic)

**Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell** –  
Chair, World Movement for Democracy Steering Committee (Canada)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**Tor Hodenfield** – CIVICUS:  
World Alliance for Citizen Participation (South Africa)

### PRESENTERS:

**Krzysztof Stanowski** –  
Solidarity Fund PL (Poland)

**Igor Blazevic** –  
Center for Democracy and Culture (Czech Republic)

**Andriy Nechyporuk** –  
Lion Society/Tovarystvo Leva (Ukraine)

**Vukosava Crnjanski Sabovic** –

Center for Research, Transparency and Accountability—CRTA (Serbia)

**Paul Graham** – IDASA: An African Democracy Institute (South Africa)

**Ambikulangara Jacob Philip** – The Herald of India (India)

**Yakin Erturk** – Women's Learning Partnership—WLP (Turkey)

**Bambang Harymurti** – Tempo International Media (Indonesia)

This workshop highlighted the challenges to and opportunities for cultivating greater cross-border support for democracy movements in Eurasia and the role of emerging powers, including India, Indonesia, South Africa, and Turkey, in addressing the global democracy deficit. A consensus emerged among the presenters from Eurasian civil society that the more consolidated democracies, including the Czech Republic and Poland, are uniquely positioned to buttress and galvanize democratic reforms in the region. According to Krzysztof Stanowski, with 78 percent of the Polish population in support of providing democracy assistance to its neighbors, for instance, the Polish government and civil society have both a moral imperative and democratic obligation to support civil society working in restrictive environments in the region. Moreover, in contrast to Western governments, which are often hampered by accusations of imperialistic aspirations, small, regional democracies with similar historical experiences are well suited to navigate the contours of latent Eurasian democracies and stimulate greater support for democracy movements in the region.

Currently, effective support for, and collaboration with, national civil society actors operating in challenging environments is hindered by the difficulties in establishing sustainable partnerships and reliable information sources, Igor Blazevic said in his presentation. Of greatest importance in supporting domestic democracy building in post-Soviet countries, therefore, is a stronger commitment to fostering durable alliances among civil society actors in the region, said

Andriy Nechyporuk. However, according to Vukosava Crnjanski Sabovic, strategies to promote democracy must reflect diverse national experiences. A “copy and paste” model will not be successful in Eurasia. Instead, a process of “copy, modify, and implement” with a particular focus on country specific advocacy strategies must be incorporated in all cross-border initiatives in Eurasia.

While highlighting the varied geo-political constraints to supporting democracy movements abroad, the presenters also stressed that civil society working in emerging powers, as well as employing international human rights instruments, can provide vital technical assistance to ensure the creation of durable legal frameworks anchoring democratic principles in fledgling democracies. In democratic countries like South Africa, however, which one would think would want to be involved in democracy support, the reality is disappointing, Paul Graham remarked in his presentation. By encouraging democratic initiatives abroad, governments sense that they are exposed to too much public scrutiny at home. Ambikulangara Jacob Philip echoed this sentiment; despite being the largest democracy in the world, India generally does not try to promote democracy abroad, since people in India will then ask questions about its own democracy. The fear of heightened public scrutiny of Indian democracy has partly encouraged India's non-interventionist foreign policy.

With European Union accession talks stalled, Turkey has sought to exert its influence in the Middle East, said Yakin Erturk. Most poignantly, it has presented itself as an archetype for democracies hopefully

emerging from the Arab Spring uprisings. However, Ms. Erturk emphasized that Turkey's democratic credentials are increasingly being questioned, and asked if Turkey can really become a model of democracy in the region. For aspiring democracies seeking to create an inclusive, just, and pluralistic state, engaging with international human rights systems can be a viable support mechanism that would allow for more comprehensive and sustainable national reform, she said.

Having actively supported democratization in their own countries, civil society in emerging powers can provide valuable technical support to embryonic democracies and cooperate with civil society to create sustainable democratic protection mechanisms, according to Bambang Harymurti. Tempo International Media, which Mr. Harymurti represents, recently supported several governments and national civil societies, including in Burma and Tunisia, to help ensure that press freedoms are protected in their national legal frameworks.

## The Soviet Legacy: How Should Civil Society Respond to Authoritarianism in Eastern Europe and Eurasia?

### ORGANIZER:

**Kazakhstan International Bureau  
for Human Rights and Rule of Law**  
(Kazakhstan)

### MODERATOR:

**Elena Ryabinina** – Human  
Rights Institute (Russia)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**Timur Kurbanov** –  
National Democratic Institute—  
NDI (Russia)

### PRESENTERS:

**Yevgeniy Zhovtis** – Kazakhstan  
International Bureau for Human Rights  
and Rule of Law (Kazakhstan)

**Oleg Kozlovsky** –  
Vision of Tomorrow (Russia)

**Vyacheslav Mamedov** –  
Democratic Civil Union of Turkmenistan  
(Turkmenistan)

**Intigam Aliyev** –  
Legal Education Society (Azerbaijan)

The workshop began with an introduction by Yevgeniy Zhovtis, who focused on the trends in the post-Soviet area, including deepening challenges and the backsliding to dictatorship. He posed three theses for the participants to consider. First, there are no civil societies as such in post-Soviet countries; instead, there are somewhat organized dissident groups, be they political or advocacy. Second, if one does not engage in politics there are no chances to build civil society. Third, internal resources in post-Soviet states are significantly limited, meaning that reforms cannot come from the grassroots; rather, they may be offered by certain elites at the top who would utilize the grassroots to support such reforms.

In his presentation, Oleg Kozlovsky focused on certain changes in Russia since December 2011, when there was a spike in the mobilization of Russian people in a number of regions, who began engaging in the political process, including monitoring elections, launching new civic projects, and participating in street protests. The government then inflicted a counter-strike;

it launched an “invasion” on activists, limiting Internet freedom and the operation of NGOs by introducing harsh legislation, persecution, and massive propaganda. The protest was not “finished,” however; it just took on different forms, so one should expect an increase in tensions between the regime and the protestors.

Vyacheslav Mamedov then spoke about the very restricted environment in his country, where the opposition operates as an outcast group. Powerful, repressive machines and the ability to manipulate international opinion are among two of the major reasons why a regime like that in Turkmenistan can grow stronger.

During the workshop discussion, participants from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan posed interesting comments:

- Participants from Georgia provided a contrasting picture of a fairly strong and strengthening civil society in that country.
- A participant from Armenia spoke about



troubling signs of growing authoritarianism in his country, and stressed that cooperation with authorities backfires on all civil society.

► A participant from Azerbaijan strongly suggested utilizing big public events, such as Euro-Vision (held recently in Azerbaijan), to draw the attention of the international community to the human rights and democracy situations in various countries. He also recommended that social media should be used more actively in democracy-related work, since its impact is growing.

► A Ukrainian participant said that in spite of problems with democracy in Ukraine, there have still been accomplishments and there is a vibrant civil society. She suggested that her country isn't authoritarian, but has a democracy deficit. She also noted some positive experiences in cooperating with officials to "use" them to help promote good initiatives, such as proposed legislation or amendments.

► A Kyrgyz participant spoke about a "façade" democracy in his country that is intended to deceive foreigners.

► A Kazakh participant described a significant deterioration of the situation in his country over the last 20 years. He strongly suggested that one may need to start all over again, from self-organized citizen clubs to a unified TV channel for Central Asian countries, to counter official propaganda.

## Recommendations

The workshop participants generally agreed that every country in the post-Soviet area is different and has its own features, and that recommendations cannot therefore be based on a "cookie-cutter approach." Still, recommendations included:

- The necessity for democrats in these states to stay connected;
- The possibility of a campaign, called "Friend of the Dictator," to embarrass and put at risk the reputations of western public figures who support bad regimes in exchange for high honoraria;
- Convince the EU and other institutions and governments to stop compromising on democratic values in exchange for natural resources and trade agreements; and
- Include the wider public in the work of civil society.

The workshop concluded that although there is no single recipe, it is important to maintain and defend what we have now and be prepared for new opportunities when they arise.

## Strengthening Regional Mechanisms to Build Democracy in Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean

### ORGANIZERS:

**African Democracy Forum—ADF**

**Latin American, and Caribbean Network for Democracy—Redlad**

### MODERATORS:

**Hannah Forster** – Africa Centre for Democracy and Human Rights—ACDHRS (Gambia)

**Carlos Ponce** – Redlad (Venezuela)

### RAPPORTEUR:

**Gina Romero** – OCASA (Colombia)

### PRESENTERS:

**Emmanuel Abdulai** – Society for Democratic Initiatives (Sierra Leone)

**Mariclaire Acosta** – Freedom House (Mexico)

## Introduction

During the introductory part of the workshop, Emmanuel Abdulai explained in his presentation that the human rights systems in Africa and Latin America/Caribbean are quite similar in part because the African system is inspired by the American one. During the institutionalization of the African Democracy Charter, he continued, civil society activists played an important role. He also described the characteristics of the Charter, focusing on access to information, freedom of expression, transparency, and free and fair elections. The Charter is, he said, one of the more progressive documents in Africa, but there is a great need for follow-up and civil society monitoring of its implementation.

Mariclaire Acosta then presented a general description of the Inter-American System and its instruments, emphasizing the fact that although Latin America/Caribbean has a longer and more stable democratic history than Africa, it is not free of conflicts or challenges. In the various countries, there has always been an attempt to modify the system to bring it closer to the European model, but Ms. Acosta indicated that this would be a mistake given the weak judiciary system in many Latin American/Caribbean countries. One of the Inter-American Human Rights Commission's biggest achievements and its most concrete contribution to democracy in the region is its presentations of, and follow up to, personal human rights petitions. If the Commission is eliminated, as many countries now wish, many people will not have even minimum access to justice. Carlos Ponce, the general coordinator of the Redlad, reinforced this point, noting that despite the weakening of the system, it is

important to emphasize the extent to which it has pioneered the defense of sexual minority rights and other difficult-to-defend rights.

Following the introductory part of the workshop, the participants divided into two groups, one focused on "Civil Society Efforts to Implement Regional Democracy Charters" and one on "Engaging Regional Human Rights Mechanisms." The two groups then came back together to present their conclusions.

## Civil Society Efforts to Implement Regional Democracy Charters

**Moderator:** Francesca Bomboko – BERC (Democratic Republic of Congo)

**Rapporteur:** Emmanuel Kitamirike – Uganda Youth Network (Uganda)

**Presenters:** Franklin Oduro – Ghana Center for Democratic Development (Ghana)  
Ramiro Orias – Fundacion CONSTRUIR (Bolivia)

This part of the workshop focused specifically on the Fundacion CONSTRUIR in Bolivia and the Centre for Democratic Development in Ghana.

Concerning the Inter-American Democratic Charter, Fundación CONSTRUIR is currently undertaking monitoring and evaluation of the Charter's performance based on four principles: access to information, citizen participation, freedom of expression, and decentralization of decision making. Each of these principles has a complex set of indicators that a consortium of CSO activists, academics, and other experts utilize to deter-

mine country compliance with the Charter's provisions. The reports containing these findings are disseminated at the national and international levels. Advocacy activities are then pursued according to the findings. A participant then recommended that regional dialogues be used to raise awareness among CSOs and the general public about the implementation of the Charter. There is also a need, the participant continued, to develop a communications strategy to enable countries to present the findings to a wide spectrum of audiences across the region.

Franklin Oduro spoke about the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance, which is generally new, so not much has been done with it compared to the Inter-American Democratic Charter. However, the African Charter has obtained the required approval of 15 countries and is thus operational across all the member states of the African Union. Still, many of these states are unfamiliar with the Charter beyond its ratification, and there appears to be a disconnect between the regional body and national-level political actors, since many government leaders and politicians are not aware of the Charter and its provisions. This is why it is important for democracy CSOs to help those countries implementing the Charter's provisions and to shame those that are not, Mr. Oduro continued. The Charter should also be popularized using various types of communication, such as radio, and CSOs should conduct studies to determine compliance.

## Engaging Regional Human Rights Mechanisms

**Moderator:** Jacqueline Pitanguy – Cidadania Estudo Pesquisa Informacao Acao—CEPIA (Brazil)

**Rapporteur:** Pablo Innecken – Redlad (Costa Rica)

**Presenters:** Katya Salazar – Due Process of Law Foundation (Peru)  
Maximilienne N'Go Mbe – Central African Human Rights Defenders Network—REDHAC (Cameroon)

This part of the workshop focused on the characteristics of the Inter-American System of Human Rights in Latin America (IASHR), recognizing that there is still a lack of information about its role on some specific issues, such as the rights of indigenous peoples.

The IASHR is characterized by its two institutions:

- The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) is part of the Organization of American States (OAS) and is composed of seven members. It receives individual complaints of human rights violations committed by governments.
- The Inter-American Court of Human Rights (CorteIDH) is an autonomous body established through litigation in 1969.

The Civil Society Forum of the OAS is the official space for civil society, but historically the IACHR has opened its doors to civil society and has been willing to cooperate. The African Human Rights System, in turn, is implemented by the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR), adopted in 1981 and entered into force in 1986, which is composed of members appointed by the member states. The Commission is intended to protect the human rights of African populations. The main difference between the IACHR and the ACHPR is that the former issues mandatory rulings binding on the states, while the ACPHR only issues simple recommendations that are only known by the states.

International and regional civil society can be more than just "clients" of these systems; CSOs are now, in fact, defenders of such human rights systems, which is why networking and systemic, comprehensive, and inter-regional collaboration is extremely important for helping to ensure that protections of human rights transcend not only national borders, but regions, oceans, and continents, as well. Civil society networks in Africa and Latin America and the Caribbean should thus share their knowledge and respective visions, learn from their differences, and communicate with each other about the mechanisms for protecting human rights, better practices, international advocacy, and ways to bring joint pressure on governments to respect rights.

## How Can Civil Society Provide Effective Input into Transitions to Democracy in the Middle East and North Africa?

### ORGANIZER:

**Network of Democrats  
in the Arab World**

### MODERATOR:

**Mokhtar Benabdallaoui** – MADA  
Centre (Morocco)

### RAPPORTEURS:

**Hajar Alkuhtany** –  
International Forum for Islamic  
Dialogue—IFID (UK)

**Aly Abuzaakouk** – Citizenship  
Forum for Democracy and  
Human Development (Libya)

### PRESENTERS:

**Maati Monjib** –  
Centre Ibn Rochd (Morocco)

**Jafar Alshayeb** – Adala Center for  
Human Rights (Saudi Arabia)

**Mokhtar Benabdallaoui** –  
MADA Centre (Morocco)

**Radwan Ziadeh** – Damascus Centre  
for Human Rights Studies (Syria)

**Aly Abuzaakouk** –  
Citizenship Forum for Democracy and  
Human Development (Libya)

In his opening presentation, Maati Monjib identified three issues regarding civil society input into democratic transitions in the region:

- The three main sources of power—money, authority, and knowledge (i.e., media)—were redistributed as a result of the popular uprisings. The redistribution of knowledge apparently played a crucial role.
- There were significant differences in the reactions to the uprisings among the political regimes based on their character. For example, the so-called “republican” regimes, such as Egypt and Tunisia, were more vulnerable and weaker in the face of the protesters and thus reacted differently than the “monarchical” regimes, such as Jordan and Morocco, which resisted the tide more effectively.
- The size of the urban community in any given country made a difference. For example, the people in Egypt, with Cairo as its main populous city, succeeded in putting great pressure on the regime while the people in Morocco, with its smaller urban communities, were less effective in putting pressure on the regime.

The workshop then focused on three leading topics:

- The Role of Local Factors in the Transitional Period of the Arab Spring Countries;
- The Role of Civil Society in Arab Countries regarding Constitution Drafting and Rebuilding Political Systems; and
- The Role of Civil Society concerning Security Forces and Institutions in the Arab Spring Context.

### The Role of Local Factors in the Transitional Period of the Arab Spring Countries

Jafar Alshayeb spoke in his presentation about the role of local factors in the process of democratization. He outlined two views on this. One view emphasizes the flexibility and the margin of freedom local areas have for pushing the democratization process forward. The other view plays down the role of local factors in influencing the actual democratization of the state and emphasizes the important role of the central government in shaping the political landscape in most of the Arab countries. Mr. Alshayeb also described the impact that the Arab Spring has left on political and religious groups in local communities who must examine their thinking and reposition themselves in the new political climate.

### The Role of Civil Society in Arab Countries regarding Constitution Drafting and Rebuilding Political Systems

The presenters and other workshop participants discussed the differentiation between democratic mechanisms and democratic culture, as well as the important role of civil society in educating and building the capacities of political actors so they can perform better in transitions to democracy. Mr. Benabdallaoui highlighted the significant role of Islam at the heart of the current debate on transitions to democracy and the role that civil society can play in leading discussions about controversial issues, such as the position of religion (particularly Islam) in the drafting of new constitutions.

In the discussion, a comparison was made between the democratization processes in Arab Spring countries and the East European experiences. In this regard, the role of regional and European organizations in assisting the targeted countries was raised in contrast to the recognition that the Arab countries lacked such assistance, such as assistance from the Arab League.

#### **The Role of Civil Society concerning Security Forces and Institutions in the Arab Spring Context**

The presenters described the ways that armies served as a crucial element in determining how the security forces would react to the protesters in the different countries. On one end of the spectrum, Egypt has a professional army with little sectarian or ethnic polarization, and this was reflected in how the army dealt with the situation with a minimum of civilian casualties. On the other end of the spectrum, the Syrian army, as Radwan Ziadeh pointed out, with its deep sectarian affiliation, dealt with the situation much differently and the number of casualties has been much greater.

Mr. Abuzaakouk reminded the participants of the Libyan case, where there was no professional army, but there were special militias loyal to Gadhafi, which made the people's victory easier (although with the aid of the West), but there was still a high price in the number of civilian casualties. The vacuum that existed was not only with respect to the lack of a professional army, he continued, since Libya after Gadhafi had no media, no constitution, and no civil society. In this context, the lack of an organized security system creates challenges to the political process and is thus a critical factor in the democratization process, including on the issue of transitional justice.

## **Recommendations**

- For effectively drafting new constitutions, the role of religion must be at the heart of the debate and civil society should play a crucial role in that debate.
- Civil society should also play a role in addressing sectarian and ethnic polarization of society and thus also the character of security institutions, since they reflect the social fabric.
- For security institutions to be a part of the solution, and not part of the problem, they should be monitored by the people's representatives in parliament, receive a high standard of professional training, and thereby learn to serve the people, not the rulers.
- Arab democracies in this transitional period can greatly benefit from learning about similar experiences elsewhere in the world, such as in Latin America and Eastern Europe.
- For civil society to be part of democracy building, it should change from mainly raising awareness and engaging in advocacy to being an active actor in decision making, policy making, and the capacity building of other political actors. Influential think tanks can also contribute significantly to the quality of civil society's contributions to democratization in the Arab countries.

**D**emocracy activists, practitioners, and scholars from every region of the world gathered in Lima, Peru to discuss practical solutions to a wide range of challenges to democracy.

In the following pages, participants are listed according to region, country, and then alphabetically by first name. Those who attended are but a small fraction of the thousands of activists around the world, so many of whom could not be included in this Assembly. However, they are as much participants in the World Movement as those who attended. Many of the participants took great personal risks to attend the Assembly and some cannot be listed here for that reason. We wish to thank both those who attended and those who were not able to attend for their support, dedication, and commitment.

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WORLD MOVEMENT  
FOR DEMOCRACY

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2012

L I M A

## Egipto debe aprobar Constitución y consolidar su democracia, afirma activista

Noticias EFE

Lima, 16 oct (EFE). - El mayor reto que afronta Egipto es aprobar una Constitución que refleje el consenso popular que derrocó a Hosni Mubarak y consolidar un proceso democrático "de la manera más rápida y eficiente posible", afirma el activista por los derechos humanos, Amr Moussa.



Escritora Eliane Karp de Toledo

### MI ENCUENTRO CON AUNG SAN SUU KYI

"La diferencia entre el ser y el estar"

En una entrevista con el periodista de la BBC, la escritora Eliane Karp de Toledo, autora del libro "Mi encuentro con Aung San Suu Kyi", relata su experiencia de haber conocido a la líder birmana en su exilio en Londres. Karp de Toledo, una escritora brasileña, describe cómo la presencia física de Suu Kyi cambió su percepción de ella, pasando de ser una figura abstracta a una persona real con emociones y vulnerabilidades.

## La pobreza y la corrupción, enemigos de la democracia

«Líderes asumen debate para encontrar formas de combatir flagelos que impiden desarrollo de naciones»



## SÉTIMA ASAMBLEA MUNDIAL PRO-DEMOCRACIA EL RETO DE LA INCLUSIÓN



La Séptima Asamblea Mundial Pro-Democracia, que se celebró en Lima, Perú, el pasado 14 de octubre, reunió a más de 100 líderes de movimientos de la sociedad civil de todo el mundo. El evento, organizado por el Movimiento Homosexual de Lima (MHOL), abordó el tema de la inclusión y la participación ciudadana en los procesos democráticos. Los participantes discutieron sobre cómo superar los obstáculos que impiden la plena participación de todos los ciudadanos en la vida política y social de sus países.

### Shameel Haseeb Tawakkol Kurman, "Madre de la Revolución" en su discurso de inauguración de la Séptima Asamblea

## "Es importante la lucha civil por la democracia"



### SÉTIMA ASAMBLEA MUNDIAL PRO-DEMOCRACIA

## "La gente debe sentir los resultados concretos de la inclusión"



El activista por los derechos humanos, Amr Moussa, afirmó que la inclusión es un proceso continuo que requiere la participación activa de todos los ciudadanos. Él destacó la importancia de crear espacios donde todas las voces sean escuchadas y de trabajar juntos para superar los desafíos que enfrentan las sociedades democráticas. Moussa enfatizó que la inclusión no es solo un concepto abstracto, sino una práctica que debe reflejarse en las políticas y acciones de los gobiernos y la sociedad civil.

### Todas las voces por la libertad

La Asamblea Mundial Pro-Democracia es un espacio único donde líderes de movimientos de la sociedad civil de todo el mundo se reúnen para discutir y promover la democracia. Este año, el tema central fue la inclusión, lo que refleja la creciente conciencia de la necesidad de involucrar a todos los ciudadanos en los procesos democráticos. Los participantes compartieron sus experiencias y estrategias para superar la opresión y promover la libertad. El evento concluyó con un discurso de cierre que reafirmó el compromiso de los participantes con la defensa de la democracia y la inclusión.

Diario De Lima Gay Publicada el 18-10-2012 00:12

## El Movimiento Homosexual de Lima (MHOL) recibió el "Tributo al Valor por la Democracia"

17 de octubre de 2012



Antoine Bernard, Director General de la FIDH (Movimiento Mundial de los Derechos Humanos).

En el día en que conmemora su 30 Aniversario, el Movimiento Homosexual de Lima (MHOL) recibió el "Tributo al Valor por la Democracia" en representación de las y los activistas de la diversidad sexual de todo mundo.

El reconocimiento fue otorgado por el Movimiento Mundial por la Democracia cuya séptima asamblea se realizó en Lima. Veronica Ferrari, directora ejecutiva del MHOL recibió la distinción de manos de

## Peruvians opened up their hearts and home

Posted on October 17, 2012 by nirmannan

The cultural evening and reception hosted by the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima and Mayor Susana Villarán de la Puente in Parque de la Reserva, Lima was an amazing evening for the democracy activists.



At this event the Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell, Chair, WMD Steering Committee and Former Prime Minister of Canada was honored as a "Distinguished Citizen of Lima" by the Mayor Susana Villarán de la Puente. "I am extremely overwhelmed by this honor," said the Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell when receiving the award. Prior to the award ceremony, participants were welcomed like state hosts with welcoming dances and a band.

"Being treated with the cultural music of Peru was another unforgettable memory in my stay in Peru," said a participant.

The event concluded with an unforgettable laser light show. Peruvians are extremely hospitable. They accept and greet you from the bottom of their hearts. The laser display by the fountain was extraordinary, something which I have never seen elsewhere. "They opened up their hearts, and home too," said Prof. David McQuoid-Mason, Prof. of Law at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Durban, another energetic and charismatic participant.

The assembly will be concluding this evening (October 17) with the John B. Hurford memorial dinner and the presentation of democracy courage tributes.

Another participant commented on the beautiful evening, "It is an event that is difficult to describe in words, but all you have are very pleasant memories. During the laser light show, most of the participants became transfixed like temporary sculptures as it was awesome."





## The World Movement for Democracy would like to thank the following donors for their generous support



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|---|--|--|

\*The World Movement Secretariat was saddened to learn of Mark Palmer's passing in January 2013. He was a true fighter for democracy around the world. A former U.S. Ambassador to Hungary, he passionately advocated diplomatic activism on behalf of democracy and human rights, and was a driving force behind the establishment of the inter-governmental Community of Democracies. He will be greatly missed.

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### Host Country CSO Consortium convened by

Gerardo Távara, Civil Association on Transparency (Transparencia)  
David Lovaton, Legal Defense Institute (IDL)

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**Logo contributed by  
Joe Prucnal, Washington, DC**







**WORLD MOVEMENT for DEMOCRACY**  
*Confronting the Challenges to Democracy in the 21st Century*

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