

# Table of Contents

<b>Message from the Steering Committee .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Opening Session</b>	
Welcoming Remarks	
• Christopher Landsberg – South Africa .....	4
• Honorable Premier L.P.H.M. Mtshali – South Africa .....	4
• African National Congress – South Africa .....	5
Keynote Addresses	
• Lodi Gyari – Tibet .....	5
• Zainab Bangura – Sierra Leone .....	6
• Ivan Krastev – Bulgaria .....	6
<b>Democracy Courage Tributes .....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>Democracy Fair .....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Plenary Session: Promoting Democracy in Closed Societies .....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>Workshop Reports</b>	
<b>Civil Society</b>	
• Developing Sustainable Civil Society Leadership for Democracy .....	11
• Exploring Innovative Uses of Cultural Resources in Promoting Democracy .....	11
• After the Breakthrough: Avoiding Democratic Backsliding and Stagnation .....	12
• NGO Coalitions: Strategies to Defend the Independence of NGOs .....	13
• The Role of Faith-Based Organizations in Hindering or Helping Transitions to Democracy .....	14
• Democracy in the Muslim World: Obstacles, Difficulties, and Best Methods .....	15
<b>Conflict Resolution, Transitional Justice, and Reconciliation</b>	
• Democracy as a Tool for Conflict Resolution .....	16
• Strategies for Democrats in Situations of Armed Conflict .....	17
• Indigenous Approaches to Conflict Resolution .....	18
• Conflict Resolution Work: The Democratic Capacity-Building Dividend .....	19
• Instruments of Transitional Justice: Truth Commissions, Tribunals, and Multi-Sector Community Approaches .....	20
• The Role of Sites of Conscience Museums in Democracy Promotion and Post-Transition Reconciliation .....	21
• Transitional Justice and the Matter of the “Disappeared” .....	21
<b>Democracy Education</b>	
• Teaching Civic Education: What are the Best Approaches In School and Out? .....	22
• Combating Political Extremism through Civic Education: What Should Be Taught and How to Teach It? .....	22
• Democracy Education in Difficult Political and Cultural Environments .....	23
• Putting Democracy Education on the Global Agenda:	
Strategies for Working with National, Regional and Multilateral Institutions .....	24
• Creating a Network for Higher Education’s Role in Democracy Building .....	26
<b>Democratic Governance</b>	
• Governance, State Capacity, and Democracy in Developing Nations:	
Establishing Standards and Identifying Impediments .....	27
• Trade Unions in the Vanguard of Democratic Governance .....	29
• The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Participatory Democracy .....	30
• Strengthening Democracy through Decentralization and Local Empowerment .....	30
• Building a Global Network on Local Governance .....	32
<b>Economic Reform</b>	
• Democracy, Governance, and Markets: Ensuring the Inclusion of the Private Sector and Political Parties in Policy Making .....	33
• The Role of Business Associations in Democratic Development .....	33
<b>Human Rights</b>	
• Assisting Democracy and Human Rights Activists in Closed Societies .....	34
• Addressing the Threats to Democracy and Human Rights Activists in Authoritarian Countries .....	35
• Challenges to Political Participation: Linking Human Rights and Democracy .....	36

**International Democracy Assistance and Solidarity**

- The Role of Nongovernmental Communities in Promoting Democracy Across Borders ..... 37
- Promoting Democracy Multilaterally: What Can Civil Society Do Through the UN, International Financial Institutions, and the Community of Democracies? ..... 37
- The Nongovernmental Process for the Community of Democracies, Santiago 2005: Promoting Regional Dialogues among Governments and Civil Society ..... 39
- Network of Democracy Assistance Foundations ..... 40
- Luso-Forum for Democracy ..... 41
- Youth Movement for Democracy ..... 42
- International Movement of Parliamentarians for Democracy ..... 42

**Media and New Technologies**

- Confronting the Challenges to Press Freedom: What Works? ..... 43
- Using Traditional, Alternative, and New Technology Media to Promote Democracy ..... 44
- Using New Technologies in NGO Networking ..... 44

**Political Parties and Finance**

- Making Effective Transitions to Democratic Representative Parties ..... 45
- How to Strengthen Internal Party Democracy ..... 46
- Political Parties and Money: Lessons Learned in Compliance ..... 47
- Political Finance Reporting and Monitoring ..... 48

**Research**

- How Can Civil Society Actors Use Public Opinion Research to Improve and Strengthen Democracy? ..... 48
- Network of Democracy Research Institutes ..... 49

**Transparency and Accountability**

- Ensuring Vital and Open Legislatures: The Nongovernmental Role ..... 50
- How Can the Legitimacy and Accountability of NGOs be Ensured without Increasing their Vulnerability? ..... 52
- Accessing Public information: Civil Society Strategies for Ensuring Transparency ..... 53

**Women's Rights**

- Breaking Barriers to Women's Political Participation:  
Creating an Action Agenda to Advance Women's Leadership ..... 54
- Citizen's Forums: How Women's Organizations Work with the Community and Across Borders ..... 55
- Networking Activists for Women's Rights ..... 57

**Regional Workshops**

- Africa ..... 58
- Asia ..... 58
- Central and Eastern Europe/New Independent States ..... 60
  - Media Monitoring and Alternative Media ..... 60
  - Opportunities for Think Tank Networking in the Balkan-Black Sea Region ..... 61
  - Legislative Oversight, Accountability, and Transparency ..... 62
  - Increasing Youth Participation in the Political Process ..... 62
- Latin America and the Caribbean ..... 63
- Middle East and North Africa ..... 64
- Transatlantic Democracy Network ..... 65

**Participants** ..... 66

**Press** ..... 73

**Assembly support** ..... inside back cover

The material in this report was edited by Art Kaufman, Project Manager, World Movement Secretariat, and assembled by Rachel Boyle, Project Assistant.

# Message from the Steering Committee

The Third Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy, “Building Democracy for Peace, Development, and Human Rights,” brought together nearly 600 democracy activists, practitioners, and scholars from nearly 120 countries around the world on February 1–4, 2004, in Durban, South Africa. These participants brought with them their great dedication and commitment to the principles of freedom, self-government, and the rule of law, demonstrated each day by the work they carry out to build the institutions of democracy.

The Steering Committee is delighted that the World Movement for Democracy was able to convene in South Africa, a country that in this same year commemorated the Ten-Year Anniversary of embarking on its remarkably successful transition to democracy. It is with great appreciation that we note the contributions of the many South African participants who shared their experiences in the struggle against apartheid—and for democracy—as well as their insights into both the achievements gained and the challenges their country still confronts.

We wish to express our gratitude to our three South African partner organizations, the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS), and the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), as well as to those institutions that provided support, especially eThekweni Municipality (City of Durban) and the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Government, for all their assistance and participation. Special words of thanks are due to our South African colleague on the Steering Committee, Dr. Christopher Landsberg, who gave so much of his time and wisdom to help make the Assembly a great success, and to the Assembly’s three keynote speakers, Zainab Bangura (Sierra Leone), Lodi Gyari (Tibet), and Ivan Krastev (Bulgaria).

The participants in the World Movement’s Inaugural Assembly in New Delhi, India, in February 1999 knew that they were bringing something unique into existence—not a new organization as such, but a pro-active global network of democrats who would come together periodically to exchange ideas and experiences and develop relationships of solidarity

and mutual support across countries and regions. As a result, in November 2000, democrats who are engaged in distinct, but highly complementary, areas of democracy work gathered in São Paulo, Brazil, for the Second Assembly to continue building the World Movement for Democracy. The theme of that Assembly, “Confronting the Challenges to Democracy in the 21st Century,” embodied their commitment to further democratic progress around the world. The Second Assembly was the first to feature multiple workshops focused on practical strategies, tactics, and “best practices” of benefit to all who participated.

The main work of the Third Assembly took place once again in a wide array of topical, functional, and regional workshops, the reports from which appear in the following pages. Our message would thus be incomplete without acknowledging the contributions of all the workshop organizers, moderators, rapporteurs, and presenters without which the accomplishments of the Third Assembly would have been impossible.

Finally, we wish to highlight the critical work conducted by the thousands of democracy activists around the world, only a small fraction of whom can join in the biennial assemblies of the World Movement. The World Movement’s Democracy Courage Tributes—presented at this Assembly to the Democracy Movement in Sudan, the Manor River Union Civil Society Movement (Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea), the Democracy Movement in Belarus, and the Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information (IPCRI) and Panorama: The Palestinian Center for the Dissemination of Democracy and Community Development—seek to recognize that critical, and often under-recognized, work.

Since its Inaugural Assembly, the World Movement has emerged as a significant initiative that strengthens democratic interaction by fostering new linkages, support networks, and voluntary collaboration among like-minded democrats, while emphasizing concrete actions. We are confident that, like its predecessors in New Delhi and São Paulo, the Third Assembly in Durban has served to carry the World Movement forward once again.

**Steering Committee**  
*World Movement for Democracy*

# Opening Session



Christopher Landsberg

## Welcome

**S**teering Committee member **Dr. Christopher Landsberg** welcomed the participants to the Third Assembly in Durban, South Africa. Landsberg is the Director of the Centre for Policy Studies, a Johannesburg-based research organization.

**Excerpts:** “In April this year, South Africa will celebrate its first decade of democracy and freedom. This is

therefore a time for us to take stock of achievements to date and reflect on setbacks and challenges for the next decade. Allow me to be so immodest and suggest that outsiders and friends from abroad can indeed learn something from South Africa and South Africa’s experience — both the good and the bad. Indeed, the purpose of the World Movement, I should remind you, is to provide the spark that can help ignite, inform, and inspire those that carry out the noble work of democracy promotion in their

respective regions and countries.”

## The Honorable Premier L.P.H.M. Mtshali

**Mtshali** has been the National Chairperson of the Inkatha Freedom Party since February of 1999. He has a distinguished career in education and holds degrees in Education from Rhodes University, the University of South

Africa, University of Zululand, and the University of the Orange Free State. Mtshali was a teacher and principal for twelve years, and served in various administrative capacities in education, including Minister of Education and Culture in the former KZN Government. He has



been a Member of Parliament since 1994. Mtshali currently serves as the National Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology.

**Excerpts:** “The Province and the Government of KwaZulu-Natal are delighted and privileged in welcoming the participants in the Third Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy. We feel that our Province is greatly enriched by your presence. We look forward to the success of this event. In fact, we are convinced that your deliberations will be of great assistance in the consolidation of our fledgling and still uncertain democracy. The consolidation of democracy is a long process which is not finalized, but just begins with the holding of a democratic election.

I am delighted that your conference is correctly placing emphasis on the need to promote democracy by strengthening the opinions, voices and roles of genuine democrats. In order to survive and grow, a democracy needs genuine democrats at its stewardship. Genuine democrats are those who understand what democracy needs to grow and prosper and are willing to become instruments of such a process, even if that means risking unpopularity or diminishing the amount of power and influence which one may otherwise gather in one’s own hands. Democracy needs friends especially within the circles of government, where they often lack.

For me, democracy is a system which is aimed at controlling conflicts and transforming their energy into positive forces which may move society forward. Democracy should not be about eliminating conflict by silencing dissent or forcing political correctness or uniformity. Wherever the existence of potentially beneficial conflict has been eliminated by absolute power, and consensus is enforced by the fear of dissent, one does not have democracy but democratic stagnation.”





Vasu Gounden of ACCORD reads a message from the Secretary General of the African National Congress.

## The African National Congress (ANC)

**Excerpts:** “On behalf of the African National Congress, I am delighted to extend a warm welcome to all delegates to the Third Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy in Durban.

You have correctly chosen to host this conference in Durban, South

Africa, during this historic year of the 10th anniversary of our democracy and our liberation from apartheid.

This year is also the 92nd year of the African National Congress, Africa’s oldest liberation movement. The ANC has declared this year as the year of renewal of the democratic mandate to advance our second decade of liberation. As you are aware, South Africa is Africa’s youngest republic. In this respect, your conference has given us the opportunity to reaffirm the strong bond of solidarity and friendship that exists between our countries and peoples. We can never thank the people of the world enough for their support and solidarity, which made our democratic advances possible.

I am very pleased that this conference includes a number of democratic activists who are engaged in meaningful projects and partnerships with Africans. This is consistent with your concern to support our continent to meet our political, economic, and social goals centered on the strengthening of democracy and the defeat of poverty and underdevelopment and represented by the African Union and the New Partnership for Peace and Development (NEPAD).”

**Kgalema Motlanthe**  
Secretary General  
African National Congress

## Keynote Addresses



Lodi Gyari (Tibet)

**Lodi Gyari** is the Special Envoy of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and the Executive Chair of the Board of Directors of the International Campaign for Tibet. Born in Nyarong, Kham in eastern Tibet, Gyari was appointed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama to establish contact with the Chinese

government on his behalf. He is also one of the founding members of the Tibetan Youth Congress, serving as its President from 1976 to 1977.

**Excerpts:** “I gladly accepted to speak here in South Africa because it would be an opportunity for me to be here personally and to be able to share experiences with our South African brothers and sisters. We have watched South Africa’s transition from a distance; in fact, for some of us, too much of a distance, but we have given our moral support. I myself, as an activist many, many years before in Delhi, worked very closely with South African colleagues who were then in India seeking support from Indians and from us. So it is my hope that this great nation, these great people of South Africa, having succeeded, will also take a leadership role and not shy away from taking responsibility. Because all that sacrifice that they went through must in the end be more than just for themselves.”



Phenduka Dance Company

## Keynote Addresses (continued)



Zainab Bangura (Sierra Leone)

### Zainab Bangura

is the Co-founder and former Chair of Sierra Leone's youngest political party—Movement for Progress Party—that seeks to promote good governance, integrity and the empowerment of women, youth and the disabled. She is currently the Executive Director of the National Accountability Group.

**Excerpts:** “The role of democratic leadership in Africa has been barren for a long time now. Our first generation of leaders governed through their sheer strength and personality. The second generation of leaders, who were younger, less educated, less sophisticated, and less nationalistic, mastered power politics, but little else. They silenced all opposing voices but those of the party line and succeeded to plunder our continent’s abundant resources. What we need now are democratically elected men and women with reasoned voices and clear visions to rebuild our badly battered continent...”

My African brothers and sisters here today, I am saying to you without any hesitation that if our continent is to develop and join the global world, our present leaders in Africa must examine their consciences and understand and accept the unique and proud history and circumstances of the African people. They must realize and understand that our first generation of African leaders did not fight for independence to be less free instead of more free, poorer instead of better off, more illiterate instead of educated, permanent refugees, having generations of their children grow up in refugee camps, instead of the stable and prosperous lives they so rightfully deserve, dying of HIV instead of living to a ripe old age and telling their grandchildren about their exploits as youngsters.”



Ivan Krastev (Bulgaria)

### Ivan Krastev

is the Chairman of the Board and Research Director at the Center for Liberal Strategies, based in Sofia, Bulgaria, and a member of the World Movement Steering Committee. Through sophisticated in-depth analytical reports, he has influenced the policies of the Bulgarian government on key

issues, such as establishing a primary election system in Bulgaria and fostering international and regional cooperation.

**Excerpts:** “In a certain way my short speech is very much inspired by the London Underground. I don’t know if you’ve ever noticed this, but any time the doors of the train are opening in the London Underground, there is a prophetic voice telling you, ‘mind the gap.’ And I do believe this is extremely important because what we learned in Eastern Europe for the last decade is that maybe we have not been aware of minding the gap. So you have successful democracies now in our parts of the world, and to be honest democracy does not have an alternative; it is obvious for everyone. But in a certain way I don’t know what is worse: to have strong enemies or to have suspicious friends. And this is part of the problem with democracy these days, because I do believe that we are living in a time when many countries and many regimes simply want to be called democracies, but perceived through the eyes of their own citizens they are not providing more freedom, and democracy is about freedom.”

**A**t its biennial assemblies, the World Movement for Democracy pays tribute to democratic groups and movements that have demonstrated exceptional courage in their work and who have struggled for the most part outside the spotlight of world attention. By highlighting their accomplishments, the World Movement seeks not only to offer some richly deserved recognition, but also to build a strong sense of solidarity with fellow democrats around the world.

This year's recipients were as follows:



Ayesha Iman presents Courage Tribute to the Democracy Movement in Sudan.

## **The Democracy Movement in Sudan**

Scores of nongovernmental organizations, including women's, student, human rights, peace, academic, business, professional, cultural, and religious groups, as well as the independent press and trade unions, have re-emerged in both northern and southern Sudan in the past few years. Largely unrecognized and often at great personal risk, this democratic movement is exerting increasing pressure on all sides of Sudan's 20-year civil war to end the fighting, and is building the foundations for sustainable peace, democracy, and human rights in the country. Among the groups leading this movement are the Babiker Badri Scientific Association for Women Studies, the Kwoto Cultural Center, the Khartoum Monitor, the Sudan Human Rights Organization, and the New Sudan Council of Churches.



Irena Lasota presents Courage Tribute to the Democracy Movement in Belarus.

## **The Democracy Movement in Belarus**

The Democracy Movement in Belarus continues to be heavily repressed for opposing the Lukashenko regime. In a difficult climate in which elections are rigged, politicians are "disappeared," human rights violated, and independent organizations shut down, the movement is struggling to promote a return to democracy and economic reform in Belarus. In the past year, more than a dozen NGOs and independent newspapers have been forcibly closed. The tribute was accepted by members of the Assembly of Pro-Democratic NGOs and the Belarusian Association of Journalists, the two leading organizations that support and defend Belarus' civil society and media sectors.

## **The Mano River Union Civil Society Movement**

Uniting more than 40 groups from Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Guinea, members of the Mano River Union Civil Society Movement have demonstrated extraordinary courage in mobilizing for peace and democracy. Despite harassment and torture, they have continued to appeal for peace negotiations among the governments and combatants in the region, and have organized demonstrations and meetings calling for greater respect for democracy and human rights. Among the organizations leading the Movement are the Association of Liberian Professional Organizations,





Ayo Obe presents Courage Tribute to the Mano River Union Civil Society Movement.



Carl Gershman presents Courage Tribute to the Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information, based in Israel, and to Panorama, based in Palestine.

the Press Union of Liberia, the Campaign for Good Governance of Sierra Leone, and the Organisation Guineene des Droits de l'Homme.

### The Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information (Israel) /Panorama (Palestine)

Working under the most difficult circumstances in Palestine and Israel, two groups, Panorama and the Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information (IPCRI), continue their long-standing, solid commitment to democracy and peace. Panorama's innovative approaches to civic education and youth outreach throughout Palestine have helped to sustain optimism about the prospects for Palestinian democracy and continue to provide a critical moderating influence. IPCRI's unique and ongoing contribution to governance and peace issues affecting Israelis and Palestinians, through

research, training and the outline of policy prescriptions for peace, has given it credibility and relevance and has put the organization at the forefront of those working for both peace and democracy.

In his opening remarks, World Movement Steering Committee member Genaro Arriagada (Chile) noted, "through your activities and commitment, you are teaching us that democracy is something very special that we have to respect in every country in the world."



The event was sponsored by the Hurford Foundation, whose President, Robert Miller, offered his appreciation to all of the Movement's participants "for your extraordinary efforts on behalf of the people of the world." He added: "Our Foundation is committed to continuing its support of your efforts."

The Democracy Courage Tributes dinner is named for John Boyce Hurford (1938-2000), an internationalist and philanthropist who played



Hurford Foundation President Robert Miller

an important role in helping to conceptualize and bring into being the World Movement for Democracy.

Previous Tribute recipients were Colombia's Democratic Mayors, the Civil Society Movement of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Iran's Pro-Democracy Student Movement, the Chechen NGO LAM, and the Tiananmen Mothers Network in China.



# Democracy Fair

Assembly participants gained knowledge, skills, and relationships of mutual solidarity through a “Democracy Fair” that featured an exhibition area, a technology training center, a video screening room, an Internet café, and a “town hall” in which participants educated each other about particular causes and generated support for them. To facilitate networking, all of the Assembly lunches were held in the Democracy Fair Hall.



Participants fill the Internet café.



South Africa's Robben Island Museum exhibit.



Participants display material and information.



Participants build skills in the technology training center.



Local artisans exhibit their skills.

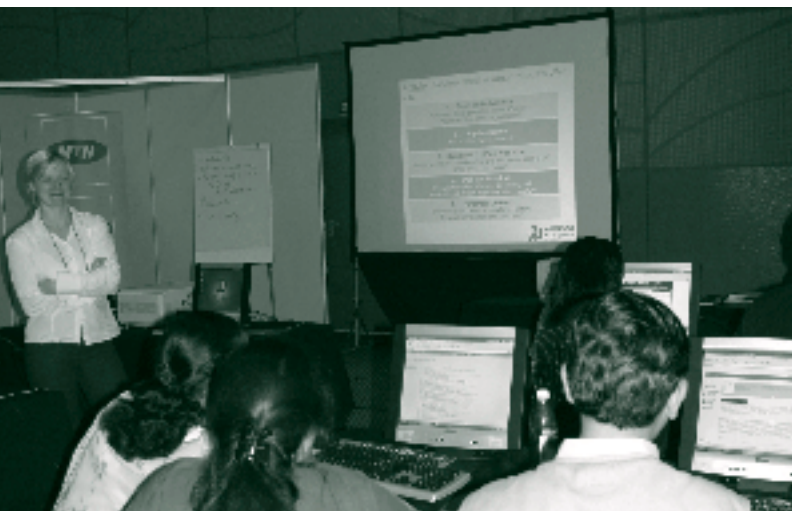




Video Screening Room



Democracy Fair Hall



Technology Training Center



Participants network over lunch.

## Plenary Session: Promoting Democracy in Closed Societies

Democracy activists working to promote human rights and democracy in three countries, Cuba, North Korea, and Burma, informed World Movement participants of the repressive conditions in their countries, how organizations are working internationally to open these societies, and what the world community can do to assist them.

**Annabelle Rodriguez**, President of the Madrid-based association Encuentro, explained the psychological repression that exists in Cuba today and the lengths to which the government goes to suppress and prevent the spread of all independent opinion, to exert control over all information technology, and to set barriers between those who live inside and those on the outside.

**Young Howard**, the international coordinator of the Network for North Korean Democracy and Human Rights, reported on his work with refugees fleeing into China, who provide valuable information about the human rights catastrophe inside that country, including a vast network of prison camps and mass starvation.

**Thin Thin Aung**, Joint Secretary of the Women's League of Burma, reported on the work of international activists who are calling attention to the continued betrayal of the Burmese people by the military regime.

There are striking similarities in the highlighted countries, most notably the growing sophistication with which the regimes are using instruments of control over their people. Each of the panelists emphasized how critical it is that the international community maintain a high level of pressure on these regimes, which are definitely sensitive to world opinion. The panel moderator, World Movement Steering Committee member Krzysztof Stanowski, compared the situation of these countries to that of his native Poland under Communism, pointing out how important it was then and is today for democracy activists around the world to break down the isolation of the people who live inside these countries, so that they will realize that they are not alone.

## Civil Society

### Developing Sustainable Civil Society Leadership for Democracy

**Organizer:**

Civil Liberties Organization – Nigeria

**Moderator:**

Chima Ubani – Nigeria

**Presenter:**

Titus Mann – Nigeria

Kayode Fayemi – Nigeria

The president of the Civil Liberties Organization (CLO) of Nigeria, Titus Mann, opened the discussion with a presentation drawn from the experiences of the CLO in the context of Nigeria. This presentation and the discussion that followed focused on the individual and institutional dimensions of leadership, the qualities of a good NGO leader, the kinds of democratic structures NGOs should develop and to which their leadership should be subordinated, the leadership strategies that should be nurtured and sustained, and the challenges facing civil society movements in these respects.

**Recommendations:**

- Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) should formulate generic qualities that persons aspiring to lead them must possess, including integrity, sincerity, commitment, honesty, trustworthiness, openness, transparency, and the ability to inspire and motivate others towards the attainment of collective goals or vision.
- Generic codes of ethics should be developed by which civil society leaders must abide and that address, among other things, questions of accountability and corruption, conflicts of interest between civil society work and government appointment, peer review and self-regulatory mechanisms, sanctions, and past records of leaders.
- CSOs should establish clear institutional frameworks and internal democratic structures that are expressed in their articles of association and that provide for democratic decision making, membership participation, and education and leadership training.
- CSOs should develop frameworks for leadership training encompassing informal processes (orientations, seminars, exposure, etc.) and formal training through the establishment of training institutions with definite modules, curricula, and courses.

### Exploring Innovative Uses of Cultural Resources in Promoting Democracy

**Organizer:**

Kwoto Theater – Sudan

**Moderator:**

Jan Hodann – Sweden

**Rapporteur:**

Betty Murungi – Kenya

**Presenters:**

Maher Issa – Palestine

Haydar Ibrahim – Sudan

Ioana-Adriana Avadani – Romania

The workshop began with a discussion of the challenges to using culture as a tool for promoting democracy and human rights. The participants explored the meaning of the term “culture” and whether it refers to behavior and norms or to cultural events. The Participants also discussed the dilemma of cultural modernity, evolving cultural practices, and tradition.

**Recommendations:**

- The use of cultural resources must be centered on universal democratic values and human rights principles.
- A basis for participatory discussion and analysis should be formed that enables participants to make informed decisions about their rights. For example, participants from Afrikans and Zulu communities were brought together to engage in dialogue about “negative” cultural icons, symbols particular to each group, and how to interpret them. The discussion resulted in improved understanding of both cultures.
- Inform and educate through entertainment. For example, in Jordan popular film stars have volunteered to dramatize soap operas on issues of rape and sexual harassment.



- Strategic selection from among the vast array of cultural resources is of great importance. For example, in Sudan, the use of street theatre has been an effective means to educate communities by disseminating information about early marriage and female genital mutilation. In developed communities, however, movies and new communication technologies can be more effective.
- People should reshape and reclaim popular cultural resources so that they have a more positive impact in society. For example, in Romania, cultural resources, such as news media, films, and songs, were historically used to promote politics, particularly communism. This tainted the manner in which these cultural resources could be used as a tool for democracy education. However, in South Africa, similar cultural resources, such as street theatre, poetry and chanting of the “Toyi-Toyi,” were used successfully during the apartheid regime to mobilize the masses, and they continue to be valuable resources for democracy education.

Some cultural resources that workshop participants identified as tools for democracy education include:

- mass media, pop-culture, and fashion (such as slogans on T-shirts);
- sports and film icons and role models;
- humor, cartoons, and games (such as Street Law’s “Democracy for All”);
- songs, street theatre, plays, puppet shows, poetry, folklore and myths;
- manuals using traditions and religious texts in support of human rights (for example, the *Claiming Our Rights* human rights education manual);
- performing arts, such as painting, sculpture, music, dance; and
- new communication technologies, such as Internet radio, text-messaging, and distance education.

Workshop participants also recommended that at the next World Movement Assembly, the Democracy Fair should include exhibitions and workshops showcasing how artists, musicians, painters, and sculptors from around the world are promoting human rights and democracy through their creative work.

## After the Breakthrough: Avoiding Democratic Backsliding and Stagnation

### Organizer:

Zainab Bangura – *Sierra Leone*

### Moderator:

Zainab Bangura – *Sierra Leone*

### Rapporteur:

Ivaneta Dobichina – *Bulgaria*

### Presenters:

Kayode Fayemi – *Nigeria*

Ivlian Khaindrava – *Georgia*

Slobodan Djinoic – *Serbia*

### Challenges:

- Democracy activists realize that after a democratic breakdown in many countries the challenges actually begin *after* elections. In many cases, the elections are not viewed as part of the constitutional development process, but as a remedy for all problems.
- International support and democracy assistance are often targeted only at elections, which results in short-term attention to democratization.
- In post-war countries, the root cause of conflict is often not addressed and post-war reconstruction is left in the hands of the ruling party.
- Very often after a breakdown, NGO activists enter politics and civil society consequently atrophies.
- In many cases the state is over-centralized and the old regime has more resources and experience with which to govern.
- While democracy is about public debate and conflict, most transitional countries have very low levels of conflict-management capacity.
- The qualitative deterioration of politics leads to the

emergence of “political entrepreneurship.”

- In many countries the elevated role of political parties has led to partisan, not participatory, democracy.
- In most transitional countries, weakness in constitutional and institutional frameworks has been the experience.

### Recommendations:

- Democracy assistance (support of the democratization processes and post-election assistance) should shift from short-term to long-term strategic engagement.
- Civil society education should try to help moderate expectations and knowledge to limit backsliding from democracy.
- Civil society should also play a watchdog role and empower communities to hold governments accountable concerning their delivery on election promises. It should increase awareness of democracy and human rights, not only during elections, but continuously. Civil society is not limited to NGOs, but includes other groups, such as churches and political parties, and should not just be centered in cities but should be

expanded to include rural areas as well.

- Donor organizations should help the expansion of civil society by building institutional capacity rather than simply funding programs.
- Regional organizations should establish norms based on democratic principles to which countries should adhere. They should also create benchmarks and criteria to hold such countries accountable. Regional leaders should help build democracy inter- and intra-regionally through skills sharing, technical assistance, and diplomacy.
- There should be institutional and constitutional reform that is not one-sided or organized solely by the executive.
- Trust in public institutions should be increased.
- Electoral systems should represent the people and the people's opinions.
- Local and national referenda should be considered an option for giving a greater voice to the public.
- Assistance should be given to political parties to help them reform.
- Power sharing governments cannot exist if power is obtained from *coup d'états* or because rebels create violence.
- Peace accords should not guarantee impunity, and impunity should not reach corruption and allow representatives convicted of corruption to return to govern-

ment. There can also be a “cleansing process” through which former government officials are prevented from holding office for a set amount of time. However, such a process should not be allowed to motivate leaders of authoritarian regimes to stay in power for fear of reprisal.

- Elections should determine the personnel in all branches of government so that the executive does not choose the rest of government.
- After a transition has been effected, the structures and branches of government should be changed to address the root causes of conflict.
- Following elections political parties should continue to exist in order to hold governments accountable and raise awareness of critical issues.
- There can be a voluntary agreement between the ruling and opposition parties to limit instability and conflict following an election, but it is not clear how governments can be held to such an agreement.
- Norms should be strengthened to decrease corruption and to maintain credibility among the population.
- NGOs should monitor corruption, especially when government officials become rich while the general population stays poor.
- Opposition parties that come to power should neither shut out civil society nor drain it of skilled and knowledgeable individuals by bringing too many of them into government.

## NGO Coalitions: Strategies to Defend the Independence of NGOs

### Organizer:

Arab Program for Human Rights Activists – *Egypt*

### Moderator:

David McQuoid-Mason – *South Africa*

### Rapporteur:

Bassem Hafez – *Egypt*

### Presenters:

Penelope Faulkner – *Vietnam*  
Hannah Forster – *The Gambia*  
Maria Dahle – *Norway*  
Andrea Sanhueza – *Chile*  
Haytham Manna – *Syria*

The participants, who were well diversified regionally, began by defining the terms and typologies of the subject, and distinctions were made between “loose” and “tight” coalitions and between “formal” and “informal” ones. “Single issue” and “long-term” coalitions were also identified, and the Asian experience drew attention to the fact that national coalitions should operate at the grass-roots level in order to react appropriately to questions about their legitimacy and credibility. One pitfall that NGO coalitions should avoid, especially in politically polarized environments, is partisan affiliation.

The Eastern European experience lent itself to the idea of starting a coalition with a small group and expanding it later on rather than the more conventional other way around. Among the new considerations concerning the independence of NGOs, one that emerged is that NGOs

want to break free of any undesired influences of funding institutions on their agendas. NGO coalitions were thus advised that they can legitimately stand up to any undesired trend of donor countries seeking to affect the balance and relationship between NGOs and donors.

Concerning the internal challenges that NGO coalitions sometimes face, participants highlighted the importance of stating clearly from the beginning both the objectives and the type of a coalition in order to know when it has fulfilled its purpose. Internal transparency among members of a coalition should also be maintained to limit or prevent the negative effects of hidden agendas, such as internal conflicts. Similarly, long-term coalitions should maintain their focus on the interests of the member NGOs.

Among the other points made in the workshop discussion were the following:

- Independence does not mean a coalition's work is not political.
- There is a difference between political work and party politics.
- There should be a common program for an effective coalition.
- Depend on civil society-based organizations at the grass-roots level to keep the coalition going.
- Study different examples of coalitions from all over the world.
- Coalitions help create the future in a country.
- Issue-based coalitions should be dissolved when the issue is resolved.
- Organizations should come together on issues of common interest.

### Recommendations to participants in the World Movement

- Develop a network.
- Link community groups to the World Movement Network
- Use coalitions to give NGOs a voice with the strength to approach donors.
- Any coalition can be effective if it has a common interest, a common initiative, and common action.
- Different models should be used in different situations and countries.
- Share your international experience in building coalitions.
- Strategies should be devised that can be shared by all.
- Develop strategies to strengthen the members of different groups within the World Movement.

### Conclusion

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that in a coalition affiliation should take the form of partnership, not dependence. This is important both for the effectiveness of the coalition as well as the independence of the participating NGOs.

## The Role of Faith-Based Organizations in Hindering or Helping Transitions to Democracy

### Organizers:

Canon John Nightingale – UK  
Diakonia Council of Churches  
– South Africa

### Moderators:

Sue Brittion – South Africa  
Saydoon Nisa Sayed – South Africa

### Rapporteurs:

Deon Snyman – South Africa  
Nathi Mzila – South Africa

### Presenters:

Canon John Nightingale – UK  
Vo Van Ai – Vietnam  
Paddy Meskin – South Africa  
Laith Kubba – Iraq

### Challenges:

- Some Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) are involved in the struggle for democracy while other FBOs are supporting undemocratic forces.
- Some FBOs over-emphasize spiritual issues and don't focus enough on issues related to social justice (e.g. HIV and AIDS, poverty, peace, reconciliation, and democracy).
- Some FBOs view the involvement of religious communities in political issues as dangerous.
- Some governments view organized religion as a threat to government.
- Most FBOs view state-sponsored FBOs as illegitimate and not able to express the views of religious communities.

### Recommendations:

- Religious values (e.g. tolerance, respect, equality, peace, and love) need to be revived within civic education.
- FBOs need to be recognized as an integral part of society.

- FBOs need to share their democratic models with other FBOs in order to develop new and better models.
- Religious leaders need to be exposed to issues related to human rights and democracy.
- FBOs are of vital importance within civil society; therefore, one of the plenary sessions of the next Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy should focus on FBOs.
- Criticism of the actions of people of a certain religion should not be seen as criticism of their religion.
- Women's organizations of different FBOs should network with each other to promote equality between the genders, and FBOs should support the promotion of human rights for women.
- NGOs should be encouraged to develop partnerships with FBOs in the promotion of democracy.
- Most religious texts represent cultural practices within the timeframe in which the texts were written. Therefore, religious texts need to be reinterpreted to address issues within the current timeframe.



## Democracy in the Muslim World: Obstacles, Difficulties, and Best Methods

### Organizers:

Center for the Study of Islam & Democracy – USA  
Sisters in Islam – Malaysia

### Moderator:

Radwan Masmoudi – USA

### Rapporteur:

Salah Jourchi – Tunisia

### Presenters:

Zainah Anwar – Malaysia  
Haytham Manna – Syria  
Salah Jourchi – Tunisia  
Ayesha Imam – Nigeria

### Challenges:

- Mr. Masmoudi spoke about the current crisis in the Muslim world, despite all its potential and enormous resources. He indicated that Muslims feel obligated to choose between Islam and modernity (or Islam and democracy) because they are faced with outdated and inappropriate interpretations of Islam that are hundreds of years old and not applicable to the modern situation. Masmoudi added that the international community and governments have been too willing to tolerate and acquiesce to undemocratic regimes in the Arab and Muslim world (in the name of stability), but this is beginning to change as people realize that real stability can only be achieved through the democratic process.
- Mr. Manna mentioned the historic development of the Muslim civilization, and earlier civilizations, up to colonialism. He spoke about the difficult situation that the political elite found in the Arab world after independence, and indicated that religious reforms (of both Christianity and Islam) did not succeed in changing the expansionist and empire-building tendencies in both religions. The only solution is to recognize the rights of the citizens, regardless of their religion, in order to build modern democratic states. Manna stressed the importance of engaging in dialogue (both internal and external) to build consensus and harmony.
- Ms. Imam spoke about the experience of Muslims in Nigeria, and indicated that conservative Muslims are first and foremost concerned about protecting the Muslim identity. This is being done at the expense of the rights of Muslim women who were deprived of their right to vote until 1976. Strict adherence to *Shari`a* and *hudud* (punishment) laws have resulted in discrimination against women and poor individuals. While someone who steals \$50 can have his hand cut off, people who embezzle millions of dollars often go unpunished (because there is no *hudud* punishment against embezzlement). She concluded that the Nigerian experience stressed the importance of peaceful coexistence between Muslims and non-Muslims, and the need to search for a positive definition of Islam and *Shari`a* that protects and supports freedom and justice.
- Mr. Jourchi spoke about the difficulties of democratic transitions in the Arab world, and explained that there is no society that is against democracy in principle,

but there are problems of implementation and practice. The failure is in the strategies adopted by the democrats, especially since Arab history does not provide many examples of democratic rule. Arab countries are not all the same, but each country has its own specificity. The challenges that remain have to do with how to weaken the hold of governments, and their control of the political process, without resorting to violence. Democracy promotion in the Arab world must take place with and without the cooperation of the regimes, and he called for ending the ideological wars between national and secularist forces, on the one hand, and Islamic and Islamist movements, on the other. There can be no democracy without the participation of the Islamists, but democracy will be in danger if Islamists dominate the state and public discourse.

- Ms. Anwar stated that Islam is being used as a political ideology by some groups who want to monopolize Islam. Muslim women, in Malaysia and other parts of the Muslim world, are now trying to defend their rights under Islam by putting forward their own interpretation of Islam. Conservative religious scholars do not have the right to speak in the name of Islam, which belongs to every Muslim man and woman. Even non-Muslims in Muslim-majority countries, such as Malaysia, have the right to express their concerns about Islam and their rights as full citizens and equal partners.

### Recommendations:

- It is necessary to continue this type of exchange and debate, and democracy foundations, like the National Endowment for Democracy, should support these and similar initiatives and networks.
- Religious dialogue is also very important, not only among Muslims of various groups and tendencies, but also with members of other faiths in order to promote religious harmony, understanding between civilizations, and peace.
- Muslims should develop a modern and tolerant interpretation of Islam, based on the Islamic principles of *Shura* (consultation), *Adl* (justice), and *Hurriya* (freedom), as necessary conditions for developing democracy and peaceful coexistence.
- Islamic movements and religious leaders must be

engaged in dialogue about their visions and social projects in order to arrive at consensus on the type of society and government that Muslims seek and deserve. Exclusion and oppression will only lead these movements to more violence and radicalism.

- Secularism should not be forced as the main objec-

tive because it is currently misunderstood as anti-religion. True secularism is in fact a protection of religion from the State, and of religious freedom from government interference. Secularism is not a condition for democracy in the Muslim world, but can be developed through dialogue and recognition of common interests.

## ***Conflict Resolution, Transitional Justice, and Reconciliation***

### ***Democracy as a Tool for Conflict Resolution***

#### **Organizers:**

Swedish Center Party International  
Foundation – *Sweden*  
ACCORD – *South Africa*

#### **Moderators:**

Åke Pettersson – *Sweden*  
Vasu Gounden – *South Africa*

#### **Rapporteurs:**

Mila Eklund – *Sweden*  
Tshiliso Molukanele – *South Africa*

#### **Presenters:**

Ayo Obe – *Nigeria*  
Par Granstedt – *Sweden*  
Eugene Nindorera – *Burundi*  
Liia Hanni – *Estonia*  
Ben Kapita – *Zambia*  
Kwezi Mngibisa – *South Africa*

The workshop began with the following question posed to the participants: Is democracy a precondition for stability and conflict management or should conflict management and resolution precede democracy?

Three general themes were emphasized:

- democracy as a tool for conflict management across borders;
- democracy as a tool for conflict management at national levels; and
- mass mobilization during times of transition.

#### **Observations:**

- Democracy is a process of power sharing, and democratic consolidation can assist in conflict management. Parliamentarians and political parties thus have an important role to play in democracy and conflict management.
- Parliament is a model of peaceful conflict management; it provides space to different groups, opinions, and approaches.
- Electoral systems should be free and fair and promote representative parliaments; those that have not fulfilled these criteria have led to conflict in the past.
- Mass mobilization during transitions is important. The involvement of civil society in the democratization process is also important; for instance, it has a role to play in monitoring. Freedom of speech and press is important for the full participation of all sectors of society, and transparency is central to democratization.
- Regional and sub-regional forums and parliamentary bodies have a role to play by facilitating understanding between nations.
- When they are not handled in a proper manner eth-

nicity and division may threaten democracy. Inclusion of all in the management of the affairs of the country may restore stability.

- Parliament is key to providing a platform for dialogue among various political groupings in a country. Accommodation and representation, transparency in public affairs, and constructive relations between majority and opposition are all conditions of a well functioning parliament. Cross-border linkages and regional parliamentary forums should have major roles in addressing common challenges.
- Democracy has been used as a tool of division in the past. Elections are important for democracy, but the history of elections on the African continent suggests that they are not necessarily good for stability. That is why it is important to instil democracy in individuals; you cannot have democracy without democrats.
- Conflict arises as a result of mismanagement of political power. The lack of rules, or lack of respect for rules, leads to conflict, and this happens where there is no democracy or room for pluralism. Citizens should be able to hold leaders accountable.
- Conflict is often caused by the exclusion of others from governance, selfish leaders, and ethnic cleansing. Examples of this can be found among African leaders in Zambia, Malawi, and Namibia who wish to change the laws to prolong their own positions of power. There is a need to instil partnership and power sharing in government, along with engagement with the opposition and civil society. Global agreement on the Inter-Congolese Dialogue was a good start for peace and stability in that country.
- Human interaction is fraught with possibilities of conflict and conflict management should seek to result

in a community in harmony. Conflict management promotes smooth human interaction and provides communities with the opportunity to co-exist. Democracy helps to arrest the deterioration of human relations into conflict and chaos.

#### Questions:

- What is the position of social and economic justice in democracy?
- How should we deal with external factors of conflict? The interferences of other states and interest groups in the internal affairs of a country may not lead to democracy (e.g., states might then be imposing their “way of democracy” on others).
- Can power-sharing arrangements in post-conflict situations be seen as a way of legitimizing former warlords and warring parties? Can this lead to impunity during war given the knowledge that an amnesty will be granted?
- Peace agreements are often pacts between the elites and do not necessarily represent aspirations at the grassroots level, or the general population is simply left out of the process altogether; local people do not participate and issues of human rights violations are

often not addressed. Can such agreements be used as instruments in building lasting peace?

#### Conclusions:

- Democratization itself should be given time to develop, but timeframes for “deliverables” should be set. The population at large should know what to expect and not be taken by surprise. Good, mature leadership during a transition is an important asset.
- Respect for minorities and other identities is important for a well functioning democracy. If a minority is threatened it becomes stronger and may very well overrun the democracy itself.
- Political parties should be based on values rather than on persons or identity.
- A democratic political culture should be developed through the educational system beginning with children at an early age.
- Democracy needs strong institutions, such as an independent judiciary and a strong parliament.
- Lasting democracy may depend on the form of a struggle. Mass-based struggles, rather than elite-based negotiations, often lead to stronger democracies.

## Strategies for Democrats in Situations of Armed Conflict

#### Organizers:

Congreso Visible – *Colombia*  
Corporación Región – *Colombia*  
Panorama – *Palestine*

#### Moderator:

Elisabeth Ungar – *Colombia*

#### Rapporteur:

Rubén Fernández – *Colombia*

#### Presenters:

Riad Malki – *Palestine*  
Leon Valencia – *Colombia*  
Gershon Baskin – *Israel*

Participants in this workshop presented experiences of democratic activists in Israel, Palestine, and Colombia.

#### Challenges:

The presenters mentioned some of the constraints that democrats experience in countries and situations of armed conflict, namely:

- Individuals and organizations that work for peace amidst a conflict are often threatened by the various actors in the conflict and are often accused by one side or the other of supporting the enemy.
- Those who work for peace often have to confront public opinion, which says, “You must not speak with the enemy.” Sometimes, however, they receive support from different sectors of society but are afraid to speak up.
- There are always powerful economic and political interests that benefit from a conflict and they often conspire against the peace process.
- It is often easier for extreme positions to win the

support of public opinion because their messages are simple and direct, such as “If they are going to kill us, let’s kill them first.”

#### Recommendations:

The presenting organizations have worked in the field of education and the promotion of democratic values, in direct contact with people of different beliefs, in an effort to influence public opinion and to enlarge the base of democrats who support the peace processes in their countries. From the presentations and the ensuing dialogue among the workshop participants, a number of recommendations emerged:

- There is an ethical starting point: it is a duty of all democrats to work for a peaceful solution to a conflict, not only because of the cost in lives, but also because peace is more sustainable when it is built in a negotiated way.
- It is always necessary to work to maintain an open door for communication between enemies. This



presents both an opportunity and a challenge for civil society organizations; when the official channels have broken down, the doors to dialogue should be opened by democrats of differing beliefs.

- Democrats should develop educational programs and promote democratic values among different groups in conflict affected societies so that while they may have different beliefs they will still believe in democratic values. It is especially important to work with young people in this respect.
- Since it is more difficult to gain the support of people for the peace process, because the proposals and activities are often more complex, working with media representatives and journalists is indispensable. Again, the purpose of this work should be to influence public

opinion and to enlarge the base of democrats who support peace processes.

- It is very important to work with public opinion on the side of the “enemy” because for democrats not everyone on the opposite side or those who have different values and beliefs are enemies; it is necessary to try to understand their values and win their support for one’s cause.
- The central idea is that the supreme value is life and that from life freedom and democracy emerge.
- It is necessary to combat the use of terror and indifference towards those who wield it. It should also be understood that there is an “official terror” and an “unofficial terror”; both are very dangerous for society and for democracy.

## Indigenous Approaches to Conflict Resolution

### Organizers:

Foundation for Citizenship and Governance Training – *South Africa*  
Center for the Research of Societal Problems – *Turkey*

### Moderator:

Craig Arendse – *South Africa*

### Rapporteur:

Brian Redelinghuys – *South Africa*

### Presenters:

Craig Arendse – *South Africa*  
Dogu Ergil – *Turkey*

The opening presentations emphasized the importance of retaining communalism and holism of the community in conflict resolution efforts. The communities themselves are the insiders and thus should be intimately involved in the resolution of conflict, unlike Western approaches that depend on outsiders.

### Observations:

#### Elements of indigenous approaches to conflict resolution

- Engagement in dialogue
- Replicating dialogue
- Transforming relationships
- Consulting communities
- Respect for the other individual as the basis

#### Benefits of indigenous approaches for strengthening democracy

- The indigenous approach is more enduring.
- It develops ownership of the process within the communities involved and assists in the self-recovery of the disputants.
- It is sustainable in terms of peace building and keeping.
- Acknowledges the feelings of the actors and thus creates opportunities to get to the root cause of the issues.
- Allows mediators to learn about the conflict directly from the indigenous actors.

- Brings internal experiences to the resolution of the issues.

### Challenges:

- How to develop a gender-balanced approach?
- How to integrate indigenous approaches with Western approaches so as not to create a dichotomy?
- How to define what is indigenous in a cosmopolitan context?

### Best Practices:

- The role of women in conflict resolution mechanisms is minimal and should thus be encouraged and expanded.
- The outsider should provide space to employ methodologies that are central to indigenous processes.
- Name the process in such a way as to be acceptable to the parties and actors.
- Build on what is already there with respect to resolution of the conflict.
- Instill ownership of the process within the communities.
- Sustain the process.
- Prevent conflict through attention to cultural sensitivity, knowledge, and acceptance of local history.
- Clarify the roles of interveners and equalize the playing field.

## Conflict Resolution Work: The Democratic Capacity-Building Dividend

**Organizer:**

Youth Movement for Democracy

**Moderators:**

 Clayton Lillienfeldt – *South Africa*  
 Ryota Jonen – *Japan*
**Rapporteur:**

 Ryota Jonen – *Japan*

Participants in the workshop discussed the important links between conflict resolution and democracy and explored the possibilities of building partnerships to develop training programs on conflict resolution and democratic leadership in different regions.

The workshop introduced the concept of linking conflict resolution and democracy, which has not been recognized sufficiently among academics and democracy-promotion organizations around the world. The workshop was based on the youth training programs that the Youth Movement for Democracy has developed on democratic leadership and conflict resolution skills. The workshop thus began with an explanation of the training programs and an identification of links between conflict resolution and democracy. For example, conflict resolution skills (communication skills, building trust and consensus among antagonistic groups, and identifying causes of conflict) are also crucial skills for democratic leadership.

The workshop discussion focused mainly on identifying additional links, identified as:

- Reconciliation and nation building, particularly in post-conflict societies;
- Co-existence, tolerance, diversity, minority rights, and representation in political institutions;
- Building partnerships and sustainable relationships as outcomes of the conflict-resolution process;
- Good understanding of the root causes of conflict as a key to successful democracy building;
- Traditional approaches to conflict resolution;
- Employing democratic principles in political negotiations;
- Importance of a democratic environment for interven-

tion and peace processes, such as broad participation of citizens and NGOs;

- Wide distribution of information about the peace process;
- Recognition of massive violations of human rights in a conflict and the establishment of a post-conflict human rights regime to address those violations.

**Recommendations:**

A manual for the Youth Movement training programs was presented to the workshop participants for discussion.

Participants made the following recommendations:

- The manual should include successful case studies of conflict resolution and democracy building.
- The target group for the training programs should be specified because approaches to resolving conflict are different for different groups of people (e.g., NGOs, youth, government officials, warring factions, etc).
- In addition to the proposed training programs, workshop participants also recommended exchange programs for young activists from different conflict situations and programs on human rights violations in conflict.

Given that the Youth Movement seeks to conduct training programs in different regions of the world, participants from Sierra Leone, Tibet, and Colombia expressed their interest in possible collaboration on the programs.

*The first Youth Movement's training program is scheduled to take place in Nairobi, Kenya, on December 12–17, 2004. This program has been developed in collaboration with the Africa Democracy Forum.*



Participants networking.

## Instruments of Transitional Justice: Truth Commissions, Tribunals and Multi-Sector Community Approaches

### Organizer:

Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation – South Africa

### Moderator:

Graeme Simpson – South Africa

### Rapporteur:

Polly Dewhurst – South Africa

The first part of the workshop was composed of a brief introduction to issues and models of transitional justice, such as truth commissions, tribunals, and mixed approaches that incorporate both prosecutorial and reconciliatory mechanisms. Workshop participants from 20 countries shared their experiences of transitional justice mechanisms taking place or being planned in their regions.

### Challenges:

- How do local experiences relate to transitional justice mechanisms that take place at a national level (i.e., how should informers be dealt with; how can reconciliation be embedded in communities)?
- The tensions involved in local and national transitional justice processes running alongside international justice initiatives, such as the International Criminal Court (ICC), must be recognized and the options for dealing with them must be developed.
- The challenges facing national processes in dealing with regional conflicts (e.g., Democratic Republic of Congo, Southern Africa) must be addressed.
- It is important to tackle the incapacity of transitional justice instruments to address past and present violence and to link the two.
- It is necessary to deal with the tensions involved in balancing needs for justice with reconciliation.
- Concerning the issue of reparations, approaches must formulate how to get them, how to get governments from using them as substitutes for truth, and what the role of memory and museums should be.
- What is the potential for “Traditional” justice, or the use of customary tools?
- Can the transitional justice process truly deal with genocide or with large-scale conflicts (i.e., in the Democratic Republic of Congo where more than 3 million people were killed)?
- There are certain fault lines for re-emerging conflict if transitional justice processes do not deal with certain issues. Some of these fault lines include:
  - Refugee and displaced communities
  - Ex-combatant reintegration
  - Disappearances and unresolved cases.

### Observations:

Due to time constraints and the wide variety of questions and issues raised in the information-sharing session, the workshop participants did not attempt to come up with specific recommendations or suggestions. Rather, the session sought to open dialogue and note key observations, which included:

- There are no neat answers about which transitional justice mechanisms work best. There is also no model that can be applied directly to all countries. This is especially true of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which is often marketed aggressively. Civil society should continue to develop innovative approaches that balance justice and prosecutions, on the one hand, with more reconciliatory initiatives, on the other.
- The amnesty process remains highly contested and controversial. This process must continue to be reviewed, revised, and explored, especially in light of the development of international justice instruments, such as the ICC. There continues to be serious limitations to prosecutorial approaches as well.
- The protection and preservation of records is essential if transitional justice processes are to be effective, or even in situations where it is not possible for these processes to take place.
- Transitional justice processes must prioritize the complex and changing needs of victims (for example, refugees who don't want to return “home” because of better lives in the cities where they lived during the conflict).
- There is a danger in the establishment in given countries of transitional justice mechanisms by international institutions. The country's population must “own” the processes if the people are to be effectively engaged and/or have an impact on the local level.
- Transitional justice mechanisms are often only able to open the door for reconciliation, truth-seeking and justice. Countries (and notably civil society) should set up additional mechanisms to work with and carry forward the work begun by these mechanisms.
- Transitional justice mechanisms do not always have to be national processes. There are options for these mechanisms to be used in more creative ways to deal both with local and regional atrocities.



## The Role of Sites of Conscience Museums in Democracy Promotion and Post-Transition Reconciliation

**Organizer:**

District Six Museum – *South Africa*  
(member, *International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience*)

**Moderator:**

Valmont Layne – *South Africa*

**Rapporteur:**

Valmont Layne – *South Africa*

**Presenters:**

Valmont Layne – *South Africa*  
Lionel Davis – *South Africa*  
Yazir Henri – *South Africa*

What is a site of conscience? Sites are typically developed within the context of struggles for democracy. In addition, through historical processes sites may become part of the popular imagination or linked to human rights issues. History normally determines how this happens. How is it decided that a site has broader significance for human rights? How do sites become places that inspire hope and keep us focused on the task of developing and maintaining a human rights culture?

Three presenters in the workshop described sites of conscience museums in South Africa. From its sordid history, Robben Island, where Nelson Mandela and other anti-apartheid activists were imprisoned, has been turned into a memorial site, a place for education, a place of triumph of the human spirit.

Prestwich Place in Cape Town is a recently discovered burial site of slaves and their descendents. In this case, a critical consideration has been the process of asserting this as a site of conscience against business and other interests.

District Six, also in Cape Town, was destroyed under apartheid and became a site of conscience because of its physical and symbolic prominence. It is an example of how civic action can be linked to a site's past and its future, mobilizing the past for an ongoing process of citizenship building. District Six was created through a process of civic contestation. That is its critical characteristic.

Participants in the workshop were interested in learn-

ing more about how to memorialize a site to reflect the struggle for democracy (e.g., in Taiwan). Others were concerned about how to popularize a site, to prevent backsliding from democratic progress; how can lessons learned be transmitted to a wider audience through a site of conscience? There was also an interest in sites as places of documentation and consciousness-raising.

**Recommendations:**

- It is important that the content of a site be dynamically linked to its contested nature; all sites are contested and should reflect this.
- In transitional contexts, sites can have the power to ensure that “there is no going back.”
- Avoid the trappings of “political voyeurism.” Tourism can turn a site into a leisure experience and rob it of its meaning inside the struggle for human rights. It can lose its capacity to change the visitor.
- Sites should be responsive to external stimuli and challenges.
- Sites of conscience should put careful thought into access. For example, Green Island, a political prison in Taiwan, is not (yet) accessible.
- Sites should ensure that they have a meaning beyond those who experienced the abuses. It is therefore critical to place emphasis on youth and future generations to ensure that the site remains relevant to them.

## Transitional Justice and the Matter of the “Disappeared”

**Organizers:**

John Daniel, Human Sciences  
Research Council – *South Africa*  
Committee of the Families of the  
Disappeared in Algeria – *Algeria*

**Moderator:**

John Daniel – *South Africa*

**Rapporteur:**

Ollie Mahopo – *South Africa*

**Presenters:**

Nassera Dutour – *Algeria*  
Polly Dewhirst – *South Africa*

Participants shared their stories on the problem of disappearances in their respective countries. Several common problems emerged from the discussion, such as the destruction of records, fear among witnesses and perpetrators to volunteer information, the lack of interest and/or political will of governments to initiate investigations, and the presence of perpetrators in positions of power. The

workshop was a useful beginning for sharing information and strategies. At the conclusion there was consensus that networks on the issue should be strengthened so that the effort goes beyond mere information sharing and moves toward joint action.

After the opening presentations and a viewing of a South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission

(TRC) documentary on human rights violations, discussion focused on the prospects of having TRCs in other countries where they might be useful and on the ways in which groups can link up with NGOs and other like minded organizations outside their countries.

#### Recommendations:

- Establish networks for research and the exchange of information.

- Conduct joint lobbying and advocacy both internationally and locally.
- Develop capacity training for addressing disappearance issues.
- Take cases to the International Criminal Court and the African Union Human Rights Court (once it is established).

## Democracy Education

### Teaching Civic Education: What are the Best Approaches In School and Out?

#### Organizers:

Electoral Institute of Southern Africa  
– South Africa  
Foundation for Education for  
Democracy – Poland

#### Moderator:

Krzysztof Stanowski – Poland

Representatives of organizations experienced in civic education from 29 countries were divided into six groups during this workshop. Each person shared his or her experiences with other group members and one of the stories was shared with the larger group.

Four illustrative examples emerged from the group discussion:

- A participant from Iraqi Kurdistan shared experiences relating to the collection of real-life stories from children. These stories were turned into plays and reenacted in the schools.
- A Nigerian participant described an approach of training religious group leaders in churches and mosques to promote democratic values.
- A participant from Russia described work with difficult drop-out students and their families to give the students a second chance at school.
- A participant from Kosovo presented examples of

youth participation in parliament.

#### Recommendations:

Workshop participants discussed various strategies and recommendations:

#### In schools

- Increase public participation in civic education;
- Encourage parental involvement;
- Encourage financial support and cooperation among local authorities.

#### Outside schools

- Support non-traditional methods of civic education and encourage innovative methods, such as drama, games, field trips and student volunteering;
- Lobby for the inclusion of topics, such as human rights, gender equality, youth participation, and election procedures, in the school curriculum of each country.

### Combating Political Extremism through Civic Education: What should be Taught and How to Teach It?

#### Organizers:

Civitas International  
American Federation of  
Teachers – USA

#### Moderator:

Joseph Davis – USA

#### Rapporteur:

Christina Houlihan – USA

#### Presenters:

Krzysztof Stanowski – Poland  
David McQuoid-Mason – South Africa  
Radwan Masmoudi – Tunisia/USA

The goal of this workshop was to begin to develop civic education strategies for combating political extremism at the national, regional, and local levels. It was attended by

participants from 15 countries. The discussion included a presentation explaining the segregated system of education that existed under apartheid in South Africa, a pre-

sensation explaining the need for civic education for youth in the Arab world, and a presentation on the state of civic education in post-communist countries and the need for new methods to engage youth.

After a brief initial discussion among the participants, the group was divided up according to geographic regions (Africa, the Middle East, and Eastern/Central Europe). Each group identified the types of extremism present in their regions, brainstormed on ways to combat such extremism, and chose one of these ways for development into a plan of action. Each group then presented its work, which covered ideas ranging from using the Internet to providing information about human rights and democracy, to lobbying governments to change educational policies, to examining the content of textbooks to find examples of discrimination.

#### Recommendations:

- Conduct “training of trainers” (NGO leaders, teachers, community leaders, etc.) on extremism so they can eas-

ily identify it and employ strategies for dealing with it.

- Include young people who are outside the formal education system in civic education programs.
- Identify and engage allies in the fight for effective civic education.
- Develop awareness campaigns about extremism for various audiences, including the general public, young people, religious leaders, community leaders, etc.
- Develop strategies for both formal and informal civic education, since it can often take years for the formal curriculum to be changed.
- Link democracy education with religious and cultural values.
- Train politicians, traditional leaders, and religious leaders in civic education.
- Encourage NGOs to pressure their governments to implement the promises of the UN Decade of Human Rights and the UN Decade of Peace and Non-Violence.

## Democracy Education in Difficult Political and Cultural Environments

**Organizers:** Sisterhood is Global Institute – *Jordan*  
Tashkent Public Education Center – *Uzbekistan*

**Moderator:** Muborak Tashpulatova – *Uzbekistan*

**Rapporteur:** Julia Kharashvili – *Georgia*

**Presenters:** Krzysztof Stanowski – *Poland*  
Dilyara Seytveliyeva – *Ukraine*  
Maxim Charniauski – *Belarus*

#### Challenges:

A number of challenges were identified based on experiences in several countries, as follows:

Conditions were difficult for democracy education in Poland and in post-Soviet republics some 15 years before Poland became a champion of strikes, protest action, and underground publications. Those working in Poland were well prepared for protest actions, but completely unprepared for arranging everyday work and taking on responsibility. The approach at the time was to give people a chance to experience the dangers of communism; there were all kinds of rights in the Constitution, but they were only on paper, and people needed some experience in how to be responsible for other people's communities. Teachers were assisted in building new relations in the classroom and they discovered that such approaches could be used in difficult circumstances.

In Uzbekistan, it was difficult to say the words “human rights,” and it was thus important to introduce more active methods of teaching. To empower people, it was necessary to teach them how to listen and how to take responsibility. The next step was to prepare a constitution for the schools and to link it with the real constitution. When students get the opportunity to experience self-governance it becomes an experiment for real life. This is an important exercise in its own right, not in connection with

possible benefits.

In Jordan, the tasks of liberalization and democracy have not yet been achieved. Since 1960, a number of organizations have been created to support the building of democracy and human rights. Their aim is to develop civic NGOs, provide education, and create laws for the defense of citizens. In addition, in Jordan, as an Islamic country, western manuals cannot be fully used and must be adapted, and more resources are required to bridge the gap between formal and informal education and to disseminate the experiences of other countries.

In Lebanon, Egypt, Palestine, and Jordan a number of organizations try to develop the principles of democracy and advocate for women. The main challenge to democracy education there is unstable relations among schools, government, and society. NGOs are thus engaged in advocacy and the realization of democracy education, trying to ensure necessary resources and the preparation of training modules. Civic education is also a matter of both formal and informal education. Modest attempts to include civic education in the school curriculum are thus also an objective of advocacy efforts, and it is important to widen existing experience in these efforts to other Arab countries. One obstacle in Arab society is the difficulty of actively involving women and youth in NGO activities.

**Recommendations:**

- In post-conflict countries it is necessary to link education and human rights to the real needs of the people (for example, with sports or after-school activities, or to link it with the distribution of humanitarian assistance).
- It is highly important to have good knowledge of the community in which one is working in terms of background and culture.
- It is necessary to work well with both teachers and trainers.
- The possibilities for education are related to the self-organization of the community, which is why self-organization should be promoted.
- The challenge of integrating refugees should be addressed through the creation of refugee centers. To assist them in adapting, both refugees and local citizens should be invited to civic education centers and to participate in seminars.
- Those who are supposed to train others should be well prepared and have knowledge of “best practices” from other regions and countries; this would help build solidarity with people with similar traumatic experiences.
- Religion should neither be united with nor divided from education artificially; in some cases, religion adds values and support for democracy while in other cases it opposes democracy, which is why the relationship

should be addressed carefully.

- Given cultural autonomy, it is difficult, but nonetheless important, to mobilize people politically.
- Memories of traumatic experiences should be promoted, and money should be identified for post-conflict rehabilitation.
- Proposing idealistic methods should be avoided because they lead to a loss of trust.
- People should be taught how to restore civic rights.
- With some exceptions, human rights education should be related to the cultural context of a country and to its social relations.

**Conclusions:**

In sum, the workshop concluded that:

- When working in difficult cultural or political environments it is important to identify clearly the context of the difficulties. It is necessary to identify the political situations of a country, and then discover the historical background.
- Efforts cannot build only on Western examples; local traditions and contexts also need to be utilized so they can be easily understood.
- The development of a civic education curriculum should be based on the local needs of the country, not on fashions, which would only serve as an object of criticism.

## ***Putting Democracy Education on the Global Agenda: Strategies for Working with National, Regional and Multilateral Institutions***

**Organizers:**

Street Law – USA  
David McQuoid-Mason – South Africa  
American Federation of Teachers – USA

**Moderators:**

Joseph Davis – USA  
David McQuoid-Mason – South Africa

**Rapporteur:**

Patricia Keefer – USA

The purpose of this workshop was to disseminate and further develop the Pocantico Global Strategic Plan for the promotion of civic education that was drafted by an international task force of democracy educators in June 2004 under the auspices of the Council for the Community of Democracies (CCD). The participants reviewed the Pocantico draft and were asked to make comments and specific recommendations to strengthen the strategy for promoting civic education among national governments and multilateral institutions. They were also asked to make recommendations for implementing the Global Plan within their own countries and regions.

The genesis and evolution of the Strategic Plan for Democracy Education, which was initiated in Warsaw in 2000 at the launch of the Community of Democracies,

was described, including the principles that have guided its development: “Civic education is essential to the survival and expansion of democracy in all countries and regions and democracy education needs to be sensitive to the issues of culture, gender, and tradition.”

In reviewing the Pocantico Plan, a synopsis of the national and regional action plans was presented, following which the workshop participants organized themselves into two working groups, one composed of the African participants and the other a multi-national group, for the purpose of closely reviewing the Plan and making recommendations for improvement and implementation.

Participants focused their attention on how NGOs can forge cooperation with national governments for two purposes: to advance national implementation plans for



effective democracy education, including standards for a formal education curriculum, and to pressure governments to advocate for the inclusion of democracy education and a commitment of resources in national, regional and multi-national development plans.

The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) was identified as an ideal target of opportunity for incorporating democracy education in its peer-review process and for advocating the education for democracy initiative. The Africa Democracy Forum (ADF), a regional network affiliated with the World Movement for Democracy, should represent the democracy education nongovernmental sector at NEPAD conferences and proceedings and possibly as accredited official observers.

### Recommendations:

#### Africa Group

- The participants in the Africa group agreed in principle with all of the regional, multi-national, and national recommendations in the Pocantico Plan. They suggested a few modifications but focused most of their attention on implementation.
- Three specific amendments to the Plan were recommended:
  - Support for tax exemptions for organizations conducting democracy education activities. National governments should extend these to indigenous NGOs and CBOs, whereas international organizations should receive tax exemptions from their respective home governments.
  - National governments should establish national endowments sourcing public and private funds for democracy education.
  - In addition to NGOs, CBOs, faith-based organizations and others need to be included in the recognition of interest groups engaged in democracy education, and national and community groups should be linked with each other to minimize fragmentation.
- The ADF should take the lead in facilitating continental linkages for national, regional, and sub-national democracy education. It should set up an interest group sector dedicated to democracy education and host a Web site for information, materials, and training resources; it should advocate for continental, regional, and national support for democracy education; and it should assist national organizations in strengthening cooperation, coordination, and integration.

- The ADF should convene a meeting of all national organizations conducting democracy education activities, and any organization offering democracy education programs should subscribe to the protocols and practice of internal democracy.

- There is a critical need for democracy education trainers. A comprehensive training initiative should be advanced, including training-of-trainers, certification of trainers, and a database of training resources, including people, materials, and training modules. Training issues and demands should be prioritized.

- Election authorities should be invited to expand their current technical applications in voter education to include more substantive components of democracy education.

Organizations that participated in the Africa group of the workshop will take the lead in their respective sub-regions, as follows:

- Southern Africa: IDASA and Street Law (South Africa)
- East Africa: Ethiopia Human Rights Commission and the Kenya Human Rights Commission
- West Africa: Liberia Center for Law and Human Rights Education

#### Multi-national Group

The recommendations of the Multi-national working group focused on European cooperation and donor support from members of the Community of Democracies, donor governments and regional organizations, such as the EU and the Council of Europe. The government of the Netherlands and Denmark were identified as possibly having particular interests in democracy education.

- When considering support for democracy education the needs and resources of "two Europes" — West and East/Central — should be recognized.
- There should be individual consultations with the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (Great Britain), the Danes, the Dutch, and possibly a European approach to Turkey for support of democracy education

It was recognized that more information is needed to identify donors giving priority to national and international democracy education with a view to convening a European meeting to further the Pocantico Plan of Action and to fund democracy education in emerging and established democracies. It was proposed that the meeting be held in Brussels in cooperation with the EU and other multi-international agencies.

# Creating a Network for Higher Education's Role in Democracy Building

## Organizer:

Europaeum – UK

## Moderators:

Paul Flather – UK

Michael Pinto-Duschinsky – UK

## Rapporteur:

Marcin Walecki – Poland

## Presenters:

Paul Flather – UK

Adam Habib – South Africa

## Observations:

A diverse group of democracy activists with experience in higher education presented their views on the issue of promoting democracy through an educational network. The group made the following general observations:

- Leading universities are engaged in, and contribute to, civil society at many levels, serving as critic, knowledge producer, trainer of skills, protector of culture, and galvanizer of rural and economic development.
- Universities are inevitably *political* institutions in the widest sense; they contribute to the development of societies.
- Universities have a responsibility to face up to the challenge that in future decades some 85 percent of the world's population will have no access to tertiary education, while 15 percent will enjoy a variety of life chances as a result of tertiary educational opportunity.

The workshop participants agreed that universities should be economically and socially responsive to today's challenges. Moreover, established universities have a duty not only to work with their own civil society, but to support other institutions in transitional societies. Participants contributed specific examples, from South Africa, Ghana, Indonesia, Moldova, Poland and the United Kingdom, of civic engagement, successful interconnections, as well as obstacles and difficulties faced in transitional societies.

Participants also pointed out that universities face serious challenges, such as political and economic pressures, lack of leadership, apathy, decline of student movements, bureaucratic interference, and even political repression.

Against this background, the workshop participants agreed to develop a proposal for creating a network with the following characteristics:

- To work with institutional leaders and individuals with energy and commitment

- To exchange knowledge and transfer technology
- To engage in "two-way" processes
- To recognize that leading universities can contribute to the global process of democratization.

## Recommendations:

- A meeting should be held of appropriate university consortia to discuss specific ways of linking leading universities with those of the developing world. This initiative should be supported by the World Movement for Democracy.
- A "Democracy Visitors Program" should be established through which visiting academics and students can be linked to other universities.
- A short questionnaire should be produced to elicit examples of successful transnational engagement, and an annual prize should be awarded to the most successful innovative partnership.
- Universities should explore the establishment of programs through which joint diplomas or courses can be offered linking development and emerging universities.
- A "Disciplinary Support Program" should be identified and supported through which universities would offer curriculum, research papers, and reading lists to other educational institutions.
- A "Global University for Democracy" should be established offering virtual workshops for democracy activists, for example in human rights, political accountability, transparency, politics and money, etc.
- An Internet "Database of Academics-without-Frontiers" should be established of those willing to travel and engage with other university colleagues to help them develop civic engagement programs and other democracy-promotion projects.

# Democratic Governance

## Governance, State Capacity, and Democracy in Developing Nations: Establishing Standards and Identifying Impediments

### Organizers:

Centre for Policy Studies  
– South Africa  
Center for Democratic Performance,  
University of Binghamton – USA

### Moderators:

Shaun MacKay – South Africa  
Elizabeth Clark – USA

### Rapporteur:

Edward McMahon – USA

### Presenters:

E. Gyimah-Boadi – Ghana  
Carlos Ponce Leon – Venezuela  
Kingsley Rodrigo – Sri Lanka  
Irena Lasota – Poland  
Chris Landsberg – South Africa  
Elizabeth Clark – USA  
Anna Sevortian – Russia

Participants in this workshop focused on issues relating to the establishment and enforcement of international democracy standards. There was consensus that in some areas broadly accepted international standards are in already place. Enforcing those standards is the major problem; other problems include the questions of who should set the standards and the relationship between domestic and international organizations in assessing state adherence to these standards. The current international environment is one in which governments are highly sensitive about their reputations and wish to be seen as part of the global democratic “club.”

There was disagreement on how well international organizations, such as the OSCE, are performing their role in assessing compliance with international standards. In some cases where there is considerable international involvement in the enforcement of standards, international organizations have to be careful not to dominate the process and run the risk of de-legitimizing a democratic outcome. Even internally, the fact that standards are developed by elites, regardless of whether the public wants them, reflects the problem of “ownership” of the process of both setting and enforcing standards.

Several participants mentioned areas where the development of new international standards would be helpful in overcoming obstacles to democratization, among them standards for opposition parties, internal party democracy, corporate governance, and civil-military relations. There are also the problems of leaders promoting referenda to extend their terms or otherwise consolidate their power, and dealing with hate speech.

### Observations:

- The good news is that democracy is viewed as a universal value and that standards are developing, but they can't simply be imposed. The challenge for emerging democracies is how to internalize them and shape them to reflect regional realities while respecting universal values. In this fashion people can take ownership of them so that they are not seen simply as being imposed.
- There is a crucial issue of state-civil relations in many nascent democracies. In many instances, people do

not see democracy as delivering material benefits, but often the contrary is true. More public participation is needed in the policy decision-making process, and disadvantaged groups, such as women and other minorities, should be drawn more into the process.

- There is a gap between articulated standards accepted by governments and the reality. Leaders often make commitments that they have no intention of honoring, and civil society needs to constantly remind them about standards.

### Challenges:

The participants discussed a number of challenges based on country and regional experiences.

- The ongoing political crisis in Venezuela demonstrates the difficulty of enforcing commonly accepted democratic standards as a means for solving a political crisis. Because Venezuela held regularly scheduled elections, it was assumed, erroneously, that democracy had set down deep roots. Its institutions have proven to be insufficiently strong, however; the rule of law has also been weak, and corruption is endemic. All of this has de-legitimized political parties and enabled the president to assume and maintain power and to tailor Venezuela's political institutions to his needs. The opposition has learned that the only real method of solving the problems of democracy in Venezuela is by internal pressure, and NGOs have a continuing responsibility to work with political parties and to understand their roles as observers of political change and monitors of democratization.
- The situation in Russia is a case where democratic institutions are under attack. Best characterized as a “guided” democracy with heavy use of administrative resources, there are massive violations of human rights and political manipulation. Broad, sustained international engagement is needed.
- The October 2003 elections in Azerbaijan demonstrate the need to enforce existing standards and the failure of international organizations to live up to their responsibilities. The importance of using clear language on standards and making clear distinctions



between adherence to core standards and vague subjective judgments must be recognized.

- The case of Sri Lanka demonstrates the problem of a lack of democratic political culture. A necessary building block of democracy is to accept disagreements, and only through dissent and diversity of views can democracy advance. Outbreaks of violence result from the inability to disagree peacefully. In Sri Lanka there are 51 parties, and some families are very strong politically, which is true throughout the region. Politics is a matter of family disagreements, rather than competition among different political parties. Civil society in the region is not very strong, and the business community is very influential in funding political leaders. Parties follow hidden agendas and lack internal democracy.
- In Africa, perceptions on the utility of standards, and the needed breadth and depth of international standards, depend on whether one is in or out of power. Incumbent governments often argue in favor of contextualized “tropicalized” standards, meaning that they should not be held to the same high standards as more consolidated democracies. Thus, in Africa the regional versus universal standards argument is not yet settled. Other questions abound: Who should set the standards—political parties, governments, civil society, or some combination of these? In addition, in bilateral relations governments often are willing to tone down the universal standards argument if strategic interests are at stake, and multilateral organizations are often weak and hamstrung, bound only by the lowest common denominator of their member states. Are standards regional or universal with respect to economic and corporate governance or civil-military relations, and should they be set in relation to the past or the present?
- The Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) foreign assistance initiative is a fund being established by the U.S. government as a new approach to development assistance. As designed, in addition to other criteria, it will use democracy and governance to choose recipient countries. The lack of NGO input into the criteria, however, may have limited the weight that democracy indicators will play in the overall criteria.

#### Other Challenges and Recommendations:

- How can civil society be more effective in setting and enforcing standards, including those for elections and internal party democracy? Within the U.N. system, regional international organizations and documents such as the Copenhagen and Warsaw Declarations all lay out clear standards, including civilian control of the military, electoral standards, and the role of a strong civil society. The question is not so much whether these exist, but how to hold governments accountable to them.

- Should standards be viewed in a regional or universal context? While they may be universal, to what extent should they be contextualized according to regional and domestic factors? This issue should not be used, however, as an excuse to avoid universal elements of democracy.
- Does the international community take local realities sufficiently into account or does it adopt too much of a “democracy by consultants” or “cookie-cutter” approach? While standards must be based on universal norms, autocrats have used the “local” argument to justify their less-than-democratic practices.
- It is important for civil society organizations (CSOs) to hold governments accountable to standards, but there is also a concern about negative reactions of international organizations to CSO criticism of their enforcement of standards. In addition, while formal democracy is more prevalent than substantive democracy, civil society sometimes minimizes the importance of elections and its role in the system of checks and balances. The importance of representative democracy in favor of “participatory” democracy should not be minimized.
- Elections must be viewed in the context of a longer-term process, including pre- and post-election periods, and not just in the context of Election Day. The international community has to be more unified, and domestic CSOs should continue to have a critical role in ensuring governmental adherence to democratic norms.
- Despite criticism of international organization performance, the overall results have been more positive than negative. Without their focus on this issue there would almost certainly be less democracy in the world today.
- Regarding the implementation and enforcement of standards, more emphasis should be placed on post-election follow up. For political parties, work has to go beyond enforcement, and standards for opposition parties should be institutionalized and legitimized. Standards should be designed to promote internal political party democracy and to institutionalize the role of parties.
- The use of referenda to extend presidents’ terms in office should also be examined as anti-democratic (as opposed to changes that would take place only after they left office).
- Standards should evolve to include constant performance audits of how countries are faring.
- CSOs have a role in continually reviewing standards to ensure that they are culturally contextualized and agreed upon. Such organizations must also help build civic understanding of the importance of governmental adherence to standards and be willing to participate in

government performance audits.

- There should be more emphasis on substantive democratic governance standards, including public participation in decision making, especially by women.
- Careful attention should be paid to the process by which democratic institutions are developed; establishing the “rules of the game” should be inclusive and legitimate.
- While many people are uncomfortable with “conditionalities,” they do serve an enforcement purpose.

- Consideration should be given to recognizing democracy as a right rather than as a universal value, thus acquiring greater weight and legitimacy in international legal terms.

In sum, there is an emerging consensus that we already have standards in place, although they clearly continue to evolve, but that the challenge is how to mobilize to ensure their implementation.

For a fuller version of this report, visit the Centre for Policy Studies' Web site: [www.cps.org.za](http://www.cps.org.za)

## Trade Unions in the Vanguard of Democratic Governance

### Organizer:

American Center for International Labor Solidarity – USA

### Moderators:

Leon Lynch – USA  
Andrew Kailembo – Kenya

### Rapporteur:

Lovemore Matombo – Zimbabwe

### Presenters:

Branislav Canak – Serbia  
Veronica Kofie – Ghana  
Cirila Quintero – Mexico  
Neide Aparecida Fonseca – Brazil

Before unions can participate in democratic governance, they themselves must have internal democracy. To be effective democracy advocates, unions require good constitutions, a system to elect officers, effective leadership structures, and mechanisms to develop and adhere to their own internal policies.

Because of their strategic economic and social presence through collective bargaining and broad-based membership, unions should play important roles in the stability of democratic governments. Where representative governments have been undermined or damaged, unions should be leading activists to restore democracy and institute democratic governance. Unions should be advocates of ethnic pluralism, anti-discrimination reforms, and voter education.

The workshop examined the democracy work of trade unions in specific instances. Sustained emphasis was placed on the importance of international labor solidarity and the need to participate in coalitions with like-minded NGOs and activists to increase political leverage and strengthen participation in public policy debates.

Unions identified their roles in building democracy in countries such as Liberia, Zimbabwe, Ghana, Mexico, Brazil, and Serbia. Challenges to unions globally were summarized along with recommendations for responding to those challenges.

### Recommendations:

- **Union survival.** Democratically structured unions must use civic education to continue to emphasize the basics of democracy among their members. Unions must be independent, and free from gov-

ernment influence, political party dominance, and religious association. Unions should rely on international trade union solidarity and coalitions with NGOs for help when they are under siege, whether from multinational conglomerates or dictatorial governments.

- **Building equitable society.** Labor and capital must work together to achieve decent labor laws that set standards for work, fight discrimination, and demand inclusive governments.

- **Sustaining democracy.** Every individual is important and key to collective action. When individuals are members of democratic unions, they get the support they need to continue their struggles. Unions have a responsibility to gather facts, formulate policies, and be fair. Voter education helps unions demand adherence by their governments to basic international worker and human rights.

- **Clear message.** Unions must convey clear messages about themselves—who they are and what they stand for. For example, unions insist on inclusiveness of their membership (for example, the inclusion of women). Union members must hold their unions accountable as representative organizations. Workers and trade union leaders have obligations as citizens and must exercise their political rights and mobilize their grassroots members to action when necessary. Unions must convey to their governments that they expect government institutions to be responsive to worker organizations as important constituents.

## The Impact of HIV/AIDS on Participatory Democracy

**Organizer:**

Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) – South Africa

**Moderator:**

Paul Graham – South Africa

**Rapporteur:**

Marietjie Myburg – South Africa

**Presenters:**

Robert Mattes – South Africa

Kondwani Chirambo – South Africa

**Challenges:**

HIV and AIDS impact both the ability of citizens to participate in democratic processes and the ability of governments to fulfill their functions and responsibilities. The impacts can be seen in three areas of governance:

- Economic growth is diminished with little reduction of inequality.
- Political institutionalization processes of particular importance to young democracies are disrupted.
- Popular commitment to and participation in democratic self government is reduced.

Participants also raised the following concerns:

- Citizens do not participate effectively in existing participatory mechanisms like AIDS Councils. Citizens should be more involved in the design and implementation of these mechanisms to ensure coordination and cooperation on all levels of government, but on local government level in particular.
- There is not enough public discussion of HIV/AIDS policy reforms. Such discussion should focus on issues beyond treatment, care, and support to include such issues as the best electoral system and the capacity of government and NGOs to deliver all services effectively and efficiently within the context of HIV/AIDS.
- There is currently little empirical evidence to support the link between HIV/AIDS and its negative impact on good governance. There are not enough resources available to enable researchers to collect reliable information that could serve as evidence for policy reform and dialogue.

• Strong institutional capacity, vision, and coordination among government, civil society, and the business sector are vital for addressing the challenges of HIV/AIDS.

**Recommendations:**

- There should be greater citizen dialogue, deliberation, organization, and mobilization.
- The organization of civil society, especially to facilitate the above recommendation, should be strengthened.
- Create public spaces and tools for raising issues around and for responding to HIV and AIDS (e.g., integrated development planning and AIDS councils).
- Ensure the replenishment of legislative and public service capacities impacted by HIV/AIDS and plan for ways to meet future obligations.
- Take political action to ensure a sufficient focus on funding and policy for mitigating the impacts of HIV/AIDS.
- Engage private companies to encourage them to share organizational lessons and to participate in advocacy and leveraging of finances.

**Conclusion:**

Strategies of intervention on HIV/AIDS are still mostly focused on the health area. While that is, of course, necessary, it is also important to acknowledge the impact of HIV/AIDS on the broader sphere of governance. Governments have the power to change the course of the pandemic, and their citizens have the right and the responsibility to compel them to take up that challenge.

## Strengthening Democracy through Decentralization and Local Empowerment

**Organizers:**

Institute for Social Sciences – India  
Democracy Development Program  
Local Government Consortium  
– South Africa

**Moderator:**

Rama Naidu – South Africa

**Rapporteur:**

Janine Hicks – South Africa

**Presenter:**

Sthembiso Madlala – South Africa

Underpinning the idea of government decentralization to the local level is the belief among its proponents that it encourages more efficient government that is closer to the people and more responsive to their needs. Although it has been common practice in the developed world for

decades, decentralization (to the local government level) in the developing world, which was pre-empted by the dramatic political paradigm shifts of the early 1990s, still presents both scholars and practitioners in these countries with a plethora of growing pains.



This workshop provided an opportunity for a variety of stakeholders from around the world to exchange experiences and best practices. The discussion proved to be a fruitful interaction among the participants from the developing world, but also between this group and the participants from the developed North.

## Citizen Participation

### Challenges:

- Although the devolution of power and decision making have opened the doors to more constructive citizen involvement in local government, many communities are still at a loss to comprehend fully the opportunities that it presents for meaningful citizen participation. Reasons for this include limited access to information, illiteracy, a lack of knowledge in terms of citizen rights, inexperience in mobilizing around particular issues, and the responsibilities of traditional leaders.
- Other challenges include power issues, such as the big divide between authorities and citizens, the obstruction of participation by city councillors, and the disproportionate influence of consultants in the development process.

### Recommendations:

- Civic empowerment programs should place emphasis on participation in local government processes.
- The capacity of communities in the drafting and negotiation of local budgets should be strengthened.
- Public information centers should be created in partnership with local politicians.

## Poverty Alleviation and Service Delivery

### Challenges:

- It is often difficult to mobilize resources for local development, which often have to be transferred from the central government, leading to unnecessary bureaucracy that consequently obstructs delivery to communities.
- There is often a lack of transparency regarding the use of resources allocated for development, which limits the community's participation in terms of lobbying capacity, and also opens the door for ethnic patronage and personal advancement to the detriment of a community as a whole.

### Recommendations:

- Increase the devolution of resource control to the local level.
- Implement social audits of quality of service delivery, an appropriate legislative framework that governs the administration and allocation of resources at the local level.
- Establish local infrastructure to take up development initiatives and strengthen the dissemination of information on available resources.

## Devolution of Power and Resources

### Observations:

Although decentralization has become official government policy in many developing countries, there are many gaps between the actual policy, the legislation that governs it, and its implementation. Unfortunately, these gaps are often the object of political leverage among the different spheres of government. Some participants pointed to instances where opposition parties that govern in the local sphere have an uphill battle against the central government, which obstructs resource allocation. But this is not only the case where opposition parties control the local sphere; wherever local needs conflict with a national policy agenda the former have had to take a backseat to national interests. This may be accomplished by structural provisions, such as a failure to decentralize financial power to the same extent as implementation power, or through more subtle means, such as accusing those who favor a local cause of being unpatriotic.

### Recommendations:

- Give broader decision-making powers to local communities; this not only includes the identification of needs, but also the financial discretion to determine particular spending priorities to address context-specific needs.
- This requires clear demarcations of competencies among various spheres of government, which provides the necessary discretionary powers to local communities.

## Building a Global Network on Local Governance

**Organizers:**

Institute for Social Sciences – India  
Democracy Development Program  
Local Government Consortium  
– South Africa

**Moderator:**

Ash Narain Roy – India

**Rapporteur:**

Njabulo Maseko – South Africa

**Presenter:**

George Mathew – India

One outcome of a topical workshop during the Assembly, on “Strengthening Democracy through Decentralization and Local Empowerment” (see page 30), was a call for the creation of an effective network through which models, approaches, and experiences can be shared. Initially, a local governance network had been suggested at the Second Assembly in 2000, but nothing concrete had yet been established. This functional workshop thus had the intention of establishing the network on local governance through direct participation and guidance from participants from countries around the world.

As a result, the Institute of Social Sciences (ISS), based in New Delhi, India, in cooperation with other organizations, will assume responsibility for anchoring the Global Network on Local Governance and will provide the resources and labor needed to make it operational. The network is an *ad-hoc* body set up through the action of participants in the Third Assembly.

The Global Network on Local Governance will seek to:

- Develop an understanding of local governance and

disseminate information across a wide audience

- Provide an interface for institutions working on issues of local governance to network and share information
- Provide an informal forum to harness ideas and solicit consensus on priority issues of local governance
- Promote a culture of good governance at the local level.

The above objectives will be achieved through:

- The dissemination of values of participatory local governance
- The provision of support for local governance advocacy
- Documentation of success stories on local governance
- Strengthening local democracy
- Inclusion of civil society in decision making at the local level
- Ensuring fiscally viable local governance institutions.

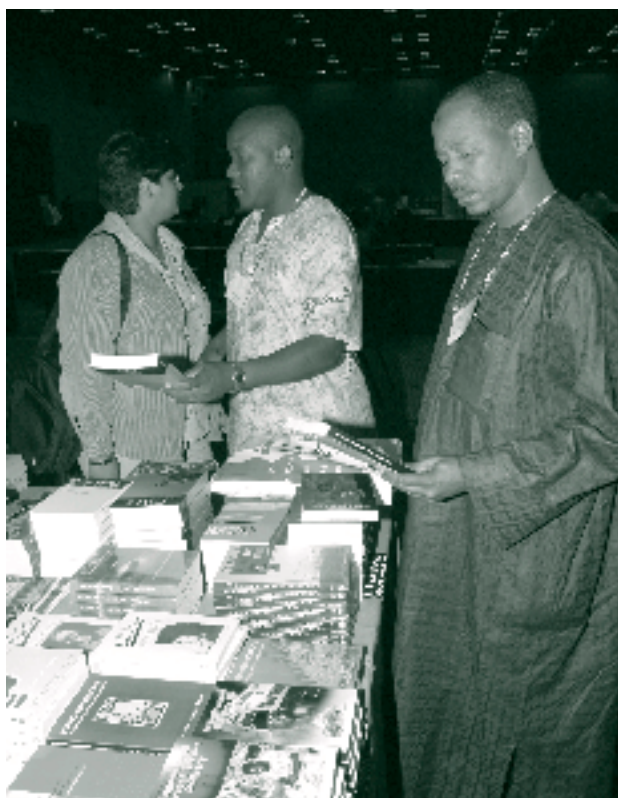
Membership in the Network will be open to the following:

- Elected representatives, with an emphasis on the inclusion of rural entities
- Local government officials and administrators
- Activists in the field of local government
- Civil society institutions.

The activities of the network will include:

- A clearinghouse of information on local governance
- Creation and management of a database of organizations working in the local governance area
- Development and hosting of a Web site
- Publication of a newsletter to disseminate ideas on local governance
- Organization of study tours and exchanges of people and ideas around the globe
- Access to existing local government networks and the creation of synergy with them.

The Network will function initially by means of electronic communication facilitated by ISS. It is envisaged that the Network's membership will expand and grow and regional and local initiatives are encouraged.



Participants share reading materials in the Democracy Fair.

# Economic Reform

## Democracy, Governance, and Markets: Ensuring the Inclusion of the Private Sector and Political Parties in Policy Making

**Organizers:**

Center for International Private  
Enterprise – USA  
International Republican Institute – USA

**Moderator:**

George Folsom – USA

**Rapporteur:**

John Sullivan – USA

**Presenter:**

Charles Oman – USA

The workshop revolved around discussions of democracy as not simply meaning elections and free speech, but that at the heart of democracy and development is the need for good governance. Without democratic governance, a deficit emerges between processes and outcomes. This is illustrated by elected autocrats engaging in crony capitalism, rigged privatizations, and seizures of property, while failing to educate citizens and improve development. To close this deficit, governments and political parties should institute inclusive decision-making processes to ensure the involvement of the private sector, civil society, labor unions, and others.

Workshop participants reviewed the mechanisms for holding political parties and leaders accountable, such as different models of elections and oversight of government administration by capable legislatures. Participants also noted the essential role played on the demand side of the political equation by the business, labor, and NGO com-

munities, as well as by political parties, in the supply of good policies. Outcomes and recommendations from this workshop included:

- Long-term growth and improvement in human development and productivity is important for sustaining democracy.
- Private-sector participation in decision making is crucial for developing citizen confidence in parties and in democracy generally.
- Privatization is essentially a political process and should be implemented democratically.

Participants also stressed the importance of focusing on the democratic nature of daily decision making in a country, and that addressing critical questions depends on citizens having a voice in decision making and the management of public funds.

## The Role of Business Associations in Democratic Development

**Organizers:**

Durban Chamber of Commerce  
– South Africa  
Turkish Economic and Social Studies  
Foundation – Turkey  
Center for International Private  
Enterprise – USA

**Moderator:**

John Sullivan – USA

**Rapporteur:**

Sarah Olsten – USA

**Presenters:**

Can Paker – Turkey  
Jeya Wilson – South Africa

The workshop discussion included participants from the NGO, business, and academic communities, providing for dynamic discourse, varied points of view, and much networking. More than 14 countries were represented.

**Observations:**

Because business associations are laboratories of democracy they are integral to the democratic process. Formed from a bottom-up process and attracting members of the business community, business associations represent the entrepreneurial class, which is largely composed of members of the middle class, thereby making them essential vehicles for popular participation in a democratic society.

In fact, the famous democratic theorist, Alexis de Toqueville, remarked that one of the main reasons for the success of democracy in the United States immediately

following the American Revolution was the wealth of associations established to represent citizens' concerns to policy makers. As advocates for the private sector, business associations are agents for concerted political action, and thus act in the best interest of their members, industry, and nation. They not only play a pivotal role in promoting good governance and sound policy making, but also maintain the private sector as the engine for a nation's economy and promote an open society and transparent government.

**Challenge:**

- How can business associations promote democratic reform through advocacy of policies that promote anti-corruption initiatives, freedom of economic information, participatory decision making, and judicial reform?



**Recommendations:**

- Globalization has highlighted the need for sound institutions and legal sectors. Put simply, without proper institutions, companies and entire economies risk being left out of the global marketplace. The creation of international standards are thus forcing companies to reevaluate the way they do business, and business associations are key to the promotion of these standards.
- Business associations should be broad-based in their membership.
- On the question of whether an “umbrella,” under which business associations can unify, is valuable, participants agreed that it must be tailored to each country.
- Business associations should adopt standards of accountability, transparency, and other democratic standards so they serve as a role model for their members.
- Countries need to create an association pattern that suits, and is tailored to, each unique circumstance. If a pattern is imported, an association may not be structured to meet the needs of its members.
- Building associations that represent their members and are broad-based create democratic development.
- Economic liberalization helps to create a foundation for democratic liberalization and development. In addition, it helps to generate anti-corruption campaigns.

## Human Rights

### Assisting Democracy and Human Rights Activists in Closed Societies

**Organizers:**

NKNet – *South Korea*  
Directorio – *Cuba*

**Moderator:**

Orlando Gutierrez-Boronat – *Cuba*

**Rapporteur:**

Fredo Arias King – *Mexico*

**Presenters:**

Young Howard – *South Korea*  
Tseten Norbu – *Tibet*  
Marie Holzman – *China*  
Debbie Stothard – *Malaysia*

The two main areas of work for activists in closed societies were identified as international and internal. These were then taken up by the workshop participants in terms of challenges to the ongoing struggles and recommendations of potential initiatives.

**International****Challenges:**

- Democratic indicators or vague ideological definitions are hijacked by tyrannical regimes to present themselves as democracies. This, in turn, leads to:
  - The imposition of the notion of state sovereignty over the universal value of popular sovereignty.
  - Refugees from closed societies who enter into open societies are often led into closed spaces. Dictatorships can sometimes intimidate democratic governments into isolating exiled dissidents in their countries.
  - Regional democratic governments implement policies that *de facto* support dictatorial states.

**Recommendations:**

International campaigns against tyrannical governments have proven to be effective in aiding internal activists in their struggles. They can be further bolstered by:

- A better organization of exile communities for the purpose of providing accurate information to the international community.
- The use of people-to-people advocacy and the centering of campaigns on specific political prisoners and

activists in closed societies.

- The targeting of mainstream media to convey more effectively the plight of persecuted persons and more efficiently shame tyrannical regimes.
- Influencing democratic governments so that they recognize the legitimacy of civic struggles in closed societies and have the courage to implement policies that fully support democratic efforts in those societies.

**Internal****Challenges:**

- Regimes are becoming more sophisticated in their repressive methods, which result in greater effectiveness in curtailing the use of advanced technologies in providing information for oppressed peoples.
- The lack of information therefore continues to be the leading obstacle to democratic change in many closed societies and results in oppressed societies not having a clear idea of when and how their human rights are violated.
- Further support is needed from international organizations to overcome these obstacles and aid democracy activists in building their national networks.

**Recommendations:**

- Due to economic conditions, not even the most dictatorial regimes have the ability to control all of society. They are ceding spaces that democracy activists can occupy.
- One such space lies in the increasing role of women within closed societies, but also activism concerning

historical or environmental issues, so that people can be mobilized without appearing too threatening at first to the regime.

- Internal activists must be quick to identify new types of resistance that may be developed by oppressed populations to empower them more quickly.
- Cultural campaigns may prove to be very effective in both mobilizing youth and women and in identifying new types and methods of resistance.

#### General Recommendations:

- Lobbying legislators to pressure government departments in democracies is often more effective than lobbying government departments directly.

- The World Movement for Democracy should strive to provide greater technological training to activists in closed societies to increase their effectiveness.
- Those in charge of human rights issues in different democratic governments should be invited to attend the next Assembly.
- International campaigns to separate political and common prisoners should be initiated.
- Significant crackdowns on pro-democracy activists by dictatorial governments, such as that conducted by the Burmese government on August 8, 1988, the Chinese government in Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989, the Cuban government on March 18, 2003, and others, should be commemorated.

## Addressing the Threats to Democracy and Human Rights Activists in Authoritarian Countries

#### Organizers:

Civil Society Against Corruption  
– *Kyrgyzstan*  
SUARAM – *Malaysia*

#### Moderator:

Tolekan Ismailova – *Kyrgyzstan*

#### Rapporteur:

Cynthia Gabriel – *Malaysia*

#### Presenters:

Somchai Homloar – *Thailand*  
Yevgeniy Zhovtis – *Kazakhstan*  
Vincuk Viacorka – *Belarus*

#### Observations:

The participants identified the following common problems:

- Post-September 11, there have been new forms of repression through laws and policies, including increased jailing of political prisoners, new anti-terror legislation, curbs on freedom of expression, demonstrations by opposition and human rights groups.
- The independence of public institutions (i.e., the media, the judiciary, and the election process) has eroded in the name of the war against terrorism.
- There has been a loss of confidence in the UN system and existing mechanisms to promote and protect human rights.
- Financial and business interests have allowed authoritarian governments to remain in power.

#### Recommended Strategies and Proposals:

- The World Movement for Democracy should play a more effective role in providing information, linking issues and problems across regions, sharing resources, and building networks.
- The World Movement for Democracy should develop focus groups and lead the way in strengthening lobby efforts at the UN Commission for Human Rights, the European Union, and other bodies. These institutions are only as good as their members; therefore, much effort should be devoted to lobbying work.
- Build on international solidarity efforts.

- Monitor money laundering activities and suspicious transactions of governments.
- Use contacts with journalists, networks, lawyers, and other professional groups.
- Develop new approaches to defend human rights, for instance, ombudsman offices or human rights commissions.
- Don't marginalize non-English speaking participants in formulating strategy.
- Develop radio networks and channels outside the country.
- Mobilize western civil society to pressure their governments.
- Locate organizations under one house, improve on information and resource sharing and networking.
- Call on democratic leaders of the world to demand that leaders of authoritarian regimes comply with international obligations before the international community concerning the development of democracy, human rights protection, the rule of law, and periodic honest and free elections.
- Call on democratic leaders of the world and the World Movement for Democracy to assist in the implementation of programs to build civic bridges and human rights networks for human rights defenders in authoritarian countries and leaders of democratic change in developed countries.
- Call on democratic leaders of the world and the

World Movement for Democracy to work, on a permanent basis, with financial institutions and international development banks to prosecute and bring to justice the leaders of authoritarian countries who systemati-

cally violate the human rights of their citizens, narrow democratic development, and for their corrupt practices and abuses of power, even using economic sanctions.

## Challenges to Political Participation: Linking Human Rights and Democracy

### Organizers:

Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) – *South Africa*  
Centre for the Development of Democracy and Human Rights – *Russia*

### Moderators:

Lyn Chiwandamira – *South Africa*  
Yuri Dzhibladze – *Russia*

### Rapporteurs:

Lyn Chiwandamira – *South Africa*  
Zanethemba Mkalipi – *South Africa*

A diverse group of presenters with experience in public participation programs at a number of levels presented their views on the challenges to political participation globally, especially with regard to marginalized, excluded, and vulnerable groups. Their presentations included practical strategies to address these issues. Clearly stimulated by the input of the presenters, the other participants responded by sharing their own experiences, challenges, and strategies for addressing these issues in their countries.

Three key areas of participation were addressed by the presenters:

- participation of women and youth;
- participation as a basic human right; and
- participation in the media and NGO sectors.

### Participation of Women and Youth

#### Challenge:

Low participation of women and youth can be attributed to factors such as cultural and religious practices, patriarchy, socialization into gender-specific roles, and ageism, as well as discriminatory laws or the ineffective implementation of laws promoting equality for all.

#### Recommendations:

- Advocate for affirmative action and quota systems to address systemic discrimination against women and youth.
- Promote equality by reforming constitutional and electoral laws to include the needs of women and youth in keeping with existing International Human Rights Instruments (UNUDHR, CEDAW, CRC, etc.).
- Establish NGOs and CBOs dedicated to the rights of women and youth.

- Develop leadership training strategies for women and youth.

- Lobby government and civil society to ensure equal access to enhance the economic power of women and young people and to empower them to participate politically.

### Participation as a Basic Human Right

#### Challenge:

Conflict and post-conflict contexts are often characterized by displacement of people, xenophobic tendencies, and religious discrimination to mention but a few such consequences. The denial of basic human rights, such as the right to citizenship, thus makes meaningful participation impossible. In addition, when elections take place in conditions of violence, they often lead to the under-participation of certain groups.

#### Recommendations:

- One presenter in the workshop pointed to the changing nature of human rights approaches around the world and the need to devise strategies that go beyond the legalistic approach. However, participants were cautioned that, unlike the legalistic approach, this would not provide immediate remedies, but would require ongoing engagement.
- One strategy recommended is to focus on one issue at a time, which can be illustrated by the story of the little girl who walked along the beach throwing starfish back into the sea. When a fisherman asked her what she was doing, she said she was saving them. The hardened old man pointed out that she will never be able to save them all, and asked, “so why bother”? As she threw the one in her hand back into the sea she said, “but I will be able to save this one.”

# International Democracy Assistance and Solidarity

## The Role of Nongovernmental Communities in Promoting Democracy Across Borders

### Organizers:

Centre for Policy Studies  
– *South Africa*  
People in Need Foundation  
– *Czech Republic*

### Moderator:

Tomas Pojar – *Czech Republic*

### Rapporteur:

David Lowe – *USA*

### Presenters:

Orlando Gutierrez – *Cuba*  
Slobodan DjinoVIC – *Serbia*  
Chris Landsberg – *South Africa*  
Debbie Stothard – *Malaysia*  
Riad Malki – *Palestine*

This workshop, attended by over 100 participants from around the world, focused on the various ways in which support for democratic movements can be extended across borders. Opening presenters reported on assistance efforts to democrats in Burma, Cuba, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Africa, with support provided to the latter three by Serbians, Palestinians, and South Africans, respectively. Although there were clearly circumstances that were unique to each of these situations, there were many commonalities as well. Clearly, there is a need to get essential resources to democrats seeking to open up their societies, such as books, reports in local languages, computers to help download information, cameras, tape recorders, and humanitarian assistance.

### Challenges:

- Dictators are now working in concert to thwart democratic aspirations, giving them many advantages.
- Dictators are exploiting national identity and cultural solidarity (most notably in Latin America and Southern Africa) and bilateral relationships (in the cases of Burma/Thailand and the Koreans) to persuade other countries not to support democrats challenging their rule.
- Many democrats are deterred in their work by their fear of post-dictatorial challenges of modernity.

### Recommendation:

There was strong endorsement of the idea that international support in addressing these challenges is critical, some participants going so far as to assert that without such support democratic advancement will be impossible.

## Promoting Democracy Multilaterally: What Can Civil Society Do Through the UN, International Financial Institutions, and the Community of Democracies?

### Organizers:

Democracy Coalition Project – *USA*  
Transnational Radical Party – *Italy*

### Moderator:

Ted Piccone – *USA*

### Rapporteur:

Claudia Caldeirinha – *Portugal*

### Presenters:

Percy Medina – *Peru*  
Matteo Mecacci – *Italy*

This workshop focused on civil society efforts to encourage governments to pursue democracy development policies at the national, regional, and global levels. Given the rapid advance of globalization and the spread of democracy, participants recognized that global institutions must adapt to this new reality by accommodating the demands of civil society. However, there is a wide gap between the power of global institutions and the capacity of civil society to influence them. The workshop therefore examined civil society experiences with three global institutions or processes: the UN, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the Community of Democracies.

### The UN Democracy Caucus

The workshop included a presentation on the process for establishing a permanent group of democracies at the UN

as a way to overcome democratic deficits within the organization and to promote human rights and democracy in a more effective way.

### Recommendations:

- Agree that membership in the UN Democracy Caucus should consist of states formally invited to take part in the Community of Democracies (CD).
- Establish procedures through the UN Democracy Caucus to govern its activities.
- Meetings of the UN Democracy Caucus should be held at the global and regional levels as an integral part of the implementation of the Seoul Plan of Action adopted by the Community of Democracies in



December 2002.

- Consider expanding the membership of the Community of Democracies Convening Group to ensure that it is broadly representative.
- The CD Convening Group and the UN Democracy Caucus should meet on a regular basis with NGOs.

#### Questions and Debate:

- Which governments should participate in the UN Democracy Caucus; what is the mechanism of decision; how can a country-specific case be taken up for consideration of the Caucus and what should it do?
- Debate about the limits of implementation of human rights treaties at the UN (“good laws, weak implementation”) and the limits of civil society participation in decision-making processes of the UN.
- The UN Democracy Caucus is still not complete; states do not see the importance of incorporating democracy promotion in their own policies. Civil society must have a strong role in putting together proposals and demanding what they want this Caucus to become, by translating—in very concrete ways—the principles of the Community of Democracies’ Warsaw Declaration into the UN system.
- A question about the criteria for state participation in the CD and the UN Caucus led to discussion about the need to implement criteria for participation as it was decided in Seoul—defining transparent rules and mechanisms and making the whole process more open and receptive to NGO input.
- It is important that states understand their own self interests in the promotion of democracy, both internally and in international fora.

#### The IMF

The workshop included an extensive presentation on the problems of democratic deficits of the IMF, the lack of public debate on its criteria and procedures, and its lack of transparency. Information about the Club of Madrid’s initiative on this matter was also considered.

#### Questions and Debate:

- The discussion included presentations of several country cases in which IMF policies have had a negative impact. In the view of some, “in Africa there is no case of success of IMF policies.” The problem of corruption and debt accumulation was also linked.
- The IMF should address countries in their individual contexts, not with a policy of “one size fits all.”
- The IMF should link its assistance to democracy and use its bargaining power to convince non-democratic regimes to change.
- Civil society should have a role in this process. How

can they send a strong message to this institution? More cooperation and coordination of strategies within civil society is thus necessary.

- Without substantial debt relief, democratization cannot take place.

#### The Community of Democracies (CD)

The first meeting of the CD was held in Warsaw in June 2000 to launch a new partnership of democratic governments with the aim of facilitating cooperation on democracy promotion both internally and outside their borders. The governmental process is monitored by a nongovernmental process that is attempting to influence the governmental agenda and to forward civil society’s input into the decision-making process. The next CD meeting will take place in Santiago, Chile, in May 2005, and the nongovernmental process is being developed by the Chilean Executive Secretariat, which organized a functional workshop at the Third Assembly as well (see next page).

One main question is: How can the CD respond to threats to democracy? In a presentation of Peru’s experience, one mechanism of democracy promotion was described based on Peru’s experience with the Inter-American Democratic Charter. The four most important elements for the success of this process were: the importance of concreteness and simplicity, so that consensus can emerge; working with the media; working with political parties; and identifying diplomats who will put the process into motion.

#### Recommendations:

- Among the several country cases discussed, Zimbabwe emerged as a good illustration of the need for greater pressure from external actors, both governments and civil society. It was thus raised as a particular case that the CD should address.
- It is important for NGOs to develop strategies at different levels (national, regional, and global) and to invest in networking. It is crucial to create a national consensus as a basis for democratic development.
- The CD countries should identify a “democracy officer” in each of their countries; these people should then be closely in touch via email, etc. This process would also be important for increasing NGO leverage.
- Governments should develop effective mechanisms to allow NGOs to play an active role, including in decisions about who should be invited to CD ministerial meetings.
- More concrete support (e.g., training, leadership programs, etc.) should be given to NGOs, especially in regions lacking a tradition in democracy activism.
- Economic development assistance should be linked to progress in democracy development. Any external aid to non-democratic regimes should be channeled through civil society actors.
- The CD should become more transparent and open to civil society participation.

## ***The Nongovernmental Process for the Community of Democracies, Santiago 2005: Promoting Regional Dialogues among Governments and Civil Society***

### **Organizers:**

Democracy Coalition Project – *USA*  
Executive Secretariat of the  
Nongovernmental Process,  
Community of Democracies – *Chile*

### **Moderator:**

Genaro Arriagada – *Chile*

### **Rapporteur:**

Viviana Giacaman – *Chile*

### **Presenters:**

Andrea Sanhueza – *Chile*  
Ted Piccone – *USA*  
David French – *United Kingdom*  
Sadikou Ayo Alao – *Benin*  
Riad Malki – *Palestine*  
Yuri Dzhibladze – *Russia*

The workshop began with a brief overview of the Community of Democracies (CD), the challenges for the nongovernmental process looking ahead to the CD's Santiago 2005 Ministerial meeting, and an invitation to those participating in the workshop to join the process.

### **The Governmental Process of the Community of Democracies**

The first meeting of the Community of Democracies was held in Warsaw, Poland, in 2000 convened by a group of seven countries (now ten countries), known as the Convening Group: Chile, India, Poland, the Czech Republic, the United States of America, Mali, Mexico, Portugal, South Africa and South Korea. More than 100 states participated, mostly at the foreign minister level. The meeting resulted in adoption of the Warsaw Declaration, which sets forth a set of democratic principles and a joint commitment to promote democracy at home and abroad. The second governmental meeting was held in Seoul, South Korea, in 2002, at which governments agreed on a Plan of Action.

At the workshop, it was noted both that the Community of Democracies is a very good initiative in the present world context and that there is a need to “de-Americanize” it, to strengthen the idea that it is truly a community of nations working on democracy worldwide. The necessity to gain more involvement of European governments in the process was thus noted.

In the process between Warsaw and Seoul, the Convening Group created a new category called “observer countries.” Some states that had participated in the Warsaw ministerial were not invited as full members to the Seoul ministerial but, rather, as observers due to setbacks in their democratic processes. The workshop discussion therefore raised the need to review the criteria that the Convening Group is utilizing for inviting countries to the meeting in Santiago and other future ministerial meetings.

### **Challenges and Recommendations:**

- The Community of Democracies is in its early stages, and to be successful the Santiago 2005 meeting should produce some concrete achievements.

- The governmental process, especially the Convening Group, should be made more democratic and transparent.
- It is important to link this process with other international efforts to democratize global governance, such as the Democracy Caucus at the U.N, reform of the International Monetary Fund, and others.
- Civil society organizations should make recommendations regarding the governmental process itself.
- The Commonwealth mechanisms were suggested as a potential model for the Community of Democracies.

### **The Nongovernmental Process**

At the Warsaw meeting, a civil society counterpart held a parallel meeting as the first effort to include nongovernmental actors. In Seoul, a separate nongovernmental meeting was also organized that convened more than 250 people from 75 countries. As a result, a civil society declaration for the strengthening of democracy was issued.

### **Challenges and Recommendations:**

The Community of Democracies was recognized as a window of opportunity for civil society organizations to address some of the main democracy issues in their countries and at the regional and global levels. With this aim, an Executive Secretariat is now leading the nongovernmental process for Santiago 2005. This Secretariat is a temporary coordinator that is ready to pass its mission, along with a systematization of the process and lessons learned, to the next country to chair the CD ministerial.

The current Secretariat seeks to address the following challenges:

- There is a need to establish a nongovernmental counterpart to the Community of Democracies composed of diverse social and political actors and broadening the scope of actors involved.
- There is a need to provide continuity to the process from Seoul to Santiago and to subsequent meetings of the Community of Democracies, making this a sustainable process.
- There is a need to disseminate information about the

Community of Democracies to diverse sectors.

- Moreover, the workshop emphasized the main goal of the Secretariat: to organize a process through which the regions can discuss democratic deficits and make proposals and recommendations to the governments that will gather in Santiago.

#### Other Challenges and Recommendations:

- There is a need to maintain the government-oriented strategy of the nongovernmental process; putting pressure on governments was seen both as a necessity and as an efficient manner in which to work, although it is necessary to ensure the independence of NGOs from governments.
- CD efforts should not duplicate other movements, like the World Movement for Democracy; it was noted that the two movements are distinct but complementary

and should thus coordinate their work.

- There is a need for better coordination among civil society organizations to avoid inadequate preparation and duplication of efforts faced at the Warsaw and Seoul meetings.
- The CD process should be improved (greater transparency, implementation of Seoul Plan of Action, more involvement of civil society); reforms at the United Nations and the International Monetary Fund should be explored.
- Parliamentarians, as potential stakeholders in both the governmental and nongovernmental processes, should be included.
- Regarding funding, the European Parliament's approval of a budget guidance that encourages the European Commission to direct resources in support of the Community of Democracies process was noted.

## Network of Democracy Assistance Foundations

#### Moderator:

Carl Gershman – USA

#### Rapporteur:

Laura Abrahams Schulz – USA

#### Presenters:

Tomas Pojar – Czech Republic  
Ravi Nair – India  
Anabel Rodriguez – Cuba

A geographically diverse group of more than 40 participants representing both democracy assistance foundations and donor recipients addressed a wide range of issues and challenges relating to the relationship between donors and implementers, and generated recommendations to help shape the ongoing work of the Network of Democracy Assistance Foundations.

#### Challenges:

Based on the opening presentations by both donor and implementing organizations, and comments from many other workshop participants, the following were identified as some of the key challenges:

- There are a growing number of examples of foreign governments skillfully blocking and/or restricting the flow of grant funds to NGOs, including through legislation, thereby hindering the ability of NGOs to work. This situation is exacerbated by the fact that donors are not adequately aware of the extent of this problem.
- The donor community lacks a collective strategy to support activists in isolated countries, or closed societies (e.g., Laos, Cuba, and China), where financial support may be impossible, but where collective political solidarity can send a powerful message. Such support should be a priority.
- Owing to a lack of coordination and communication, donor efforts are often duplicated; moreover, there is

also inadequate collective information-sharing about the importance of project evaluation.

- Grants that focus solely on the support of activities, rather than core support, do not foster NGO sustainability.
- It is difficult for NGOs to engage in long-run strategic and organizational planning when funding is limited to one year.
- An approach of giving large grants, particularly to organizations that lack sufficient absorptive capacity, encourages failure as well as corruption.
- Without field visits, thorough project evaluation is extremely difficult.

#### Recommendations:

Participants generated recommendations that can be considered by the Network, including in its yearly meetings, and that can help shape its ongoing evolution. Among the recommendations were the following:

- Donors (including those within the Network) should coordinate and share information about projects and programs on a systematic basis; part of this should include an honest assessment of what evaluation tools are the most effective.
- Donors should think in terms of “partnership” with local groups rather than in terms of “assistance.”

- The Democracy Assistance Network should address topics on an issue basis (e.g., “activists in closed societies”) rather than solely on a geographic basis. Such a focus could translate into mobilized, collective political support for activists in crisis and isolated environments.
- The more donors act on a collective and informed

basis, and even exert political pressure on authoritarian regimes, the more difficult it will be for such regimes to restrict the work of NGOs and democracy activists in their countries.

- Donors should prioritize the awarding of small, flexible grants rather than of large funds that are difficult to spend due to limited capacity and bureaucratic reasons.

## Luso-Forum for Democracy

### Moderator:

Roselma Évora – *Cape Verde*

### Rapporteur:

Elisabete Azevedo – *Portugal*

### Presenter:

Henrique S. Almeida – *Portugal*

This was a meeting of the Luso-Forum for Democracy (LFD), which included participants from seven lusophone (Portuguese-speaking) countries (Portugal, Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, São Tome e Principe, Angola, and Mozambique). All the participants were pleased to note that for the first time in a World Movement for Democracy assembly the lusophone countries had a significant number of participants.

The meeting began with a brief description of the LFD idea, its history, and its future objectives. The LFD, based at the Institute for Political Studies at the Catholic University of Lisbon, Portugal, is a network of democracy activists and groups interested in strengthening civil society and promoting democracy in lusophone countries.

### Recommendations:

Following the discussion, participants identified several needs and opportunities concerning democratization in lusophone countries and contributions of the LFD. The following recommendations were made concerning the LFD's work:

- Establish the LFD Web site to serve as a means for sharing and exchanging information and ideas among those in lusophone countries working for democracy. The Web site will be linked to those of the World Movement for Democracy and the Institute for Political Studies in Lisbon.
- Reinforce channels of communication involving universities and institutes in lusophone countries through various initiatives, such as exchange programs, the distribution of publications and other materials, sharing “best practices,” and other educational initiatives.

- Determine how research and higher education institutions can contribute to the reinforcement of capabilities and skills among active politicians and democracy activists in lusophone countries.

- Promote and share information databases about lusophone countries, such as the Afrobarometer.

- Promote conferences and publications related to democratization in lusophone countries.

- Establish partnerships with other networks related to democratization to which the LFD can contribute.

To begin implementing these recommendations, the participants agreed to contribute information, as well as one article by each participant concerning his or her country, for posting on the LFD Web site.

In sum, the meeting was generally characterized by a desire of the participants to help build, and participate in, the LFD and to see its partnership with the World Movement for Democracy strengthened.

*Following the Assembly, the coordinators of the LFD established its Web site (<http://www.ucp.pt/iep/lfd.html>) to serve those working for democracy and strengthening civil society in all lusophone countries. The Web site includes, among other items, an online forum in which participants can publish articles and commentaries about various subjects related to democracy in their countries; a list of participants in the LFD, including their contact information; news about lusophone countries; and a link to the World Movement for Democracy. The Web site is currently in Portuguese, but will soon include an English version.*



## Youth Movement for Democracy

**Moderators:**

Cristina de Miranda Costa – *Brazil*  
Clayton Lillienfeldt – *South Africa*

**Rapporteur:**

Ryota Jonen – *Japan*

This workshop gathered more than 25 participants from nearly 20 countries to discuss the importance of networking efforts among young democracy activists and to develop an effective networking structure. The workshop discussion began with a review of the youth workshop at the São Paulo Assembly in November 2000, at which the Network of Young Democracy Activists emerged, and the relative lack of progress that had been made since then, due, in part, to a lack of structure for the Network and, part, to the need for greater efforts and commitment among its participants.

The participants in this workshop agreed on the importance of networking and therefore re-committed themselves to establish a successful youth network. As a result, the original network has been renamed the “Youth Movement for Democracy,” and it will serve as the “youth wing” of the World Movement for Democracy. The Youth Movement will be a platform for young activists to address the important need to promote democratic values and to come together to share information, and will be an action-oriented, solidarity movement. It will seek to provide a space through which young democracy activists can develop contact with others and collaborate on activities.

The workshop participants focused their discussion on the Youth Movement’s structure and activities. On structure, it was suggested that a code of conduct for members be drafted and that a Steering Committee be established. Participants also agreed that members of

the Youth Movement should be individuals or organizations, and that it should include not only young activists (students and young adults), but also those who work on and support youth activities. It was also proposed that the Youth Movement have a secretariat, as well as regional, sub-regional, and national chapters.

Participants also identified the main areas for the Youth Movement’s activities, which will include capacity building, solidarity, information exchange, research on “best practices” for youth activities, and advocacy. Specific activities that participants proposed include the development of a Web site to serve these purposes, a summer camp at which training and a seminar on youth political participation would be provided, and an essay contest on youth activism.

To discuss these matters further, a Working Group was established with participants from Brazil, Burma, Cameroon, Japan, Russia, and Zimbabwe. The Working Group is now responsible for drafting the structure of the Youth Movement and the code of conduct for its members, determining the priorities among the Youth Movement’s proposed activities, and fundraising for those activities.

*A section of the World Movement Web site ([www.wmd.org](http://www.wmd.org)) has since been created for the Youth Movement for Democracy, to include documents on its structure, its code of conduct for members, the members of the Working Group, and other information.*

## International Movement of Parliamentarians for Democracy

**Moderators:**

Bi-khim Hsiao – *Taiwan*  
Dolma Gyari – *Tibet*

**Rapporteur:**

Tiffany Lynch – *USA*

This was the second meeting of the International Movement of Parliamentarians for Democracy (IMPD), which was founded in February 2003. It was intended to formalize the IMPD by discussing the establishment of a structure and its prospective activities. The meeting included both founding and new members. There was broad agreement that even though international networks of parliamentarians already exist, prior to the launch of the IMPD a network dedicated solely to the cause of democracy was lacking.

The parliamentarians present in the workshop, representing 14 countries, reinforced the purpose of the IMPD,

namely, to strengthen, re-invigorate, reform, and bolster democracy worldwide, and to defend democratically elected parliamentarians who are denied their seats or who face harassment.

The workshop began with a brief review of the success of the IMPD since its founding meeting. Participants learned that its membership has increased to more than 300 parliamentarians representing nearly 30 countries. The parliamentarians also reviewed the actions the IMPD has undertaken during the past year, including the publication of statements and alerts issued by the Movement condemning instances of violations of democratic rights.

Participants in the workshop stressed the importance of parliamentarians helping their fellow parliamentarians in trouble, with particular reference to how Italian parliamentarians have helped the Tibetan Parliament-in-Exile get recognized internationally despite Chinese pressure. To strengthen IMPD activities, participants suggested that the IMPD unite with groups within parliaments as well as with international groups dedicated to specific causes.

Concerning the structure of the IMPD, members present concluded that an interim executive committee should be created to perform certain activities before the third meeting of the Movement is convened in 2005. These duties include crafting proposals for an official structure, writing a charter or constitution, deciding on membership criteria, and organizing the third meeting. The IMPD interim executive committee will work with the

National Endowment for Democracy, which will remain the Movement's secretariat, to complete these tasks. Regarding membership, the workshop participants agreed to create a committee with regional representation to promote the Movement and to recruit new members.

This second meeting of the IMPD concluded with a discussion of activities in which members and the Movement itself can engage in to promote democracy and protect parliamentarians worldwide. Members agreed to continue to write opinion editorials in support of the cause of democracy and to distribute these editorials to their fellow IMPD members; to issue statements and alerts and to distribute them to fellow members; to recruit new members; and to issue a newsletter with information, including a list of upcoming events that parliamentarians may be interested in attending to promote the IMPD.

## Media and New Technologies

### Confronting the Challenges to Press Freedom: What Works?

#### Organizers:

Thai Journalists Association  
– Thailand  
Robin Sewlal, Department of  
Journalism, Durban Institute of  
Technology – South Africa

#### Moderator:

Robin Sewlal – South Africa

#### Presenter:

Kavi Chongkittavorn – Thailand

#### Observations:

- Romania had 15 cases of violent attacks on journalists during 2003.
- Seventy-five Cuban human rights activists and journalists were jailed for publishing negative stories about Cuba that were not classified, but stories about everyday life.
- Ugandan journalists have to work under the threat of being sentenced to death if they write about rebel activities and are called collaborators if they do so.
- In China there is a state-owned agency of about 32,000 employees who only surf the Internet in order to block sites with negative references to China. Some software companies look at China as a big market and therefore tend to help the government hide information from the public.

#### Challenges:

In general, media owners with political connections often block the free flow of information and create media monopolies. To solve these problems, the legislature can prevent cross-media ownership, promote alternative media, and allocate air times for education and community services. Disconnected regional media is also often a

problem where journalists often cover the events only of their own countries despite many regional problems, such as human and drug trafficking and terrorism.

The workshop thus identified three main challenges:

- Proliferation of a culture of secrecy
- Concentration of media ownership
- Disconnected regional media.

#### Recommendations:

- Any attack on a journalist should be criticized, and fellowships for regional journalists should be promoted to encourage them to report on other countries.
- Because Asia is the only region that does not have an independent regional media organization, one should be established
- It is important for journalists to follow professional standards.
- There should be open discussions within journalist associations and media outlets, based on independent monitoring as a professional development tool.
- Training in journalism should be life-long and available to all journalists.

## Using Traditional, Alternative, and New Technology Media to Promote Democracy

### Organizers:

Malaysiakini – *Malaysia*  
Herbert Boh – *Cameroon*

### Moderator:

Herbert Boh – *Cameroon*

### Rapporteur:

Premesh Chandran – *Malaysia*

### Presenters:

Ogi Zlatev – *Bulgaria*  
Terrence Sesay – *Liberia*  
Kihong Han – *South Korea*

### Challenges:

- Because of low levels of Internet penetration and literacy in Africa, radio continues to be the main medium in local languages and is thus an important source of news about democratic development. In some countries, however, there are basic problems, such as the lack of electricity, or conflict or post-conflict situations, or the theft of radio equipment.
- There is some inability to manage and maintain computers.
- While there is the possibility of combining Internet and radio—for example, in Indonesia the Internet is used to transmit syndicated radio programming and in Nepal radio broadcasters read news and information obtained through the Internet—and while the cost of satellite uplinking is coming down, this is still too expensive to use for community-based pro-democracy media.

### Recommendations:

- A center should be established for the development of open-source applications that can be used by democracy groups, including the development of anti-censorship technologies.
- Provide training for working in closed societies, including, for example, training in the use of encryption technology.
- Support initiatives to compile and distribute materials on democracy and democratic struggles and enhance the work of the Communication Initiative.
- Funding should be provided for media initiatives, not only by donor organizations, but also by governments.

To encourage this, an analysis should be produced comparing funding for defense and funding for media assistance. In addition, a program for developing advertising revenue for independent media, particularly from big companies that do social image advertising, for instance on the environment or human rights.

- Provide assistance to exile communities to develop media for their home countries.

### Recommendations for Advocacy:

- Call on international institutions to support independent and pro-democracy media initiatives by providing assistance and encouraging governments to open media space.
- Call on technology companies to halt the development of censorship technology and alert them to the fact that this technology is hindering the development of technologies that benefit independent media.
- Intervene at the World Summit on Information Society (WSIS) to lobby against countries that try to introduce checks on the Internet.
- Call on international radio stations, such as the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), to support democracy in developing countries by increasing their focus of news programming on specific target countries.
- Support calls for the reform of media law to allow for pluralistic and independent media.
- Call on content providers to increase content in multiple languages.

## Using New Technologies in NGO Networking

### Organizers:

Kabissa – *USA*  
Women's Learning Partnership  
for Rights, Development and Peace  
– *USA*

### Moderators:

Kim Lowery – *USA*  
Rakhee Goyal – *USA*

### Rapporteurs:

Kim Lowery – *USA*  
Rakhee Goyal – *USA*

### Presenters:

Kim Lowery – *USA*  
Rakhee Goyal – *USA*  
Premesh Chandran – *Malaysia*  
Ricardo Uceda – *Peru*

This workshop explored the challenges that organizations face both in the general use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) and in networking and build-

ing relationships in particular. The discussion focused on leveraging the collective experiences of the group to develop a general framework for how to make the most of

ICTs, as well as to identify practical solutions to specific challenges participants face.

### General Recommendations:

- *ICTs are a tool.*
  - During every discussion of ICTs, one should remember that these technologies are the means to achieve a larger goal, not an end in and of themselves.
- *Know your goals.*
  - What are you trying to change?
  - Who are you trying to reach?
  - What message are you trying to convey?
- *Be strategic.*
  - Use a combination of ICT tools to reach different audiences most effectively (for example, through Web sites and print and electronic newsletters as distinct from online discussions or radio, etc.).
  - Identify expertise and existing solutions to problems instead of duplicating efforts of others.

### Challenges and Recommendations:

**Challenge:** How to do online fundraising?

**Recommendations:** There are several solutions available, but many are US-specific, such as Paypal and Network for Good. Other systems, such as Kagi, offer credit card processing that works with local structures. However, there still seem to be difficulties in implementing online fundraising in many developing countries. SANGONeT in South Africa is looking into different payment systems for Southern Africa, and Malaysiakini in Malaysia is working to open up many of the US-based systems to other countries. In any case, each organization must judge whether online fundraising really fits the nature of the organization and its appeal to potential individual donors.

**Challenge:** Using Web sites or e-mail mailing lists?

**Recommendation:** Most participants agreed that a combination of these tools is effective. While e-mail is more accessible and user-friendly for many people, the Web offers the ability to store resources that can be easily accessed by a larger population.

**Challenge:** What tools are available to measure the real impact of ICT initiatives?

**Recommendation:** While participants agreed that it is often difficult to measure the real impact of long-term ICT advocacy programs, some tools are available, both online and offline, which can help NGOs ensure that their ICT initiatives are accomplishing their objectives. Participants suggested the use of surveys, polls, focus groups, and Web tracking and analysis systems to help measure the reach and impact of ICT initiatives.

**Challenge:** Lack of affordable ICT expertise.

**Recommendation:** Many options are available, including donated consultancy services, eRider programs available in many regions, and student internships. In addition, participants emphasized the use of Open Source technologies (software and standards) as a way to take advantage of work that has already been done.

### Next steps:

The participants acknowledged that the above list of challenges and recommendations is by no means exhaustive and that the discussion and exchange of experiences among the participants should continue. The group met again during the Third Assembly to discuss the further development of the World Movement's Democracy ICT Group, launched at the Second Assembly in 2000, to continue exchanging ideas of benefit to regional and other functional networks within the World Movement for Democracy.

Workshop participants agreed to gather and share resources of use to democracy activists and networks upon their return home, and this material will be made available on the Democracy ICT Group Web site.

## Political Parties and Finance

### Making Effective Transitions to Democratic Representative Parties

#### Organizers:

Centre for Policy Studies – *South Africa*  
Carlos Mena, United Nations  
Development Programme – *Chile*

#### Moderator:

Chris Landsberg – *South Africa*

#### Rapporteur:

Graeme de Bruyn – *South Africa*

#### Presenter:

Raymond Suttner – *South Africa*

The workshop was organized within the context of the numerous challenges related to liberation movements as governors that are posed and experienced in many countries, but particularly in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region. The workshop took an over-

view of political party systems that operate in industrialized, post-industrialized, and information technology societies, and concluded that all political parties should have a project or national program that informs their existence. The SADC region is particularly relevant because many libera-



tion movements have created the conditions for transitions to democracy and new means of democratic consolidation.

### Challenges:

- What strategies help liberation movements turned political parties to adopt democratic and pluralist governance models and intra-party organization?
- How can ideological anomalies within parties and their leaderships be addressed?

### Observations:

- The workshop addressed problems that liberation movements face in transitioning to conventionally-defined political parties, which are perceived as the true purveyors of democracy. Participants discussed how to unlock and interpret the shifts from liberation movements in opposition to those in government. There was a strong sense that within societies with liberation movements much of the dominant premise of governance can be externally engineered.
- Every political party, whether a liberation movement or not, goes through the following three stages: factionalism, polarization, and institutionalization. In their early stages, political parties are factions with no significant representation of social forces; it is only when they develop clear programs and policies that they are able to integrate and represent such broader forces. Regardless

of what they are called, liberation movements and political parties face three main challenges: legitimacy, integration, and the institutionalization of democracy. The means for meeting such challenges apply equally to political parties and liberation movements.

- The workshop also confronted the fact there should not be confusion between a political party's dominance and a general understanding of democracy, which must be seen clearly within the context of a given country.
- The workshop participants were also challenged to distinguish between empirical evidence and dogmas that have taken root in some democracies, such as, among others, that to be legitimate liberation movements must make the transition to political parties and that rules and criteria for democratic consolidation must be standardized.

### Recommendations:

- The donor community, civil society, and research institutions should continue their support for liberation movements regardless of whether they are in power.
- Political parties should be secularized.
- Opposition parties should have clear programs, not just a capacity to irritate the official party in government.
- The capacity and institutions of a liberation movement should be developed to counterbalance government.

## How to Strengthen Internal Party Democracy

### Organizers:

Electoral Institute of Southern Africa  
– *South Africa*  
Netherlands Institute for Multi-Party  
Democracy – *The Netherlands*

### Moderators:

Claude Kabemba – *South Africa*  
Etweida Cooper – *Liberia*

### Rapporteur:

Ivaneta Dobichina – *Bulgaria*

### Presenters:

Khabele Matlosa – *Lesotho*  
Alvaro Pinto Scholtbach  
– *The Netherlands*  
Kayode Fayemi – *Ghana*

There was a general consensus at the workshop that the strengthening of internal party democracy is a crucial prerequisite for democratic development in various countries.

### Challenges:

- In many of the countries that were discussed at the workshop the democratic process is evolving at the national level, but internal party democratic practices are still lacking.
- In many African, Latin American, and East European countries there has been a shift from leader-driven politics to political parties-based politics, while in Western Europe the tendency has been in the opposite direction.
- Many African, Latin American, and Eastern European political parties discriminate against women in elec-

tions, and in many cases external monitoring systems concerning women's involvement in parties and candidate selection mechanisms is not enforceable.

- The historical background to the creation of political parties often influence the way they work, and in many cases the process of renewing parties in post-totalitarian countries is constrained by this historical burden.
- Primary elections are good for establishing the democratic credentials of a party and often allow for accountability and inclusiveness; however, they can also create tensions and conflict within the party structures themselves.
- Political parties increasingly suffer from a crisis of representation, often losing links with the public.

**Recommendations:**

- There should be a checks-and-balances system within the leadership of a party.
- Parties should learn to manage frictions by creating a healthy environment for internal debates and creating mechanisms for solving internal conflicts.
- Participation in primary elections should be limited to party members.
- The creation of groups within parties representing different categories (women, youth, etc.) does not con-

tribute to strengthening the representation of people in those categories in decision-making processes.

- Legislated quotas and sanctions are not recommended, but in some cases could be the solution for strengthening internal party democracy and enhancing representation.
- Parties should improve their internal means of communication and members should take part in decision-making and policy-making processes; when possible, the Internet should be used as an important tool for achieving this.

## Political Parties and Money: Lessons Learned in Compliance

**Organizers:**

National Democratic Institute for  
International Affairs – *USA*  
Netherlands Institute for Multi-Party  
Democracy – *The Netherlands*

**Moderator:**

Alvaro Pinto Scholtbach  
– *The Netherlands*

**Rapporteur:**

Victoria Canavor – *USA*

**Presenters:**

Bi-Khim Hsiao – *Taiwan*  
Nii Noi Dowouna – *Ghana*  
Maurits Hassankhan – *Suriname*  
Buranaj Smutharaks – *Thailand*

**Challenges:**

This workshop examined a grave threat to economic growth, democracy, and stability: political corruption. With case study presentations by political party leaders from Ghana, Suriname, Taiwan, Thailand, and the Netherlands, the workshop fostered thinking about the links between finance, political parties, and corruption. Diverse participants shared lessons learned from regulating money in politics and explored the primary challenges for parties in complying with these regulations. Representatives of party institutes and foundations, donor organizations, government institutions, and academia actively took part in the discussion.

Participants agreed that, given their critical role in a healthy political system, political parties must be included in the growing coalition of actors actively engaged in measures to combat corruption. Participants noted that there is no one package of reforms to apply in every situation; real differences exist among countries in terms of their electoral frameworks, political landscapes, social environments, and stages of democratic development.

**Recommendations:**

There was consensus that in tackling the problems of corruption, it is necessary to focus on both the external political environment and the internal operations of political parties.

**External Political Environment**

- Make existing and proposed regulations as clear and practical as possible.
- Give adequate resources and sufficient authority to

independent bodies that monitor and enforce legal regulations.

- Introduce limited public funding, forcing greater financial transparency and accountability, and leveling the playing field.
- Create deterrence through more stringent penalties for engaging in corrupt practices.
- Ensure an independent media free of political interference.
- Ban parties from engaging in commercial activities.

**Internal Party Operations**

- Develop more transparent decision-making processes within parties—particularly with respect to leadership and candidate selection—to prevent undue influence by vested interests or wealthy benefactors.
- Require party members to pay fees, thereby broadening party ownership and diminishing the undue influence of party leadership.
- Adopt a common approach to the challenges of political patronage and vote buying within the system by agreeing and adhering to a code of conduct.
- Political parties should become more engaged in efforts by civil society organizations to tackle issues of corruption; conversely, civil society actors should be more open to working with political parties.
- Political parties should work jointly with civil society to raise public awareness of corruption and the role that various actors play.

## Political Finance Reporting and Monitoring

### Organizer:

International Foundation for Election Systems – USA

### Moderator:

Michael Pinto-Duschinsky – UK

### Rapporteur:

Menachem Hofnung – Israel

### Presenters:

Gene Ward – USA

John Makumbe – Zimbabwe

Marcin Walecki – Poland

Four main topics were discussed in the workshop, as follows:

- The legal framework of political funding
- Monitoring political money
- Direct and indirect funding of political activity
- Role of civil society organizations in monitoring campaigns and ongoing political finance.

### Observations:

#### Political Funding

During their discussion of *Money in Politics Handbook*, developed by USAID, the participants agreed that money plays a positive role in politics, because it is needed to facilitate recognition of candidates and parties and ultimately to convince people to cast their votes in support of a candidate or party. But they also agreed that money can play a negative role; the one who has more money wins most of the time.

There was also a presentation on ways to control the money flow in politics. Maintaining a database of political finance, such as a database used by the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES), can be of great help in tracing sources of money in many countries.

#### Disclosure

Differences between developed and non-developed countries emerged on this issue. Participants from developed countries emphasized the importance of disclosure rules and regulations; it has been argued that without dis-

closure there is no effective way to control the flow of money. However, participants from developing countries raised doubts as to the applicability of disclosure requirements; strict disclosure may intimidate people from contributing to opposition parties and thus prove to be counterproductive.

While all agreed on the importance of disclosure, it was clear to the participants that there are practical problems in enforcing disclosure in developed countries.

#### Civil Society and Funding

In his presentation at the workshop, John Makumbe of Zimbabwe addressed the ways in which civil society organizations can be effective in monitoring elections. NGOs lack a toolkit for what they should look for in trying to monitor elections, and they also lack knowledge of what to look for while monitoring campaigns in foreign countries. However, NGOs can build professional alliances with other organizations in monitoring campaigns and thus share with others the lessons learned from experience and practice.

Participants expressed the need for a toolkit for monitoring, as well as the need to train civil society organizations to be active in monitoring political funding.

#### Monitoring

While discussing the various existing methods of monitoring, several participants raised specific concerns within their respective countries. It was therefore agreed that a network of activists who work in the area of political finance should be formed.

## Research

### How Can Civil Society Actors Use Public Opinion Research to Improve and Strengthen Democracy?

### Organizers:

Network of Democracy Research Institutes  
Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) – South Africa

### Moderators:

Robert Mattes – South Africa  
Larry Diamond – USA

### Rapporteur:

Nakatiwa Mulikita – South Africa

### Presenters:

E. Gyimah-Boadi – Ghana

Marta Lagos – Chile

Thawilwadee Bureekul – Thailand

Olga Gyárfášová – Slovakia

### Observations:

Public opinion polling is a very useful diagnostic tool in assessing what citizens think about democracy. In addition,

when public opinion polls are conducted across several countries the result is some degree of comparability on the issues being measured.

The workshop presenters provided several key considerations concerning public opinion polling:

- It helps to know the geographical, ethnic, and class concentrations of the society in which the polling is being done.
- Polling provides a voice to people.
- Polling reveals the kind of difficulties that exist about democracy.
- Polling helps in understanding people's prejudices and in mobilizing people to participate in democracy.
- Polling helps to open up a society.
- Polling has an impact on the society at large; in and through the media and political actors it helps people to know about themselves.

#### Key Issues:

- Surveys are a form of democratic expression of popular sentiments because sometimes the political systems themselves may not be democratic.
- Funding institutions may impact on how survey results are received, particularly by the government.
- The ways in which people link public opinion surveys with their work have an impact on public attitudes to surveys.
- Survey results can contribute to shaping public attitudes.
- Polls can be misused to legitimize undemocratic values.

- Political parties sometimes dislike opinion polls that they do not control.

#### Recommendations:

- The media should be helped in developing editorial content to increase reporting about democracy.
- Researchers who are also activists should use survey data to identify gaps in democratization for the sake of more effective activism.
- Surveys should be standardized to enable the comparison of survey results and to enhance their credibility and trust in their results.
- Use assessments from experts and the public to gain and enhance credibility and trust in survey results.
- Work with all public opinion groups (stakeholders) in conceptualizing a survey. Civil society, for example, should provide input into the design of a questionnaire.
- Provide training for journalists, women's groups, human rights groups, etc., on how to understand public opinion surveys so they can interpret, use, and disseminate the results and correct errors in survey reports.
- Survey and research concepts should be translated into local languages in order to be "localized."
- Find ways to help politicians relate to opinion surveys.

## Network of Democracy Research Institutes

### Part One: The State of the Network

#### Moderator:

Marc F. Plattner – USA

#### Rapporteur:

Anja Håvedal – Sweden

#### Presenter:

Thomas W. Skladony – USA

### Part Two: The Quality of Democracy

#### Moderator:

Larry Diamond – USA

#### Rapporteur:

Anja Håvedal – Sweden

#### Presenters:

Robert Mattes – South Africa

Uri Dromi – Israel

Thawilwadee Bureekul – Thailand

Olga Gyárfášová – Slovakia

### Part One: The State of the Network

The workshop began with an overview of the Network of Democracy Research Institutes (NDRI), which is a functional network of the World Movement for Democracy that is administered by the International Forum for International Studies at the National Endowment for Democracy. The NDRI has grown from 29 member institutions in February 2003 to 48 in February 2004. This growth has led, in turn, to expansion of the content of *Democracy Research News*, the Network's electronic newsletter, which will increase from a quarterly to a bi-monthly publication in 2004. In addition to the newsletter, the NDRI also circulates a weekly e-mail message, entitled "Worth Reading" that provides information about a recommended book, article, or other piece of research

on democracy, and conducts various events and programs, such as roundtable discussions on the role of think tanks in new democracies and training workshops for senior managers and administrators of member institutes. It was noted that while the NDRI is well represented in most parts of the world—especially in Eastern and Central Europe—it only has three members in all of Latin America. Additional recruitment thus needs to be done in this region.

In the discussion that followed, NDRI members reported on new activities and asked for feedback on their research. One participant said that language barriers might be a reason why there were only three NDRI members from Latin America.



**Recommendations:**

Among the recommendations participants made for strengthening the Network were:

- Circulating “Worth Reading” items in additional languages
- Translating important works on democracy into major world languages
- Translating selected NDRI publications from native languages into English
- Developing more regional collaborative projects
- Developing an Africa-wide democracy studies center with a library, seminar series, and fellowship opportunities.

**Part Two: The Quality of Democracy**

**Observations and Challenges:**

In the years following recent democratic transitions, scholars typically have begun developing and testing quantitative indicators of the quality of democracy, including some that may be used in cross-national research. Three NDRI institutes undertake such work. The Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa), the Israel Democracy Institute, and King Prajadhipok’s Institute (Thailand) conduct democracy audits in their respective

countries by gathering empirical data and conducting public opinion surveys. Among the issues common to most countries that do such research are questions about popular control over government actors, the level of social and economic inequality, governmental stability, corruption, and the rule of law. Ol’ga Gyárfášová of the Institute for Public Affairs described the Global Report on the State of Society published by her organization, which includes some empirical data but consists primarily of descriptive, narrative essays on various aspects of social and political life. These essays, in her view, also provide important insights into the quality of democracy in Slovakia.

During the discussion, some workshop participants argued that qualitative country reports provide a rich context that purely quantitative studies do not. Others were skeptical that complex questions of the quality of democracy could be captured by an index or set of indicators. Nonetheless, others supported the development of such indexes and asked for advice on how to do so in their countries. Several participants asked about the practical difficulties of developing sets of questions that could be used worldwide, so that valid international comparisons could be made, and one participant recommended the creation of a standard measure that could locate every country in the world on a continuum of democratic quality.

# **Transparency and Accountability**

## **Ensuring Vital and Open Legislatures: The Nongovernmental Role**

**Organizers:**

Center for Democratic Performance,  
University of Binghamton – *USA*  
Congreso Visible – *Colombia*

**Moderators:**

Edward McMahon – *USA*  
Elizabeth Spiro Clark – *USA*

**Rapporteur:**

Elizabeth Spiro Clark – *USA*

**Presenters:**

Slobodan Homen – *Serbia*  
Olisa Agbakoba – *Nigeria*  
Somchai Homloar – *Thailand*

For democracy to flourish there must be effective communication among different groups, actors, and sectors within a society. This is facilitated by dialogue and compromise, which can create a secure public space in which voices seeking mutual understanding and engagement are heard and in which different constituencies can be mobilized. One of the most important sets of such healthy relations is that between a legislature and civil society, because it can help educate lawmakers on the choices they face as they consider legislation and undertake activities to oversee the executive branch. Information is essential in a democracy, and a complaint often raised is that the legislative branch is too dependent upon the executive.

Tension built in to the legislative-civil society relationship, and there will not always be total congruence of viewpoints and perspectives. Trust may sometimes be in short supply, and unanimity of perspectives may not necessarily exist within either a legislature or civil society,

but as long as these are kept to acceptable levels they are a healthy sign that democracy, and its system of checks and balances, is functioning.

This workshop, which examined how this process of dialogue and compromise can be further promoted, focused on two main sub-themes: civil society’s role in advocacy, informing and shaping debate and serving as agents of change, and civil society’s role in oversight.

**Advocacy**

**Observations and Challenges:**

- Regarding advocacy, civil society can proactively present information to the legislature without having to be asked. This can include petitions, requests for regular meetings, preparation of documentary information for submission to parliament, and the development of effective advocacy, including popular education

campaigns on issues and use of the media. Civil society should also be prepared to follow up and remain focused on the issues raised.

- The legislature should know that there is an active civil society seeking to provide information and input. This may not necessarily be instinctual on the part of parliamentarians. Attitudes may not change in a short period of time, but sustained engagement and activity by civil society organizations can help to open channels of communication. How civil society undertakes this is very important. To what extent, for example, can NGOs join forces to present their views on issues of common interest? Should they present their views to the legislature as a whole or should they try to identify members of parliament with whom they can work and who would be most likely to support their views?
- Legislators do not always have sufficient information about issues and proposed solutions. NGOs can provide analysis and serve as “bridges” between policy making and knowledge.
- It is important for NGOs to know and understand legislative rules and how to draft proposals for better solutions. It is also important to understand legislators’ perspectives and the forces that shape their positions.
- To play this role, however, NGOs must develop “carrot-and-stick” incentives, since legislators may instinctively not want to give NGOs this space or may feel that they are too busy to engage in this necessary dialogue. One common method of gaining legislative attention is to mobilize constituents; in other contexts, however, legislators respond more to their party and the executive branch and NGO advocacy strategies should take this into account.
- The particular theme or themes on which NGOs should focus depends on the particular context. In an authoritarian country, they can focus on the institutions needed for a transition. For instance, in the development of an electoral law, civil society must watch over the process or legislators may follow their own self-interest and elections will consequently be compromised.
- At what stage of the process is advocacy most helpful, and how can NGOs protect their reputation for non-partisanship?

## Oversight

### Observations and Challenges:

- Just as legislative oversight of the executive is a central function in democracies, so too is civil society’s oversight of the legislative branch. This role includes assessing its performance and providing recommendations on improvement.
- The ability of civil society to exercising an independent and analytic oversight function is related to the

history of relations between the government and civil society more generally. In South Africa, for example, civil society and the African National Congress (ANC) participated together in the struggle against apartheid. Once in power, however, both civil society and the ANC had to recognize that their relationship had subtly changed because civil society by definition is independent of government.

- NGOs can also monitor voting records and rate parties or individuals on their participation in legislative activities, including votes, or on the policy positions they take. They can also focus on the relationship between financial contributions and positions taken by deputies.
- By exercising an oversight role civil society is demonstrating that it is not subservient to the legislature. However, this need not take place in an adversarial context or such a context can at least be minimized.
- There is a complexity and potential conflicts of interest when NGOs that pursue specific policy and advocacy agendas also serve as neutral evaluators of the legislature’s functioning. One way in which this potential problem can be addressed is through the establishment of non-partisan organizations whose sole or main function is to promote democratic governance and well-functioning institutions.
- One theme often pursued by NGOs is governmental transparency, including freedom of information legislation, and NGOs can advocate for “sunshine” laws requiring transparency in legislative functioning.
- Civil society coalitions are important because they can help legitimate legislative actions, dispel suspicions of legislators’ motives, and create credibility in the legislative branch. NGOs have the capacity to produce change with tools that legislators do not have; they can serve as effective mediators by creating ground for common understanding; and NGO coalitions can develop information and briefing materials for Parliament. Much input can also come from universities, and networks can be formed with civil society groups in other countries. Ad hoc coalitions are often most useful because creating permanent coalitions may prove to be difficult and even counterproductive.
- NGOs can help publicize laws that have been passed and encourage legislatures to function as openly and transparently as possible. They should be proactive and positive in their relations with the legislature, but they should also demonstrate that they are prepared to be a critical and independent voice.
- Whether to work with all parties in the legislature or only those parties that meet “democratic” criteria is also an important question.
- NGOs should find ways to interact effectively with political parties, not to supplant them. Depending on the political context, however, it may be appropriate for

NGO leaders to seek political office.

- It should also be noted that the constitutional function of legislatures is to legislate; therefore, not every interest that is brought to the legislature can or will be accommodated.

### Specific Recommendations:

NGOs should:

- Prepare strategies for dealing with legislatures for different possible political contexts;
- Use advocacy means including committees and public hearings, comments on draft legislation, meetings and informal contact, public access to the legislature, the media, site visits outside the capital, and constituency relations;
- Create legislative directories so people have information about who their legislators are and how to contact them;
- Propose public ethics laws to heighten popular confidence in the legislature;

dence in the legislature;

- Perform informal legislative research and budget advisory functions;
- Develop positive relationships with key legislators;
- Emphasize the non-partisan nature of their activities, the transparency and good governance in their own functioning, the long-term capacity-building nature of their work, their use of international networks, and their ability to provide credible information to the public;
- Consider establishing non-partisan organizations whose sole or main purpose is to promote democratic governance and well-functioning democratic institutions;
- Consider ways to make working with them in the legislators' own interest, such as creating popular demand through information sessions in different regions of the country;
- Promote civic education so people are aware of how NGOs can carry their voice to legislators.

## How Can the Legitimacy and Accountability of NGOs be Ensured without Increasing their Vulnerability?

### Organizer:

Africa Democracy Forum

### Moderator:

Ayesha Imam – Nigeria

### Rapporteur:

Monette Zard – UK

### Presenter:

Monette Zard – UK

The last few years have seen two trends proceed hand in hand: an unprecedented expansion in the number and influence of NGOs around the world and increasing challenges to their legitimacy and accountability. These challenges come from governments, from sections of the media, intergovernmental organizations, other NGOs, and sections of civil society.

### Challenges:

- Participants agreed that accountability should not be viewed in a narrow sense, but should be interpreted to include all of those with a legitimate interest in the work of the NGO concerned. Moreover, the responsibilities of accountability cannot be discharged purely through a reporting framework, but should also encompass concrete mechanisms by which NGO decision makers can be held responsible for shortcomings.
- It is important to address accountability as a means to preserve the trust invested in NGOs. Participants also reflected on the need to reconcile the strengths of the NGO system (namely, the ability to innovate and respond flexibly and rapidly) with accountability mechanisms that tend to slow down their work. At the very least, it was noted, NGOs should endeavor to operate as transparently as possible, bearing in mind

that transparency is often limited by the contexts within which NGOs are working. Participants reflected on the particular challenges they encounter in their own national contexts:

- the difficulty of preserving independence in the context of a civil war situation and during a period of political transition;
- problems of flawed national registration requirements for NGOs;
- proliferating numbers of NGOs, many of which are shells formed in response to either donor interest or are NGOs created by government or business interests; and
- the need to define just what constitutes an NGO.
- Lack of legitimacy is a charge often leveled at NGOs, particularly where their work touches on sensitive issues of religion or culture; how can NGOs counter such charges?
- How can NGOs consult, and take into account, the wishes of victims, clients, and beneficiaries, and who has the right to represent their points of view? This dynamic exists between northern and southern NGOs, at times leading to tensions.

**Recommendations:**

- The media is a potential supporter of NGOs in this area.
- Reinforcing relationships with the grassroots helps strengthen the legitimacy of NGOs.
- International and national NGO coalitions can support national NGOs that are embattled and challenged within their national contexts.
- NGOs should engage more systematically with donors to set accountability targets and frameworks more effectively and to make donors more aware of the repercussions of their funding strategies.
- Consideration should be given to self-regulation and

codes of conduct, drawing upon the experiences of South Africa and Taiwan.

- Competence, consistency, and fairness are important in reinforcing the accountability of NGOs, even where public opinion is not necessarily behind the NGO's work.

Finally, the participants acknowledged that it is unlikely that one approach would be sufficient to meet the needs of all NGOs. Rather, NGOs should develop approaches that suit them either nationally or regionally. However, NGOs should not be defensive about tackling the subject of accountability; this is an issue on which NGOs should take the lead and they should define their own standards before others do it for them.

## Accessing Public Information: Civil Society Strategies for Ensuring Transparency

**Organizers:**

Foundation for Information and Democracy – *Mexico*  
 Freedom of Information – *Mexico*  
 Open Democracy Advice Centre – *South Africa*

**Moderator:**

Jonathan Dunn – *UK*

**Rapporteur:**

Silvia Alonso – *Mexico*

**Presenters:**

Francisco Acuña – *Mexico*  
 Chee Soon Juan – *Singapore*  
 Peter Eigen – *Germany*  
 Mukelani Dimba – *South Africa*  
 María Del Carmen Gutiérrez – *Mexico*

**Observations:**

- The right of access to information has finally come into its own after having been kept under the shadow over freedom of expression for a long time.
- This right has over the years been brought into the discourse on transparency, accountability, governance, participatory democracy and anti-corruption strategies.
- More than 50 countries have recognized the need to pass legislation to allow access to information that is withheld by government. No less than 20 countries passed these laws in the last decade, most of them in South America, Eastern & Central Europe, Asia, and Africa. Unfortunately, South Africa still remains the only African country with a proper right to information law (the Promotion of Access to Information Act of 2000). Some African countries have constitutional guarantees on the right of access to information (for example, Mozambique). Efforts are currently underway to lobby more African governments to enact such laws, and the Declaration on Freedom of Information of the African Charter on Human & People's Rights is seen as an important advocacy tool.
- The case of Singapore was presented as a very interesting case because the efficacy of access to information in combating corruption is being tested. The country still doesn't have an official RTI law and yet it is constantly perceived and rated as one of the least corrupt countries in the world. The picture isn't as rosy when one considers the following:

- There is an oligopoly of control of the media where only two companies dominate the media industry.
- Information on government expenditures is not released freely to the public.
- Foreign media is intimidated from publishing reports of corruption through draconian defamation laws.
- A recent report by Reporters Without Borders ranked Zimbabwe above Singapore on respect for press freedom.

These incongruous perceptions of Singapore have led to calls for future corruption perception indices to be qualified.

**Challenge:**

Participants discussed the significance of Access to Information/Right to Information (RTI) laws that can be used to promote transparency and openness in the system of governance; enable citizens to influence decision making and effectively participate in the democratic process; and enable people in poorer communities to use their right of access to information as a key that opens up doors to the realization of other social and economic rights. However, the biggest challenge to passing an RTI law lies in ensuring that the law gets implemented properly. It thus becomes crucial for civil society organizations and NGOs to monitor the process of implementation after passage of the law to ensure that governments deliver on the legislation's promises.



### Recommendations:

- Civil society and businesses need to address access to information accountability to the wider community.
- In countries where information blackouts exist, making it possible for corrupt governments to thrive, civil

society should build sustainable solidarity networks to support campaigns endorsing RTI.

- Civil society organizations should continue to lobby and campaign for the enactment of RTI laws, instilling cooperation and solidarity among social partners.

## Women's Rights

### Breaking Barriers to Women's Political Participation: Creating an Action Agenda to Advance Women's Leadership

#### Organizers:

National Democratic Institute for  
International Affairs – USA  
Center for Asia Pacific Women in  
Politics – Philippines  
Forum for Women and Democracy  
– Uganda

#### Moderator:

Pat Keefer – USA

#### Rapporteur:

Kristin Haffert – USA

#### Presenters:

Loudres Flores Nano – Peru  
Supatra Masdit – Thailand  
Ann Linde – Sweden  
Winnei Byanyima – Uganda

This workshop provided a forum to engage political parties in dialogue on advancing women's political participation. Political parties and NGO leaders and activists provided a comparative view of tools and experiences that have helped women to succeed within their parties.

Ann Linde of the Swedish Social Democratic Party opened the workshop by addressing the “hidden barriers” to women's participation, which include making women feel invisible; making women look ridiculous; withholding information from women; burdening women with guilt and shame and the “double burden” they face when they have to choose between family and work.

The workshop also examined the “Global Action Plan” created at the “Win with Women: Strengthen Political Parties Global Forum” in December 2003. The workshop participants unanimously endorsed the Action Plan as a tool that can be used by political parties to reform, renew, and modernize themselves by expanding leadership opportunities for women. Based on the presentations, the general discussion, and a group session, participants built on the action items in the Action Plan by developing additional recommendations that NGOs, political party activists, and leaders can actively promote.

#### Challenges:

Participants discussed a series of barriers to women's participation including:

- Their lack of education and confidence;
- Illiteracy and poverty;
- Rivalry among women;
- Economic constraints;
- Misrepresentation of religion; and
- Other social and traditional constraints.

Participants highlighted the critical need for support from political parties, which is the gateway to political office and a necessary mechanism to promote women's leadership.

#### Recommendations:

- Place women in winnable positions on party lists, and consider internal party measures to increase women's participation at all levels of the party. This includes addressing gender equality in party manifestos.
- Support public financing of political parties in an effort to increase internal party democracy.
- Encourage women to work across party lines to advocate for political participation and create networks that will increase leadership opportunities.
- Create strategic plans to actively recruit, train, and support women candidates beginning well in advance of elections.
- Encourage NGOs to take responsibility for cooperating with political parties and for applying pressure, lobbying, training, and monitoring.
- Encourage women to participate in “transformative” leadership training that focuses on political change and builds their long-term capacity and strategy for change. Women should carry a message that will empower them to become strong political leaders rather than be viewed as new entrants to the political process who can easily become co-opted and exploited by parties as a result of their lack of experience.
- Encourage political will at the top levels of political parties.
- Conduct gender awareness training for men and women political party members; encourage political

parties to become more inclusive organizations which take advantage of women's participation to gain a competitive edge.

- Identify men within political parties who support women and reward them with increased media attention on the issue of partnership with women.
- Employ mechanisms to follow up on programs within parties or government that address gender equality.
- Encourage women to use social and private networks in more strategic ways to promote and support women's participation in politics.
- Support women's access to media.

- Address the issue of domestic violence as a deterrent to women's participation in the public arena.
- Encourage successful women politicians to provide mentorship.
- Promote exchanges among male and female political leaders and activists from countries that share a common religion but have different political cultures, to demonstrate how women have overcome religious barriers to participation.
- Address the negative portrayal of women in the media by training media representatives in gender sensitization.

## Citizen Forums: How Women's Organizations Work with the Community and Across Borders

### Organizer:

South Caucasian Network of Women

### Moderators:

Irena Lasota – *Poland/USA*  
Julia Kharashvili – *Georgia*

### Rapporteur:

Julia Kharashvili – *Georgia*

### Presenters:

Anahit Bayandour – *Armenia*  
Novella Jafarova – *Azerbaijan*  
Muborak Tashpoulatova – *Uzbekistan*  
Dilara Seitveli – *Ukraine*

The South Caucasian Women's Network, organizer of the workshop, unites civic activists—women and men from communities and NGOs in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia—who identify and solve the most common problems in the Caucasus region.

### About the South Caucasian Women's Network:

- The Network provides education in leadership, voluntarism, advocacy, and democracy building for those from disadvantaged communities, including refugees, rural communities, and ethnic minorities, who should come together to organize cooperation for protection of their rights.
- People are united regardless of their differences. Women from communities confronting each other (e.g., Armenians and Azeri) begin to communicate and work together through joint participation in educational seminars and through cross-border projects. For example, Georgian women played the role of mediators and assisted in creating an atmosphere of cooperation.
- The Network advocates for discussion of the most urgent challenges and experiences of post-communist societies, including democracy building and post-conflict reconciliation at the community level.
- The Network prepares multicultural teams of trainers working across borders, and involves of activists and trainers from different countries who introduce tolerance and share experiences to enrich the practical

work of Network members.

- Over the years, the Network has published a bulletin, "Working Together in Caucasus" that reflects successful practices and lessons learned from different women's groups and organizations.
- Together with the colleagues from Guinea, the Crimea, Ukraine and the USA, the Network created new forms of public dialogue and citizen forums at which the most challenging problems of participation for the community were identified and solved through discussion among NGOs, government, mass media, business, youth, etc.
- Citizen forums empower ordinary citizens, especially women, to organize direct dialogue with official powers and involve the population and marginalized groups in decision-making processes.

### Challenges:

- How to promote women's participation in the processes of development, conflict resolution, post-conflict rehabilitation, and politics?
- How to encourage women, who succeed in being elected, to pay attention to women's needs and women's issues?
- How to gain support for women's movements and make them visible?
- How women should unite to achieve these goals?

## Recommendations:

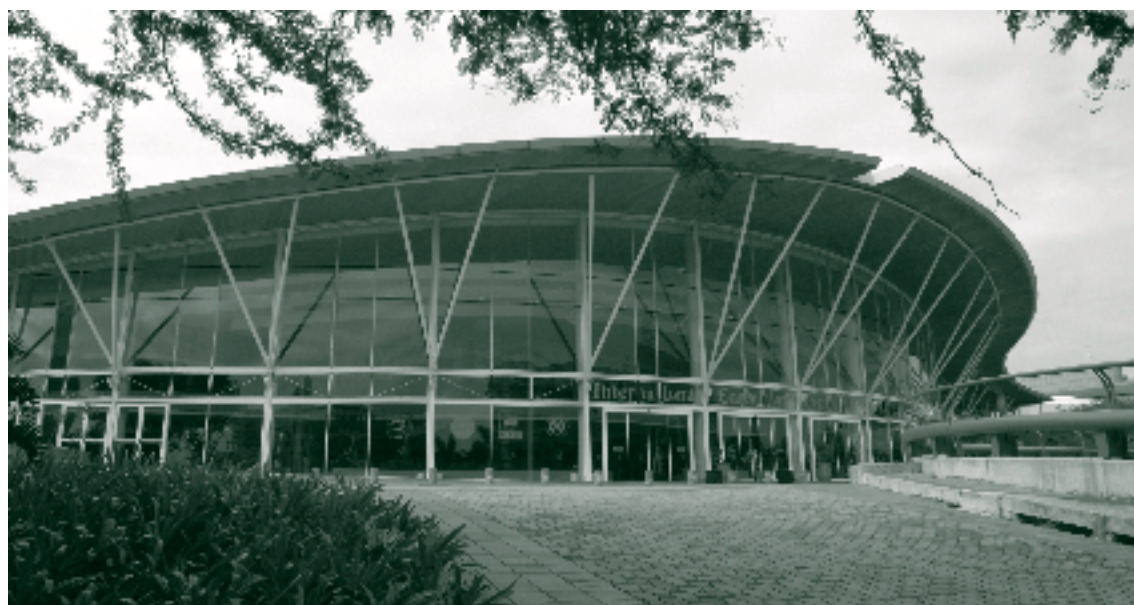
### Promoting Women's Participation

- The promotion of women's participation is possible through the use of special women's quotas in parliament and municipalities, as well as during the preparatory stage for elections during which political parties should be encouraged to include women in their lists.
- Women are often "used" during elections by men, but after achieving success their needs and problems are usually forgotten. Peace, poverty eradication, development, and leadership training are key issues on which women's participation is necessary. Women who are fighting for power thus need to know how to fight and how to maintain relations with the community and voters.
- Use all leverages that exist in international organizations to achieve women's aims.
- Create, support, and expand programs on women's leadership.
- Train both women *and* men.
- Prepare teams of women leaders to work together to achieve success.
- Promote self-esteem among disadvantaged women through their inclusion in social and civil actions, forums, education, and training.
- Study women's participation in development processes.

- Develop programs for poverty reduction at the national and local levels.
- Address the "feminization" of poverty.
- Address violence against women.
- Through civic education teach women how to participate in elections and how to prepare themselves for political careers.
- Women should have the opportunity to be involved in political parties.

### How women should unite to achieve these goals

- Connections with mass-media are vital.
- Create international groups to organize dialogues among women on difficult economic issues and dilemmas (e.g., how to establish prices on production on the basis of direct negotiations).
- Create virtual space for discussion of the most urgent problems for women and to share experiences. Where the Internet is not accessible, information should be disseminated through brochures, bulletins and publications.
- Collect and publish existing materials on women's leadership.
- Exchange existing materials, information, and databases.
- Create of Web page on the World Movement Web site devoted to women's issues.



International Convention Center, Durban, South Africa, the venue for the Third Assembly.

## Networking Activists for Women's Rights

### Organizer:

Women's Learning Partnership for Rights, Development, and Peace (WLP) – USA

### Moderator:

Rakhee Goyal – India (USA-based)

### Rapporteur:

Rakhee Goyal – India (USA-based)

### Presenters:

Amina Lemrini – Morocco

Marfua Tokhtakhodjaeva – Uzbekistan

Sindi Medar-Gould – Nigeria

Zainab Bangura – Sierra Leone

Rakhee Goyal – India (USA-based)

Participants in this workshop explored the added value and viability of creating an international women's network to support women's agency in democracy work. Discussion focused on identifying existing international or regional networks that could grow into or strengthen the women's network; exchanging ideas about the objectives, potential resources, and activities of the network; and identifying its members, structure, and initial steps.

After brief opening presentations describing existing models of networks among nongovernmental and civil society organizations, and the extent to which the nature of their work provides a framework for a women's democracy network, participants unanimously accepted the following framework:

### International Women's Democracy Network

Objective: To support and enhance women's roles and agency in the development of democratic practices and institutions at the community, national, and international levels. The network would help achieve:

- Exchange of experiences, sharing of best practices, and training in democracy work;
- Support for advocacy campaigns initiated by members at the local, national, and international levels;
- Building solidarity among, and support for, individuals and organizations engaged in democracy activism; and
- Interaction and communication among and between various transnational networks, including those working on women's rights, human rights, peace, and environmental issues.

### Membership and Structure:

- Individuals and organizations committed to the network's objectives.
- A secretariat housed at an existing network with a substantial trans-regional membership. Participants indicated that the Women's Learning Partnership (WLP) should serve as the secretariat.
- Regional focal points in Africa, the Americas, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East.

*Priority Areas of Interest:* Ensuring the ways and means for women's full participation in such areas as

human rights, violence, peace and conflict resolution, governance, legislative change, elections and political processes, creating and sustaining unions and political parties, institutional transformation, transparency and accountability, rule of law, business, journalism, communications media, and research.

### Potential Activities of the network:

- Create an Online Resource Center that presents information and knowledge on the priority areas of the network.
- Support and assist democracy workers in countries in which political systems are undergoing transitions to democracy.
- Develop strategies for democracy activism in closed societies drawing upon the experiences of network members who have participated in similar efforts (for example, in NIS countries or South Africa).
- Strengthen emerging democracies through exchanges of experiences and training.
- Support efforts in established democracies on behalf of under-privileged and under-represented groups, such as women and minorities.

*Following the Assembly, the Women's Learning Partnership (WLP) initiated several consultations and discussions at various international gatherings, including a meeting of the Association for Women's Rights and a meeting of Arab civil society organizations at the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (UN ESCWA), to engage a wider group of women activists in the Women's Democracy Network and to confer on practical and innovative strategies to expand its impact. The ideas and suggestions from these gatherings were to be shared at a meeting of women activists from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East in Beirut in September 2004. An e-mail listserv is also being created to enable members of the network to engage in ongoing discussion. Over the next year, WLP plans to make the network operational and to begin implementing projects identified through the consultation process.*



## Africa

### Organizer:

Africa Democracy Forum (ADF)

### Moderators:

Ayesha Imam – *Nigeria*  
Ayo Obe – *Nigeria*  
Chris Landsberg – *South Africa*  
Livingstone Sewanyana – *Uganda*

### Rapporteur: Ryota Jonen – *Japan*

This workshop, organized by the Africa Democracy Forum (ADF), a network of over 120 democracy activists in Africa, was divided into three sessions focused on the overall development of the ADF, discussion of an ADF Constitution, and the election of an ADF Management Committee (formerly called the Steering Committee). The workshop began with a general introduction of the ADF and members of the Management Committee, which reported on past, current, and future ADF activities, including the ADF's e-mail "listserv"; ADF meetings in Accra, Ghana, in February 2003 and in Durban, South Africa, in April 2003; and a youth training program on democratic leadership that the ADF is organizing with the World Movement's Youth Movement for Democracy. The Committee also announced its designation of the Nairobi-based Kenyan Human Rights Commission (KHRC) as the ADF Secretariat.

The Committee introduced a draft ADF Constitution that describes ADF membership and organizational structure. As a result of the workshop discussion, a committee was established to review the draft Constitution, which was accepted as a working document. Discussion of the draft would continue via the ADF's e-mail listserv before its final adoption.

The workshop concluded with the election of a new Management Committee. Special attention was paid to the gender balance on the Committee, as well as regional and linguistic representation (Central Africa, East Africa, North Africa, Southern Africa, West Africa, African Diaspora, Anglophone, Francophone, and Lusophone). The new Committee includes the following members:

- Leopaldo Amado – Guinea-Bissau
- Carine Kabasele Bapita – Democratic Republic of Congo

- Lucie Coulibaly – Côte d'Ivoire
- Margaret Dongo – Zimbabwe
- Ayesha Imam – Nigeria
- Durria Mansour Al Hussein – Sudan
- Ernest Mparo – Democratic Republic of Congo (Norway-based)
- Khabele Matlosa – Lesotho
- Ayo Obe – Nigeria
- Thierno Sow – Guinea
- Wanjala Yona – Uganda
- Dieudonne Zognong – Cameroon

Before the close of the Assembly, the new Management Committee held its first meeting and set the priorities of ADF activities, including the development of a membership database, holding the youth training program for East Africa in Nairobi in late 2004 with the Youth Movement for Democracy, holding future training programs in other sub-regions of the continent, and recruiting a permanent coordinator for the ADF based at the secretariat in Nairobi.

*The ADF has since developed its own Web site, [www.africademocracyforum.org](http://www.africademocracyforum.org), with the information about its Management Committee and reports on ADF meetings in English and French. In collaboration with the Youth Movement for Democracy, the ADF will hold the youth training program in Nairobi, Kenya, on December 12–17, 2004.*

## Asia

### Organizers:

Forum Democracy Asia  
Asian Forum for Human Rights and Development (Forum-Asia)  
South Asia Human Rights Documentation Centre

### Rapporteur:

Penelope Faulkner, UK

The Asia regional workshop gathered over 70 participants from Bhutan, Burma, Cambodia, China, East Turkestan,

Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Malaysia, Mongolia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, South

Korea, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Thailand, Tibet, and Vietnam.

The first half of the workshop was divided into three sub-regional groups—East Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia—during which participants identified the main challenges to democracy movements in their respective sub-regions. During the second half of the workshop the sub-regional groups reported on their discussions and the workshop turned to the ways in which the identified challenges can be addressed.

### Recommendations:

Reports from the sub-regional discussions included the following:

#### East Asia

- Support for incipient grassroots efforts to create local democracy in China should be enhanced.
- Democracy activists working in China should recognize the oppression of different nationalities, such as Tibetans and Uyghurs.
- It would be useful for democracy organizations to learn from Mongolia's contribution to research on societies in transition.
- Future World Movement assemblies should include discussion specifically on North Korea.
- The increased involvement of Taiwanese organizations in pro-democracy efforts in the region should be more widely acknowledged.
- A forum should be organized on the impact of Chinese democratization or lack thereof on the region

#### South Asia

- Pro-democracy efforts should go beyond electoral democracy and build substantive democratic institutions through devolution and decentralization.
- There is a need to recognize that the absence of democratic norms leads to internal conflicts, and that democracy can only be enhanced when states act as guarantors of social justice from a rights perspective.
- While recognizing the need to protect democracies from the scourge of terrorism, there is concern that many states are using the war against terrorism to depart from democratic norms and standards and are only helping those who seek to deviate from democracy.
- There is a need to highlight the plight of minorities and to give women a major share in democratic legislative institutions and other decision-making processes. The constitution of each country should be reviewed to address these needs.
- A forum should be created to resolve regional issues, such as water distribution, migration and work permits, and refugee movements. Although it is

a governmental institution, the South Asian Regional Community (SARC) was considered as one framework for such a forum.

#### Southeast Asia.

- Civil society organizations need to encourage Western governments and international donor agencies to implement human rights clauses and take other action to stem the grave human rights abuses in Southeast Asian countries, such as Burma, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam.
- Like participants from South Asia, the Southeast Asia group was also concerned that ASEAN governments are using the war against terrorism as justification for undemocratic behavior, and participants from the sub-region should be encouraged to issue statements on the threats being faced by democracy and human rights activists.
- Some participants argued that democracy must go beyond being the preserve of local elites, and that this can be achieved only through a process of broader participation.
- Links between region-based and exile NGOs should be strengthened in totalitarian countries where democracy groups and independent NGOs are prohibited.
- The creation of an alternative regional cooperation platform that might be called the "Southeast Asia Democracy Forum" or the "People's Assembly for Democracy" should be considered.
- A conference on closed societies in Southeast Asia should also be convened.

Following the reports from the sub-regional groups, participants engaged in a wider discussion on the region. Among the points on which there was agreement are the following:

- There was consensus that in addition to the totalitarian states, including China, Laos, North Korea, and Vietnam, some authoritarian states, such as Bhutan, the Maldives, and Singapore should be considered "closed societies."
- There was also consensus that Asian participants should strengthen links and set up a network for advancing democracy in Asia. However, since no consensus was reached on what form this network should take, it was decided to launch a regional consultation whereby participants could circulate policy papers on their countries and elicit opinions on ways to create this network and address the challenges identified in the sub-regional discussions.
- The participants agreed to create an e-mail discussion list to facilitate the sharing of ideas and the policy papers.

## Central Eastern Europe/New Independent States: Media Monitoring and Alternative Media

### Organizers:

Caucasus Institute for the Media  
– Armenia  
Ukrains'ka Pravda – Ukraine  
MEMO – Slovakia  
National Endowment for  
Democracy – USA

### Moderator:

Miriam Lanskoj – USA

### Rapporteur:

Shahin Abbasov – Azerbaijan

### Presenters:

Mark Grigoryan – Armenia  
Olena Prytula – Ukraine  
Rasto Kuzel – Slovakia

### Challenges:

Participants identified several key features of the regression in freedoms of speech and press:

- The media system in the region is mainly opinion journalism (or propaganda) rather than news reporting as it exists in the West; opposition journalism, for instance, takes the form of political propaganda rather than news reporting. Television is government controlled, and newspapers, which have small circulations and are not for profit (there is no “news industry”), are really just political party leaflets. Can journalists who work within this system change if the political environment changes? Can the media begin to report the truth after a regime changes and permits the media to publish freely?
- Concerning government coercion and violence, censorship is enforced in informal ways. Journalists try to report the truth as they see it, but currently the most serious impediments are those imposed through government repression. Journalists are human and are thus susceptible to bias and corruption as are other professionals.
- Guidelines for media monitoring developed by MEMO in Slovakia have been adopted by the OSCE for election monitoring, and can serve as a form of external leverage for improvement. The most important criteria are media pluralism and autonomy, and there are specific quantitative ways of measuring these factors. Media monitoring can be used not only for the purposes of methodology and advocacy, but also for educating journalists. There must be both internal and external pressure to bring about improvement; international solidarity among journalists is one way to achieve this. Of course, press freedom can be enhanced by the overall strengthening of democratic institutions.

### Recommendations:

- Support broadcasts from abroad to ensure pluralism. From within the NIS, one possibility is using Internet radio, even though it would reach only a small audience. From the outside, television and radio broadcasting should be sponsored so it can provide balanced reporting from abroad, without being susceptible to the same kinds of pressures on media working within the system. For instance, television broadcasting in Russian from Central Europe can play a very significant role since Russian television is under total state control throughout the NIS region.
- Concerning corruption and partiality among journalists within the NIS, ethical standards should be promoted by adopting codes of ethics and by holding journalists accountable to them (by rewarding professional journalism and condemning corrupt or biased journalism). From outside the region, training programs and ways of sharing experiences should be developed.
- Concerning the defense of journalists against repression within the NIS, unity among journalists should be fostered by forming a journalists' union. In addition, legal assistance should be provided to journalists to reveal the political character of the cases against them as well as the procedural violations. From the outside, international pressure should be employed (for instance, from the OSCE and the Council of Europe, which should enforce the obligations of their member governments).
- Inter-regional cooperation should be supported so that experiences and skills from Central Europe might be used in the NIS region. Moreover, the publics and governments of Central European countries should become advocates in international forums of promoting accountability and change within the NIS.

## Central Eastern Europe/New Independent States: Opportunities for Think Tank Networking in the Balkan-Black Sea Region

### Organizers:

Caucasian Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development – *Georgia*  
Center for Liberal Strategies – *Bulgaria*  
National Endowment for Democracy – *USA*

### Moderator:

Paul McCarthy – *USA*

### Rapporteur:

Inna Pidluska – *Ukraine*

### Presenters:

Ghia Nodia – *Georgia*  
Ivan Krastev – *Bulgaria*

This workshop was intended to identify issues that bind the region together (i.e., issues that are common to the countries throughout the region); to note the opportunities for think tanks to contribute to addressing those issues; and to explore the possibilities for establishing a network and/or for enhancing existing networks.

### Challenges:

- The countries in the region were described as “troubled democracies” that share a great deal of history and culture. Most of them are “post-Communist” and “post-Ottoman” states that are neither the “front-runners” toward democracy nor, obviously, established tyrannies. A number of countries in the region show some deeply-rooted democracy deficits that cause concern about the quality and sustainability of democracy. There have also been conflicts in Europe and in the post-Soviet area for years due to difficult and even hostile relations among neighbors and failures to manage ethnic and cultural diversity respectfully. In addition, many people in the Black Sea region countries have the sense that they are living “on the margins of Europe” and see a special connection between domestic reform and international agendas.
- It is important to define the agendas of think tanks and networks; to identify the “customers” and “final beneficiaries” of think tank work and the opportunities for exchange and the sharing of experiences; to address the problem of language and communication, both direct and indirect; and to establish the legitimacy, accountability, and credibility of think tanks and their networks.
- A common feature of the region is the relative weakness of other civil society institutions and the role that think tanks can play in improving political discourse. As a “classical US-UK import” to the region, think tanks have built on a huge pool of intellectual resources and have contributed to the hugely decentralized policy process by serving initially as a “shelter for retired politicians” and as “translators” between the government and foreign actors, and, later, between government and society. Gradually, through cooperation and competition, the diverse think tank community became the bearer of local policy knowledge and the agent of influence that helped convert ideas from the intellectual community into policies of practical governance. The role of think tanks and their networks is thus to

contribute to research and analysis, in order to increase the capacity of political parties to draft legislation; to contribute to shaping, influencing, and informing public opinion on policy issues; to unite efforts of different groups and countries in promoting democratic values; and to serve as a link between civil society and the state by making citizens aware of what institutions do and by informing the government of the people's opinions and preferences.

### Recommendations:

- The similarities among countries in the region suggest that when addressing a problem in a particular country the think tank community should look at the experiences of other countries that have addressed that problem. Setting examples and demonstrating possibilities for similar experiences is therefore important. Think tanks throughout the region can respond to the need for interaction and cooperation at the professional level by developing a framework for mutual learning, exchanging information, comparative research.
- Networks that exist independent of projects are at risk; therefore, there is a need for networks that look at specific projects with specific actors, customers, and purposes of influence. There is therefore room for issue-focused or functional networks within the region (for instance, on human rights, media, or elections) not just to facilitate the replication of experiences, but also to help avoid mistakes made by others. Learning from others' experiences can also help to save funds, avoid delays and set-backs, and to maintain the speed of the transition.
- Networks can generate greater publicity and international support to strengthen the efforts of pro-democracy NGOs; they can increase the role and visibility of NGOs domestically and can provide support through petitions, letter-writing campaigns, and other means, thus serving as a “democracy solidarity network.” However, no kind of international cooperation can compensate for the lack of influence of think tanks within their own countries.
- There should be greater “quality control” of policy advice and analysis produced by think tanks.
- For any network, communication and information exchange is critical. It is therefore important to develop a network's communications via a variety of vehicles, from Internet publications to e-mail discussion lists.



## Central Eastern Europe/New Independent States: Legislative Oversight, Accountability, and Transparency

### Organizers:

Center for Independent Journalism  
– *Romania*  
Institute for Human Rights – *Russia*  
National Endowment for Democracy  
– *USA*

### Moderator:

John Squire – *USA*

### Rapporteur:

Inese Voika – *Latvia*

### Presenters:

Ioana Avadani – *Romania*  
Valentin Geffer – *Russia*

About 30 participants from Albania, Armenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Estonia, Germany, Hungary, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Latvia, Netherlands, Russia, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, and the USA participated in the workshop.

### Challenge:

- The participants emphasized that in most of the countries in the region, regardless of the level of democracy, there is very little public demand for accountability and transparency. This is often connected to a lack of trust in elected representatives and democratic institutions.

### Recommendations:

- NGOs working in the field of accountability and transparency need to develop their professional capacity to explain to the public why their activities are taking place and why citizens should take an active role in pressing government for greater openness.
- NGOs should be provided with specific training in the area of public outreach.
- Where access to the mass media is limited, NGOs should promote openness by working through NGO networks that cultivate demand for openness within their particular constituencies.

- Civic education efforts are important for overcoming historical legacies of a lack of citizen engagement; these efforts should be especially encouraged in schools.

- One of the most important functions of NGOs working for accountability and transparency is to serve as a “bridge” between government and society. This can be accomplished in three ways:

- NGOs should help translate complex and technical government policy proposals into language that will raise citizens’ awareness of the issues at hand.
- NGOs should encourage parliamentarians and government officials to adopt simpler procedures when writing and implementing legislation.
- NGOs should not consider simple adoption of a law to be a final success; they should work continuously to ensure that implementation reflects the spirit of the laws.

Finally, participants expressed concern about recent political developments in Russia and other countries of the former Soviet Union. Given the need to strike a balance between the fight for democracy in general and the work that must be done to increase understanding and awareness of accountability and transparency, greater NGO cooperation was emphasized.

## Central Eastern Europe/New Independent States: Increasing Youth Participation in the Political Process

### Organizer:

National Endowment for Democracy

### Moderator:

Rodger Potocki – *USA*

### Rapporteur:

Rodger Potocki – *USA*

### Presenters:

Balasz Jarabik – *Slovakia*  
Andrei Yurov – *Russia*  
Iryna Vidanova – *Belarus*

### Challenges:

- There is a general lack of interest in youth issues among democracy activists in Eastern Europe and Eurasia. Although young people are the future leaders of the region, they are becoming more apathetic and disengaged from the democratic struggle.
- Several participants noted that rather than becoming

more apathetic, young activists are becoming more radical.

- Many of the leading youth movements in the region have failed to survive transitions to democracy or have become ineffective “professional” structures.

The workshop was designed to provide new thinking

and innovative techniques to encourage young people to be more active, and featured three presentations: Balasz Jarabik of Slovakia's Pontis Foundation provided an analysis of how to change the focus of youth programs to make them more specific to the actual needs of young people. The best types of programs are those that are issue-based.

Andrei Yurov of Russia's Youth Human Rights Network spoke of the need to make the style of youth programs more interesting and appealing to young people. Rather than providing training on idealistic "democracy" or "human rights" themes, training should provide practical and useful skills.

Iryna Vidanova of the Belarusian magazine, Student's Thought, described the planning and execution of a successful media campaign that increased youth activism and that could be replicated in other countries.

#### Recommendations:

- Young activists must be invited to participate in international networks and conferences, such as the assemblies of the World Movement.

- An international network of youth activists should be established and supported to increase solidarity among youth.
- Democracy-building organizations should put more focus on youth programs and they should be a priority in terms of investment.
- Youth programs should be run by and for young people, not by and for older activists.
- Youth programs should be fun, interesting, irreverent, stylish, and tailored to the interests of young people.
- Youth programs in Eurasia can benefit from earlier experiences and programs for young people in Central Europe. Support for cross-border youth programs should be a priority.

These recommendations were discussed at a meeting of the World Movement's Youth Movement for Democracy. See page 42 of this report.

## Latin America and the Caribbean

#### Organizers:

Congreso Visible – *Colombia*  
Participa – *Chile*  
Colegio de la Frontera Norte  
– *Mexico*

#### Moderator:

Cirila Quintero – *Mexico*

#### Rapporteur:

Ricardo Uceda – *Peru*

#### Presenters:

Elisabeth Ungar – *Colombia*  
Andrea Sanhueza – *Chile*  
Carlos Mena – *Chile*

Participants in the workshop examined the challenges facing democracy in Latin America and explored with each other the possible development of joint projects to address them. Representatives of many of the groups currently active in specific areas of democracy promotion discussed the key elements of, and multiple challenges to, democratic governance. A report from a regional preparatory meeting, held in November 2003 at the Universidad de los Andes in Bogota, Colombia, on "Gobernabilidad Democrática: Intercambio de Sectores" ("Democratic Governance: Exchange Among Sectors") was presented, and participants also discussed a paper from the Organization of American States' experts meeting on "Strengthening Democratic Governance."

#### Challenges:

- The participants emphasized that while each of the papers under discussion focused on the political obstacles to improving democratic governance, the papers underestimated the role of socio-economic factors.
- Participants from different sectors of society expressed concern that many Latin Americans do not identify with democracy.

#### Recommendations:

- There is a need to invigorate the democratic system in general and political parties in particular.
- The question of wide income inequality must be an important consideration in thinking about democracy promotion.
- There is a need to highlight the ethical components of Latin American democracy so that Latin American democracy is recognized as a community of values, and there must be greater efforts to increase social capital and include ethnic minorities in the democratic process.
- It is important to include the entire region, especially countries in the Caribbean, in thinking about democratization in the region.
- It is necessary to emphasize and integrate the "micro" elements of governance such as the political, economic, social, and cultural components. There is a need to incorporate democracy into the daily lives citizens.
- Greater solidarity should be developed with citizens in oppressive situations, such as in Cuba.

Following the Assembly, participants have engaged in discussion via an e-mail listserv, called the "Intercambio

*Interamericano” (Inter-American Exchange), focusing on the objectives of a potential “network of networks” aimed at strengthening various civil society activities and supporting democratic governance. Efforts that have been suggested include circulating newsletters on various activ-*

*ities in the region; engaging participants in discussions on current challenges; holding sub-regional or sector-specific seminars; continuing exchanges of information and experiences via e-mail.*

## Middle East and North Africa

### Moderator:

Riad Malki – *Palestine*

### Rapporteur:

Antoine Nasri Messarra – *Lebanon*

More than 65 people, representing both NGOs and foundations working in the region, attended the workshop, which focused on the following:

- Common challenges in the region
- How to assist democracy activists in post-conflict societies, with emphasis on Iraq, Palestine, and Afghanistan
- Peace processes in the region.

The workshop participants then divided themselves into groups focusing on the following issues:

- Issues related to gender, children, youth, and poverty
- Issues related to state control of NGOs and weak or non-democratic political parties
- The role of culture and the need for education
- The role of the community.

The workshop then moved to discussion of the situation in Iraq. All 12 Iraqi participants spoke about their organizations and basic needs and about their fields of work. They identified the following areas of concern:

- Women’s needs

- Human rights and the rights of prisoners
- Democracy awareness and education, including mobile democracy schools
- NGO capacity building and skills development
- Youth rights and programs
- Issues of social and political stability
- Education about elections
- Current use of the media;
- Training
- Minority rights and ethnic and religious tolerance.

Participants agreed that a follow-up meeting with the Iraqi participants should be organized to further the discussion and to connect with similar Arab NGOs to share expertise and to build capacity among Iraqi civil society representatives and organizations.

The workshop also included discussion of the formation of a regional network, and it was agreed that a preparatory committee be established to formulate the basic concept and to develop through consultation the fundamental issues to be addressed.

## Transatlantic Network for Democracy

### Organizers:

Michael Allen – UK  
Freedom House – USA  
People in Need Foundation  
– Czech Republic

### Moderator:

Michael Allen – UK

### Rapporteur:

Paul McCarthy – USA

### Presenters:

Penn Kemble – USA  
Tomas Pojar – Czech Republic

This workshop focused on an initiative to build transatlantic cooperation in the promotion of democracy. Establishing a network of cooperation is necessitated by the current difficulties in transatlantic relations and by the need to rediscover common values that played a role in the fall of communism a decade and a half ago. The basic premise underlying the initiative is that democracy promotion around the globe would be better facilitated in an atmosphere of improved transatlantic relations. Recent tensions have made such work more difficult. Where the U.S. and Europe have cooperated together (e.g., in the Balkans), positive things have been achieved. There is now a need to create a space for democrats in North America and Europe to discuss and debate in an open and constructive manner ways to develop cooperation and new projects that will further democratic goals.

The initiative presented for discussion would have three elements:

- A Web site, including an online discussion forum;
- A weekly “Democracy Digest” featuring sections on “Issues” and “Information”; and
- Symposia, debates, and exchanges involving Europeans and North Americans who are interested in democracy issues.

It was noted that the activities outlined above would serve both to inform democracy constituencies and to advocate for making democracy promotion more central to the foreign policies of governments in the Euro-Atlantic region. It was also emphasized that the initiative at this stage is exploratory in order to determine whether such activities would be useful for organizations active in democracy promotion on both sides of the Atlantic. To refine the initial idea, it was considered necessary to consult with experts from the region attending the Assembly in Durban. At its inception, the initiative would simply be

a vehicle for building a loose transatlantic network for democracy. It was emphasized that to succeed in the long run, sufficient funding would have to be raised.

### Recommendations:

- The initiative should not simply be a dialogue between the United States and the European Union, but should include new and aspiring members of the Euro-Atlantic community in Eastern Europe and the NIS.
- The initiative should focus not only on identifying common values, but also on identifying common projects and modes of cooperation.
- The project should not try to be overly ambitious or try to “reinvent the wheel”; it should not be about creating new structures where they already exist, but about creating a loose community of democrats working towards common goals.
- The initiative should be pro-active, not reactive or defensive. It should offer positive, workable solutions to the transatlantic problems of democracy promotion.
- The goal of the initiative should be to underscore the historic challenge faced by countries on both sides of the Atlantic in advocating the spread of democracy worldwide.

*Since the Assembly in Durban, the Network has made considerable progress in advancing each of the three elements the workshop anticipated. “Democracy Digest” is now published on a weekly basis and distributed around the world. A Web site for the Network and plans for symposia, forums, and debates are being developed.*



Nearly 600 participants came together at the World Movement's Third Assembly to show their commitment to democracy promotion. These democracy activists, practitioners, and scholars from approximately 120 countries in every region of the world, including Belarus, Burma, China, Colombia, Cuba, Democratic Republic of Congo, Iraq, Liberia, Mongolia, Serbia and Venezuela, gathered to discuss practical solutions to a wide range of challenges.

In the following pages, participants are listed according to region, country, and then alphabetically by last name. Those who attended are but a small fraction of the thousands of activists around the world who 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. You can also find participant information in the World Movement's searchable online Participant Database at [www.wmd.org](http://www.wmd.org).

## Africa

### Angola

**Adão Avenino Manuel**  
Universidade Católica de Angola

**Augusto Santana**  
National Counseling Service

### Benin

**Sadiko Ayo Alao**  
Gerddes Afrique- CIRD

**Dissou Zomahoun**  
Centre Afrika Obota

### Burundi

**Eugene Nindorera**  
International Republican Institute

### Burkina Faso

**Moussa Michael Tapsoba**  
Commission Electorale Nationale Indépendante de Burkina Faso

### Cameroon

**Herbert Boh**  
Campaign for Peace, Security and Democracy in Africa

**Dieudonne Zognong**  
Africa Governance Alert

### Cape Verde

**Roselma Evora**  
Government for State Reform

### Congo-Brazzaville

**Leontine Pelagie Katoukoulou**  
Jeune Batisseurs du Congo

### Cote d'Ivoire

**Lucie Coulibaly**  
Ivorian League for Human Rights

**Albert Dadie**  
Institut Africain de Formation de Democratie et d'Aide au Developpement

**Marie Joelle Kei**  
Institut Africain de Formation de Democratie et d'Aide au Developpement

**Justine N'Gapele**  
Centre pour la Promotion de la Democratie et des Droits Humains

### D. R. Congo

**Floribert Chebeya Bahizire**  
La Voix des sans Voix

**Carine Kabasele Bapita**  
Femmes et Enfants pour les Droits de l'Homme

**Francesca Bomboko**  
BERCI

**Irene Esambo Diata**  
Voix d l'Handicape pour les Droits de l'Homme

**Kitenge Dismas**  
Groupe Lotus

**Mauna Dosso**  
National Endowment for Democracy (USA-based)

**Shakodi Fazili Kishindja**  
FORECAP

**Francoise Zoka Lem**  
Justice et Liberation

**Nicolas Lianza Likwale**  
Les Jeunesse Auhourd'hui

**Jean-Marie Eley Lofele**  
l'Association Benjamin Moloise et Ken Sara Wiwa pour les Droits de l'Homme

**Kanyegere Lwaboshi**  
Senate

**Ernest Mpararo**  
Comite d'Action pour le Developement Integral

**Dieudonne Mushagalusa**  
Cojeski Rdcongo

**Kizito Mushizi**  
Radio Maendeleo

**Immaculee Birhaheka Namudumbi**  
Promotion et Appui aux Initiatives

**Paul Nsapu**  
Ligue des Electeurs

**Robert Ilunga Numbi**  
Les Amis de Nelson Mandela pour la Defense des Droits Humains

**Augustin Lusiku Lu Nza**  
Haki za Binadamu-Maniema

**Marie Louise Okako**  
Campagne pour les Droits de L'Homme au Congo

**Gregoire Mulumba Tshisakamba**  
Centre des Droits de l'Homme et du Dorit Humanitaire

### Ethiopia

**Adam Melaku**  
Ethiopian Human Rights Council

### Eritrea

**Fisseha Tekie**  
Solidarity Center South Africa Office

**Yousuf Ibrahim Yousuf**  
National Union of Eritrean Youth Students

### The Gambia

**Hanna Forster**  
African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies

### Ghana

**Nii Noi Dowuona**  
Convention People's Party

**Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi**  
The Ghana Centre for Democracy & Development

**Veronica Kofie**  
Ghana Trades Union Congress

**Franklin Oduro**  
The Ghana Centre for Democracy & Development

### Guinea

**Thierno Sow**  
Organisation Guineenne de Defense des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen

**Ben Sekou Sylla**  
Civil Society Movement of Guinea

### Guinea-Bissau

**Leopaldo Amado**  
University of Lisbon

**Jao Mamadu**  
National Institute for Studies and Research

### Kenya

**Karugor Gatamah**  
Private Sector Corporate Governance Trust

**Steve Ouma Akoth**  
Kenya Human Rights Commission

**Betty Murungi**  
Urgent-Action Fund-Africa

**Valentine Ntandayarwo**  
ICFTU-AFRO

### Lesotho

**Khabele Matlosa**  
Electoral Institute of Southern Africa

### Liberia

**Cecil Griffiths**  
Liberia National Law Enforcement Association

**Saa Philip-Joe**  
Mano River Union Civil Society Movement/ Association of Liberian Professional Organizations

**Benedict Sannoh**  
Center for Law and Human Rights Education

**Terrence Sesay**  
Press Union of Liberia

### Mali

**Oumou Diallo Sidibe**  
Centre Djoliba

**Mamadou Tangara**  
Mayor of Sikasso

### Malawi

**Catherine Kate Kainja**  
Malawi Congress Party

**Samson Lembani**  
Konrad Adenauer Foundation

**Paul Maulidi**  
Malawi Congress Party

**Christian Peters-Berries**  
NICE

## Mozambique

**Antonio Muagerene**  
Konrad Adenauer  
Foundation

**Joao Candido**  
**Graziano Pereira**  
University of  
Witwatersrand (South  
Africa-based)

## Niger

**Khalid Ikhiri**  
Association Nigerien  
des Droits de l'Homme

**Gremah Boukar Koura**  
Radio Anani

## Nigeria

**Innocent Chukwuma**  
Center for Law  
Enforcement Education

**Kayode Fayemi**  
Centre for Democracy  
and Development  
(UK/Nigeria-based)

**Ayesha Imam**  
BAOBAB for Women's  
Human Rights

**Obiageli Izuako**  
BAOBAB for Women's  
Human Rights

**Habiba Muda Lawal**  
National Center for  
Women Development

**Titus Mann**  
Civil Liberties Organization

**Rosalie Sindi**  
**Medar-Gould**  
BAOBAB for Women's  
Human Rights

**Ledum Mitee**  
Movement for the Survival  
of the Ogoni People

**Anyakwee Nsirimov**  
Institute of Human Rights  
and Humanitarian Law

**Ayo Obe**  
Civil Liberties Organization

**Chibogu Obinwa**  
BAOBAB for Women's  
Human Rights

**Sylvester Odion-**  
**Akhaine**  
Centre for  
Constitutionalism and  
Demilitarisation

**Festus Okoye**  
Transition Monitoring  
Group

**Olutola Olujuwon**  
Central Educational  
Service

**Rebecca Sako-John**  
League of Democratic  
Women  
**Chima Ubani**  
Civil Liberties Organization

**Juliet Ume-Ezeoke**  
International Association  
of Criminal Justice  
Practitioners

**Sao Tomé & Príncipe**  
**José Fernandes**  
**Cardoso**  
Forum for Citizenship  
and Democracy in Sao  
Tomé e Príncipe

**Arlindo de Carvalho**  
Instituto Superior de  
Ciências do Trabalho  
e da Empresa

## Senegal

**Joseph Ndong**  
Présence Chrétienne

## Sierra Leone

**Zainab Bangura**  
Formerly of the Campaign  
for Good Governance

**Joseph Rahall**  
National Forum for  
Human Rights

## Somaliland

**Asmahan Abdelsalam**  
Nagaad

**Shukri Haji Ismail**  
Candlelight NGO/ National  
Electoral Commission

## South Africa

**Russell Ally**  
Mott Foundation

**Eric Apelgren**  
eThekweni Municipality

**Craig Arendse**  
Foundation for Citizenship  
and Governance Training

**Sue Britton**  
World Conference on  
Religion and Peace

**Karen Bruns**  
Human Sciences Research  
Council of South Africa

**Graeme de Bruyn**  
AfriSIDA

**Richard Calland**  
Institute for Democracy  
in South Africa

**Kondwani Chirambo**  
Institute for Democracy  
in South Africa

**Lyn Chiwandamira**  
Institute for Democracy  
in South Africa

**Suleman Dangor**  
University of  
Durban-Westville

**Arthur John**  
**Campbell Daniel**  
Human Sciences Research  
Council of South Africa

**Derek Davids**  
Institute for Democracy  
in South Africa

**Lionel Davis**  
Robben Island Museum

**Zohra Dawood**  
Open Society Foundation  
for South Africa

**Karishma Dayawanth**  
Democracy Development  
Programme

**Polly Dewhurst**  
Centre for the Study  
of Violence and  
Reconciliation

**Mukelani Dimba**  
Open Democracy  
Advice Centre

**Ebrahim Fakir**  
Centre for Policy Studies

**Judith February**  
Institute for Democracy  
in South Africa

**Paul Graham**  
Institute for Democracy  
in South Africa

**Vasu Gounden**  
The African Centre  
for the Constructive  
Resolution of Disputes

**Adam Habib**  
University of Natal

**Cheryl Hendricks**  
Centre for Conflict  
Resolution

**Yazir Henri**  
WECAT

**Janine Hicks**  
Centre for Public  
Participation

**Dumisani Hlophe**  
Sunday Times

**Jan Hofmeyr**  
Democracy Development  
Programme

**Claude Kabembe**  
Electoral Institute of  
Southern Africa

**John Kane-Berman**  
South African Institute  
of Race Relations  
**Frank Kantor**  
Jubilee Connexion

**Rachel Kgeledi**  
International  
Republican Institute

**Chris Landsberg**  
Centre for Policy Studies

**Valmont Layne**  
District Six Museum

**Clayton Lillienfeldt**  
Umsobomvu Youth Fund

**Lloyd Lotz**  
Centre for Socio-  
Legal Studies

**Shaun Mackay**  
Centre for Policy Studies

**Sthembiso Madlala**  
Democracy Development  
Programme

**Ollie Mahopo**  
Centre for the Study  
of Violence and  
Reconciliation

**Robert Mattes**  
University of Cape Town

**Njabulo Maseko**  
Institute for Multi-  
Party Democracy

**Mogale Mashipata**  
Policy Project

**Ntomb'futhi Masinga**  
Independent Electoral  
Commission

**David McQuoid-Mason**  
Centre for Socio-  
Legal Studies/Street  
Law South Africa

**Paddy Meskin**  
World Conference on  
Religion and Peace

**Roelf Meyer**  
Institute for Democracy  
in South Africa

**Pumla Mgyai**  
Centre Party International  
Foundation

**Zanethemba Mkalipi**  
Institute for Democracy  
in South Africa

**Obed Mlaba**  
eThekweni Municipality

**Kwezi Mngibisa**  
The African Centre  
for the Constructive  
Resolution of Disputes

**Hosia Mohlaban**  
Africa Institute of  
South Africa

**Tshiliso Molukanele**  
The African Centre  
for the Constructive  
Resolution of Disputes

**Sherri Le Mottee**  
Electoral Institute of  
Southern Africa

**Tanuja Munnoo**  
South African Human  
Rights Commission

**Nomabelu**  
**Mvambo-Dandala**  
Diakonia Council  
of Churches

**Marietjie Myburg**  
Institute for Democracy  
in South Africa

**Nathi Mzila**  
Diakonia Council  
of Churches

**Bram Naidoo**  
Swedish International  
Development and  
Cooperation Agency

**Subethri Naidoo**  
United States Agency for  
International Development

**Rama Naidu**  
Democracy Development  
Programme

**Sanusha Naidu**  
Human Sciences  
Research Council

**Mulikita Nakatiwa**  
Institute for Democracy  
in South Africa

**Teddy Nemeroff**  
Institute for Democracy  
in South Africa

**Sa Ngidi**  
Electoral Institute of  
Southern Africa

**Senzo Ngubane**  
The African Centre  
for the Constructive  
Resolution of Disputes

**Thami Ngwenya**  
Centre for Public  
Participation

**Brian Redelinghuys**  
Foundation for Citizenship  
and Governance Training

**Jerome Sachane**  
The African Centre  
for the Constructive  
Resolution of Disputes

**Saydoon Nisa Sayed**  
World Conference on  
Religion and Peace

**Karl Schmidt**  
Deloitte & Touche

**Maggie Seiler**  
National Peace  
Accord Trust

**Nico Setytler**  
Community Law  
Center, University  
of Western Cape

**Robin Sewlal**  
Durban Institute  
of Technology

**Muzwakhe Alfred  
Sigudhla**  
SADC Youth Movement

**Graeme Simpson**  
Centre for the Study  
of Violence and  
Reconciliation

**Deon Snyman**  
Diakonia Council  
of Churches

**Roger Southall**  
Human Sciences  
Research Council

**Raymond Suttner**  
Centre for Policy Studies

**Mohammed Tayob**  
Amnesty International  
South Africa

**Pansy Tlakula**  
Independent Electoral  
Commission

**Jerald Vedan**  
World Conference on  
Religion and Peace

**Hennie Van Vuuren**  
Institute for  
Security Studies

**Jeya Wilson**  
Durban Chamber of  
Commerce and Industry

**Fatma Yusuf**  
Foundation for  
Contemporary Research

**S'bo Zamisa**  
SANGOCO-KZN

## Sudan

**Intisar Abdelsadig**  
Badya Center for  
Integrated Development

**Durria Mansour  
Al Hussein**  
Babiker Badri Scientific  
Association of  
Women's Studies

**Samia El Hashmi**  
Mutawinat Group

**Hayder Ibrahim**  
Sudanese Study Centre

**Bona Malwal**  
Sudan Democratic  
Gazette, Inc.

## Swaziland

**Obed Dlamini**  
MP / Ngwane National  
Liberatory Congress

**Nathalie Mthethwa**  
Swaziland Manufacturing  
and Allied Workers Union

**Mfomfo Nkhambule**  
Swaziland Government

**Roland Rudd**  
U.S. State Department

**Phumelele Thwala**  
Women's Resource Centre

## Tanzania

**Andrew Kailembo**  
ICTFU - AFRO

## Uganda

**Winnie Byanyima**  
International Forum for  
Women in Democracy

**Solome Nakaweesi-  
Kimbugwe**  
Uganda Women's Network

**Richard Sebuliba-  
Mutumba**  
Parliament

**Livingstone Sewanyana**  
Foundation for Human  
Rights Initiative

**Wanjala Yona**  
Tororo District  
Youth Counselor

## Zambia

**Chibamba Kanyama**  
Women For Change

**Ben Kapita**  
Zambian Republican Party

## Zimbabwe

**Margaret Dongo**  
Zimbabwe Union  
of Democrats

**Moses Nzila-Ndlovu**  
Movement for  
Democratic Change

**Wonder Jekemu**  
Swedish International  
Development Agency

**John Makumbe**  
Transparency International  
- Zimbabwe

**Isaac Maposa**  
Zimbabwe Institute

**Michael Mataure**  
Public Affairs and  
Parliamentary Support

**Lovemore Matombo**  
Communication and  
Allied Services Union

**Gorden Moyo**  
Bulawayo Agenda

## Asia/Pacific

### Bhutan

**Narad Adhikari**  
National Movement for  
Democracy in Bhutan  
(Nepal-based)

### Burma

**Thin Thin Aung**  
Women Rights and  
Welfare Association of  
Burma (India-based)

**Daw Ohn Mar Khin**  
Burmese Women's Union

**Hseng Nong Lintner**  
Shan Women's Action  
Network and Women's  
League of Burma  
(Thailand-based)

**Htu San Marani**  
Open Society Institute  
Burma Project

**Charm Tong**  
Shan Women's Action  
Network (Thailand-based)

**Zaw Zaw**  
Burma Project/ OSI  
(Thailand-based)

### Cambodia

**Kem Sokha**  
Cambodia Center for  
Human Rights

### China

**Dongfang Han**  
China Labor Bulletin

**Baogang He**  
East Asian Institute  
(Australia-based)

**Marie Holzman**  
Human Rights in China  
(France-based)

**Cheuk Kwan**  
Toronto Association for  
Democracy in China  
(Canada-based)

**Wu Qiang**  
Beijing Foreign  
Studies University

**Fengsuo Zhou**  
Student Leader  
(France-based)

### East Turkestan

**Enver Can**  
East Turkestan  
National Congress and  
Unrepresented Nations  
and Peoples Organization  
(Germany-based)

### Hong Kong

**Yuk-Kai Law**  
Hong Kong Human  
Rights Monitor

### India

**Rakhee Goyal**  
Women's Learning  
Partnership for Rights,  
Development and  
Peace (USA-based)

**George Mathew**  
Institute of Social Sciences

**Ravi Nair**  
South Asia Human Rights  
Documentation Centre

**Ash Narain Roy**  
Institute of Social Sciences

### Indonesia

**Rudy Alfonso**  
Indonesian Municipal  
Councils Association

**Imam Prasadjo**  
CERIC- University  
of Indonesia

**Franciscia Seda**  
Center for Electoral  
Reform

### Japan

**Ryota Jonen**  
World Movement for  
Democracy (US-based)

**Satoko Okamoto**  
International Forum  
for Democratic  
Studies (US-based)

**Schu Sugawara**  
Committee to Aid  
Democracy for  
Peace Building

## Laos

**Thong Chanh Boulom**  
United League for  
Democracy in Laos

**Baramy Mitthivong**  
United League for  
Democracy in Laos

**Alan Sananikone**  
United League for  
Democracy in Laos

## Malaysia

**Zainah Anwar**  
Sisters in Islam

**Premesh Chandran**  
Malaysiakini

**Cynthia Gabriel**  
Suaram

**Debbie Stothard**  
Alternative ASEAN  
Network on Burma

## Mongolia

**Damba Ganbat**  
Political Education  
Academy

## Pakistan

**Akhlaq Ahmad**  
Pakistan National Textile,  
Leather & Garment  
Workers Federation

**Ahmed Bilal Mehboob**  
Pakistan Institute of  
Legislative Development  
and Transparency

## Philippines

**Isagani R. Serrano**  
Philippine Rural  
Reconstruction Movement

## Singapore

**Soon Chee Juan**  
Open Singapore Centre

## South Korea

**Kihong Han**  
Network for North  
Korean Human Rights  
and Democracy

**Young Howard**  
Network for North  
Korean Human Rights  
and Democracy

**Yum Tae Kim**  
Democracy Network  
against North Korea Gulag

**Hak-Min Kim**  
Citizens' Alliance for North  
Korean Human Rights

**Kie-Duck Park**  
Sejong Institute

**Benjamin Yoon**  
Citizens' Alliance for North  
Korean Human Rights

**Lee Nae Young**  
Korea University

## Sri Lanka

**Kingsley Rodrigo**  
People's Action for  
Free & Fair Election

## Taiwan

**King-yuh Chang**  
Foundation on  
International and  
Cross-strait Studies

**Huang Chang-Ling**  
National Taiwan University

**Bi-khim Hsiao**  
Democratic Progressive  
Party - Legislative  
Yuan of Taiwan

**Hsiu An Anne Hsiao**  
Taiwan Foundation  
for Democracy

**Mab Huang**  
Soochow University

**Maysing Yang Huang**  
Taiwan Foundation  
for Democracy

**Cheng-Shang Kao**  
Taiwan Foundation  
for Democracy

**Hong-yi Sheuh**  
Foundation on  
International and  
Cross-strait Studies

**Naiteh Wu**  
Institute of Sociology,  
Academia Sinica

**Raymond Wu**  
Foundation on  
International and  
Cross-strait Studies

**Alvin Yuanming Yao**  
Foundation on  
International and  
Cross-strait Studies

## Thailand

**Thawilwadee Bureekul**  
King Prajadhipok Institute

**Kavi Chongkittavorn**  
Thai Journalists  
Association

**Somchai Homlaor**  
Asian Forum for Human  
Rights and Development  
(Forum-Asia)

**Supatra Masdit**  
Center for Asia Pacific  
Women in Politics

**Buranaj Smutharaks**  
Democrat Party  
of Thailand

**Chalida Tajaroensuk**  
Asian Forum for Human  
Rights and Development  
(Forum-Asia)

## Tibet

**Jampal Chosang**  
Office of Tibet

**Dolma Gyari**  
Assembly of Tibetan  
Peoples Deputies

**Lodi G. Gyari**  
Special Envoy of  
the Dalai Lama

**Tseten Norbu Lama**  
Tibetan Youth Congress

**Penpa Tsering**  
Tibetan Parliamentary and  
Policy Research Centre

**Tempa Tsering**  
Tibet Voice

**Dorjee Tsultrem**  
Tibetan Youth Congress

## Vietnam

**Vo Van Ai**  
Que Me: Action for  
Democracy in Vietnam  
(France-based)

## Central/ Eastern Europe

### Albania

**Sotirag Hroni**  
Institute for Democracy  
and Mediation

### Bosnia-Herzegovina

**Sonja Garic**  
Center for Civic  
Cooperation

**Fedra Idzakovic**  
Global Rights:  
Partners for Justice

**Natasa Tesanovic**  
Alternativna Televizija

**Miralem Tursinovic**  
Helsinki Citizens'  
Assembly-Tuzla

## Bulgaria

**Bistra Boeva**  
University of National and  
World Economic Studies

**Philip Dimitrov**  
Bulgarian Institute for  
Legal Development

**Iva Dobichina**  
School of Politics

**Ivan Krastev**  
Center for Liberal  
Strategies

**Sasho Petkov**  
Podkrepa Confederation  
of Labor

**Ognian Zlatev**  
Media Development Center

## Croatia

**Jelena Berkovic**  
Club of Journalists

**Drazen Komarica**  
Judges' Web NGO

## Czech Republic

**Adriana Dergam**  
People in Need  
Foundation (Iraq-based)

**Ester Lauferova**  
People in Need  
Foundation (Iraq-based)

**Tomas Pojar**  
People in Need Foundation

## Kosovo

**Ylber Hysa**  
Kosova Action for  
Civic Initiatives

**Muhamet Mustafa**  
Riinvest Institute for  
Developmental Research

## Montenegro

**Srdjan Darmanovic**  
Center for Democracy  
and Human Rights

**Milka Tadic**  
Monitor Newspaper

## Poland

**Alicja Derkowska**  
Educational Society  
of Malopolska

**Urszula Doroszewska**  
East Democratic Society

**Pawel Kazanecki**  
East European  
Democratic Center

**Irena Lasota**  
Institute for Democracy in  
East Europe (US-based)

**Malgorzata Naimska**  
Office of the President  
of Warsaw

**Krzysztof Stanowski**  
Education for Democracy  
Foundation

**Xenia Trukan**  
Polish-Czech-Slovak  
Solidarity Foundation

**Marcin Walecki**  
St. Anthony College,  
University of Oxford  
(UK-based)

## Romania

**Ioana Avadani**  
Center for Independent  
Journalism

**Cristian Ghinea**  
Romanian Academic  
Society

## Serbia

**Branislav Canak**  
Trade Union Confederation  
- NEZAVISNOST

**Slobodan Djinovic**  
Media Works

**Slobodan Homen**  
Otpor

## Slovakia

**Olga Gyarfasova**  
Institute for Public Affairs

**Balasz Jarabik**  
Pontis Foundation

**Rasto Kuzel**  
MEMO

**Lenka Surotchak**  
Pontis Foundation

## Latin America/ Caribbean

### Argentina

**Marcela Donadio**  
SER 2000

**Nicolas Ducote**  
Center for the  
Implementation of Public  
Policies Promoting  
Equity and Growth

## Bolivia

**Guido Riveros Franck**  
Fundacion Boliviana  
para la Democracia  
Multipartidaria

**Fredy Camacho  
Calizaya**  
Fundacion Boliviana  
para la Democracia  
Multipartidaria

## Brazil

**Cristina de  
Miranda Costa**

**Neide Fonseca**  
Instituto Sindical  
Interamericano Pela  
Igualdade Racial

## Chile

**Genaro Arriagada**  
Community of  
Democracies Non-  
governmental Forum's  
Executive Secretariat

**Viviana Giacaman**  
Participa

**Luis Juenemann**  
Centro de Desarrollo  
Cumunal y Regional

**Marta Lagos**  
Corporación  
Latinobarometro

**Carlos Eduardo Mena**  
United Nations  
Development Programme

**Andrea Sanhueza**  
Participa

## Colombia

**Constanza Ardila Galvis**  
Fundacion CEDEVIDA

**Piedad Córdoba**  
Senator

**Ricardo Corredor**  
Fundación para un  
Nuevo Periodismo  
Iberoamericano

**Elvia Fernanda  
Duque Castillo**  
AfroAmerica XXI

**Rubén Fernández**  
Corporación Región

**Paola Gutierrez**  
Colombian Confederation  
of Chambers of Commerce  
(Confecamaras)

**Ana Julia Ramos**  
Congreso Visible



**Elisabeth Ungar**  
Congreso Visible

**León Valencia**  
Former member of ELN

## Cuba

**Luis Israel Abreu**  
Movimiento  
Revolucionario 30  
de Noviembre "Frank  
Pais" (US-based)

**Joel Brito**  
Federation of Electrical,  
Water, and Gas  
Plant Workers in  
Exile (US-based)

**Manuel Desdin**  
Asociación Encuentro  
de la Cultura Cubana  
(Spain-based)

**Orlando  
Gutierrez-Boronat**  
Cuban Democratic  
Revolutionary Directorate  
Cubano (USA-based)

**Diosmel Rodriguez**  
Group Support  
Independent Cooperatives  
(US-based)

**Anna Isabel Rodriguez**  
Revista Encuentro  
de la Cultura Cubana  
(Spain-based)

## Dominican Republic

**Maribel Batista**  
Consejo Nacional  
Unidad Sindical

## Mexico

**Francisco Acuña**  
Libertad Informacion  
Mexico

**Silvia Alonso**  
Alianza Civica

**Maria del Carmen  
Gutierrez**  
Fundacion Informacion  
y Democracia A.C.

**Fredo Arias King**  
National Action Party

**Ernesto Lopez Portillo**  
Instituto de Seguridad  
y Democracia

**Cirila Quintero**  
El Colegio de la  
Frontera Norte

## Peru

**Rocio Franco**  
Instituto Defensa Legal

**Percy Medina**  
Transparencia

**Ricardo Uceda**  
Instituto de Prensa  
y Sociedad

## Surinam

**Maurits Hassankhan**  
Demoracy Unit/  
ADEK University

## Venezuela

**Luz Angel Aldazoro**  
Momento de la Gente

**Roque Carmona**  
Accion Campesina A.C.

**Rocio Guijarro**  
CEDICE

**Maria Josefina Pantin**  
Asamblea de Educacion

**Carlos Eduardo Ponce**  
Asociación Civil  
Consortio Justicia

## Middle East/ North Africa

### Afghanistan

**Mohammad Sarwar  
Hussaini**  
Cooperation Center  
for Afghanistan

**Mohammad Nasib**  
Welfare Association  
for Development  
of Afghanistan

### Algeria

**Nourddine Benbrahim**  
Assemble Populaire  
Nationale

**Nassera Dutour**  
Committee of the  
Families of the  
Disappeared in Algeria

### Egypt

**Haggag Ahmed  
Mahmoud Nail**  
Arab Program for Human  
Rights Activists

**Ibrahim El Bahrawy**  
Ain Shams University

**Bassem Hafez**  
Arab Program for Human  
Rights Activists

**Mohamed Kamal**  
American Studies Centre

**Nancy Okail**  
Ibn Khaldoun Center for  
Development Studies

**Randa Zogbhi**  
Center for International  
Private Enterprise - Egypt

### Iraq

**Mohammed  
Tariq Abdullah**  
Ramadi Human Rights

**Riadh Al-Ani**  
Citizens Rights and  
Interests Protection  
Organization

**Sadoun Al-Dulaimi**  
Iraq Center for Research  
and Strategic Studies

**Muhanad Al-Dulaymi**

**Rahman Al-Jebouri**  
National Democratic  
Institute for  
International Affairs

**Hassan Hammoud  
Al-Ukaili**  
Iraqi Organization  
for Human Rights  
Coordination

**Ahmed Al-Wattar**  
Free Spirit Society

**Salah Aziz**  
American Society  
for Kurds

**Nehad Hachin**  
Diwanayah Women's  
Center Management Board

**Hussain Kubba**  
Baghdad Economic  
Research Center

**Laith Kubba**  
National Endowment for  
Democracy (US-based)

**Bahija Mahdi**  
Karbala Civil Society  
Organization and  
Women's Center  
Founders Committee

**Hussain Sinjari**  
Iraq Institute for Reform  
and Democratic Culture

### Israel

**Gershon Baskin**  
Israel/Palestine Center for  
Research and Information

**Uri Dromi**  
Israel Democracy Institute

**Hofnung Menachem**  
The Hebrew University  
of Jerusalem

### Jordan

**Mahassen Al Emam**  
Arab Women's  
Media Center

**Hani Hourani**  
Al Urdun Al Jadid  
Research Center

### Lebanon

**Antoine Nasri Messarra**  
Lebanese Foundation for  
Permanent Civil Peace

### Morocco

**Ahmed Herzenni**  
National Observatory of  
Democratic Transition

**Amina Lemrini**  
Association Democratique  
des Femmes du Maroc

### Palestine

**Muhammad Abu Diab**  
Civic Forum Institute

**Saeed Al-Maqadmah**  
Palestinian Center  
for Helping Resolve  
Community Disputes

**Zacaria Al-Qaq**  
Israel/Palestine Center for  
Research and Information

**Aref Jaffal**  
Civic Forum Institute

**Riad Malki**  
Panorama Center

**Fida'a Shihadah**  
Panorama

### Syria

**Haytham Manna**  
Arab Commission  
for Human Rights  
(France-based)

### Tunisia

**Salah Jorshe**  
Tunisian Human  
Rights League

### Turkey

**Ibrahim Betil**  
TOG-Community  
Volunteers Foundation

**Dogu Ergil**  
Center for the Research  
of Societal Problems

**Belge Murat**  
Helsinki Citizens Assembly

**Can Paker**  
Turkish Economic and  
Social Studies Foundation

### Yemen

**Ali Saif Hasan Saleh**  
Yemeni Organization for  
Defense of Human Rights  
and Democratic Freedoms

## New Independent States

### Armenia

**Anait Bayandur**  
Armenian National  
Committee of the Helsinki  
Citizen's Assembly

**Mikael Danielyan**  
Helsinki Association

**Mark Grigoryan**  
Caucasus Institute  
for the Media

### Azerbaijan

**Shahin Abbasov**  
Reagan-Fasell Fellow

**Sabina Alekperova**  
Association of Young  
Leaders of Azerbaijan

**Vahid Gaziye**  
INAM Center for Pluralism

**Hikmet Hadjy-zadeh**  
FAR Centre

**Novella Jafarova**  
Dilara Aliyeva Association  
for the Protection of  
Women's Rights

**Asim Mollazadeh**  
Euro-Atlantic Center

### Belarus

**Maxim Charniauski**  
Education Center Rey

**Zhanna Litvina**  
Belarusian Association  
of Journalists

**Ales Michalevic**  
Youth Information Center

**Vincuk Viacorka**  
Belarusian Popular  
Front Party

**Iryna Vidanova**  
Assembly of Pro-  
Democratic NGOs

### Estonia

**Liia Hanni**  
MOODUKAD

## Georgia

**Levan Berdzenishvili**  
Civic Development  
International Center

**Ivlian Khaindrava**  
Center for Development  
and Cooperation

**Julia Kharashvili**  
IDP Women Association

**Devi Khechinashvili**  
Partnership for  
Social Initiative

**George Lezhava**  
Partnership for  
Social Initiative

**Ghia Nodia**  
The Caucasian Institute  
for Peace, Democracy  
and Development

## Kazakhstan

**Nurbulat Massanov**  
Forum of the Democracy  
Forces of Kazakhstan

**Yevgeniy Zhovtis**  
Kazakhstan International  
Bureau for Human Rights

## Kyrgyzstan

**Tolekan Ismailova**  
Civil Society Against  
Corruption

## Latvia

**Guntars Catlaks**  
CIVITAS

**Inese Voika**  
Transparency  
International Latvia

## Lithuania

**Jolita Piliutyte**  
Municipal Training Center

**Jurgita Siugzdiniene**  
Kaunas Municipal  
Training Center

**Jolanta Taruskiene**  
Lithuanian and  
U.S. Initiatives

## Moldova

**Igor Munteanu**  
Vitotol Foundation (IDIS)

## Russia

**Alexander Akselrod**  
Tolerance Foundation

**Tatiana Dorutina**  
League of Women Voters  
of St. Petersburg

**Yuri Dzhibladze**  
Center for Development  
of Democracy and  
Human Rights

**Valetin Gefter**  
Human Rights Institute

**Michael Gorny**  
St. Petersburg  
Strategy Center

**Marina Kovineva**  
Center for Civil and  
Legal Education

**Alexander Krasnoshtan**  
Northern Regional  
Organization Russian  
Confederation of Labor

**Lev Levinson**  
Human Rights Institute

**Tanya Lokshina**  
Moscow Helsinki Group

**Alexej Obolenets**  
Open Russia Foundation

**Igor Rekounov**  
Baltic International  
Development Agency

**Anna Sevortian**  
Center for the  
Development of  
Democracy and  
Human Rights

**Grigori Shvedov**  
International  
Memorial Society

**Natalia Taubina**  
Foundation for  
Civil Society

**Elana Topoleva-  
Soldunova**  
Agency for Social  
Information

**Alexander Verkhovskiy**  
Information and Analytical  
Center "SOVA"

**Andrey Yurov**  
Youth Human Rights  
Movement

**Igor Zaytsev**  
Human Rights Publishers

## Tajikistan

**Gulchehra Mirzoeva**  
NGO "Modar"

## Ukraine

**Irina Bekeshkina**  
Democratic Initiative  
Foundation

**Tetyana Kolosova**  
Ukrainian Center  
for Independent  
Political Research

**Ilko Kucheriv**  
Democratic Initiatives  
Foundation

**Andrij Nechyporuk**  
Lion Society

**Inna Pidluska**  
Europe XXI Foundation

**Kostyantyn Ploskiy**  
Center for Political  
Education

**Olena Prytula**  
Ukrains'ka Pravda

**Dilara Seytveliyeve**  
Teachers Council

**Mikhail Volynets**  
Confederation of Free  
Trade Unions of Ukraine

## Uzbekistan

**Muborak Tashpulatova**  
Tashkent Public  
Education Center

**Marfua  
Tokhtakhodjaeva**  
Women's Resource  
Center of Tashkent

Western  
Europe

## Denmark

**Henrik Wollesen**  
Danish Camp Supply Ltd.

## Germany

**Peter Eigen**  
Transparency International

**Rainer Erkens**  
Friedrich Nauman Stiftung

**Melanie Goldmann**  
Konrad Adenauer

**Thomas Knirsch**  
Konrad Adenauer

**Miklos Marschall**  
Transparency International

**Andrea Ostheimer**  
Konrad Adenauer

**Michael Plesch**  
Konrad Adenauer

**Ivan Vejvoda**  
German Marshall Fund  
of the US -Balkan  
Trust for Democracy

## France

**Jean-Yves Hugon**  
Assemblée Nationale

## Greece

**Dimitri Machairidis**  
ISTAME- Andreas  
Papandreou Greece

## Ireland

**Ivan Doherty**  
National Democratic  
Institute for  
International Affairs

## Italy

**Matteo Mecacci**  
Transnational  
Radical Party

**Gianni Vernetti**  
Italian Parliamentary  
Group for Tibet

## Netherlands

**Arjen Berkvens**  
Alfred Mozer Stichting

**Mark Dijk**  
Netherlands Institute for  
Multiparty Democracy

**A.W.M. Gerrits**  
Alfred Mozer Foundation

**Jan Hijkoop**  
Netherlands Ministry  
of Foreign Affairs

**Alvaro Pinto Scholtbach**  
Netherlands Institute for  
Multiparty Democracy

**Jan Tuit**  
Netherlands Institute for  
Multiparty Democracy

## Norway

**Maria Dahle**  
Human Rights House  
Foundation

**Berit Lindeman**  
Human Rights House  
Foundation

## Portugal

**Elisabete Azevedo**  
Portuguese Catholic  
University

**Henrique Almeida**  
Luso-Forum for  
Democracy

**Claudia Caldeirinha**  
Democracy Coalition  
Project

## Spain

**Tomás Burgos**  
MP, Former President  
of Nuevas Generaciones

**Jose Herrera**  
Faes Fundacion

**Manuel Herrera**  
Political Advisor, Secretary  
of State for Education

## Sweden

**Julie Ballington**  
International IDEA

**Lennart Brunander**  
Centerpartiet

**Christine Chambay**  
Center International  
Foundation

**Mila Eklund**  
Centre Party International  
Foundation

**Par Granstedt**  
Awepa

**Sanna Johnson**  
Olaf Palmes  
International Center

**Abdalla Hamdok**  
International IDEA

**Anja Havedal**  
International Forum  
for Democratic  
Studies (US-based)

**Jan Hodann**  
Olaf Palmes  
International Center

**Jan Hylan**  
Olaf Palmes  
International Center

**Ann Linde**  
Swedish Social  
Democratic Party

**Per Norlund**  
Swedish International  
Development and  
Cooperation Agency

**Ake Pettersson**  
Centre Party International  
Foundation

**Siv Ramsell Westberg**  
Centre Party International  
Foundation

## Switzerland

**Bineta Diop**  
Femmes Africa Solidarite

## UK

**Mike Allen**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy- Visiting  
Fellow (US-based)

**Jon Benjamin**  
Foreign and  
Commonwealth Office

**Philippa Broom**  
Conservative Party

**Nadia Diuk**  
National Endowment for  
Democracy (US-based)

**Jonathan Dunn**  
Foreign and  
Commonwealth Office

**Penelope Faulkner**  
Que Me: Action for  
Democracy in Vietnam  
(France-based)

**Paul Flather**  
Europaeum

**David French**  
Westminster Foundation  
for Democracy

**Jadranka Foster**  
Westminster Foundation  
for Democracy

**Michael Gapes**  
Member of Parliament

**Martin Long**  
Action on Disability  
and Development

**Marina Narnor**  
Westminster Foundation  
for Democracy

**John Nightingale**  
Anglican Church

**Michael Pinto-  
Duschinsky**  
Brunel University

**David Thirlby**  
Westminster Foundation  
for Democracy

**Monette Zard**  
International Council on  
Human Rights Policy  
North America

North  
America

## Canada

**Iris Almeida**  
Rights and Democracy

**Razmik Panossian**  
Rights and Democracy

## USA

**Abdu Alkebsi**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy

**Jeffrey N. Bakken**  
U.S. Agency for  
International Development

**Marc Bayard**  
American Center for  
Inertional Labor Solidarity

**Nicole Bibbins**  
U.S. Department of State

**Julie Ann Boudreaux**  
MTO-Education Society  
of Malopolska

**Rachel Boyle**  
World Movement  
for Democracy

**Eric Brenner**  
Center for the Study  
of Social Policy

**Gayleatha Brown**  
U.S. Embassy in Pretoria

**Shari Bryan**  
National Democratic  
Institute for  
International Affairs

**Victoria Canavor**  
National Democratic  
Institute for  
International Affairs

**Sean Carroll**  
Club of Madrid

**Eric Chenoweth**  
Institute for Democracy  
in East Europe

**Elizabeth Spiro Clark**  
Center on Democratic  
Performance,  
Binghamton University

**Joseph Cooper**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy

**Phil Costopoulos**  
International Forum for  
Democratic Studies

**Ramon Daubon**  
Inter-American Foundation

**Joseph Davis**  
American Federation  
of Teachers

**Learned Dees**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy

**Larry Diamond**  
Hoover Institute,  
Stanford University

**Kate Doherty**  
American Center for  
Inertional Labor Solidarity

**Traci Fenton**  
World Dynamics, LLC

**George Folsom**  
International  
Republican Institute

**George Fouriol**  
International  
Republican Institute

**Joseph Freeman**  
Lynchburg College

**Carl Gershman**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy

**Kristin Haffert**  
National Democratic  
Institute for  
International Affairs

**Barbara Haig**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy

**Christina Houlihan**  
American Federation  
of Teachers

**Jane Riley Jacobsen**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy

**Edmundo Jarquin**  
Inter-American  
Development Bank

**Brian Joseph**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy

**Katie Kampmann**  
Center for International  
Private Enterprise

**Art Kaufman**  
World Movement  
for Democracy

**Patricia Keefer**  
Independent consultant

**Richard Penn Kemble**  
Freedom House

**John Knaus**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy

**Jayne Kurzman**  
The Hurford Foundation

**Robert LaGamma**  
Council for the Community  
of Democracies

**Dustin Lee Langan**  
Office of Human  
Rights and Transitional  
Justice, CPA

**Miriam Lanskoj**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy

**Mary Frances  
Lindstrom**  
Open Society Institute

**Kristina Lively**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy

**David Lowe**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy

**Kim Lowery**  
Kabissa

**Leon Lynch**  
United Steelworkers  
of America

**Tiffany Lynch**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy

**Lynn MacDonald**  
American Center  
for International  
Labor Solidarity

**Radwan Masmoudi**  
Center for the Study of  
Islam and Democracy

**Paul McCarthy**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy

**Edward McMahon**  
Binghamton University,  
Center on Democratic  
Performance

**Robert Miller**  
The Hurford Foundation

**Neha Misra**  
American Center  
for International  
Labor Solidarity

**Sarah Olsten**  
Center for International  
Private Enterprise

**Charles Oman**  
Development Centre  
of the OECD

**Susan Palmer**  
International Foundation  
for Election Systems

**Dave Peterson**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy

**Theodore Piccone**  
Democracy Coalition  
Project

**Anna Pkhrikian-Kyrou**  
World Movement  
for Democracy

**Marc Plattner**  
International Forum for  
Democratic Studies

**Rodger Potocki**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy

**Gowher Rizvi**  
Ash Institute, Harvard  
University

**Richard Rowson**  
Council for the Community  
of Democracies

**Carol Sahley**  
U.S. Agency for  
International Development

**Christopher Sands**  
International  
Republican Institute

**Harold Saunders**  
Kettering Foundation

**Laura Abrahams  
Schultz**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy

**Tom Skladony**  
International Forum for  
Democratic Studies

**Randa Slim**  
International Institute for  
Sustained Dialogue

**John Squier**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy

**John Sullivan**  
Center for International  
Private Enterprise

**Lia Testa**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy

**Deborah Ullmer**  
Representative of the  
International Committee to  
Support the Varela Project

**George Vickers**  
Open Society Institute

**Kathy Walther Bouma**  
Independent Consultant

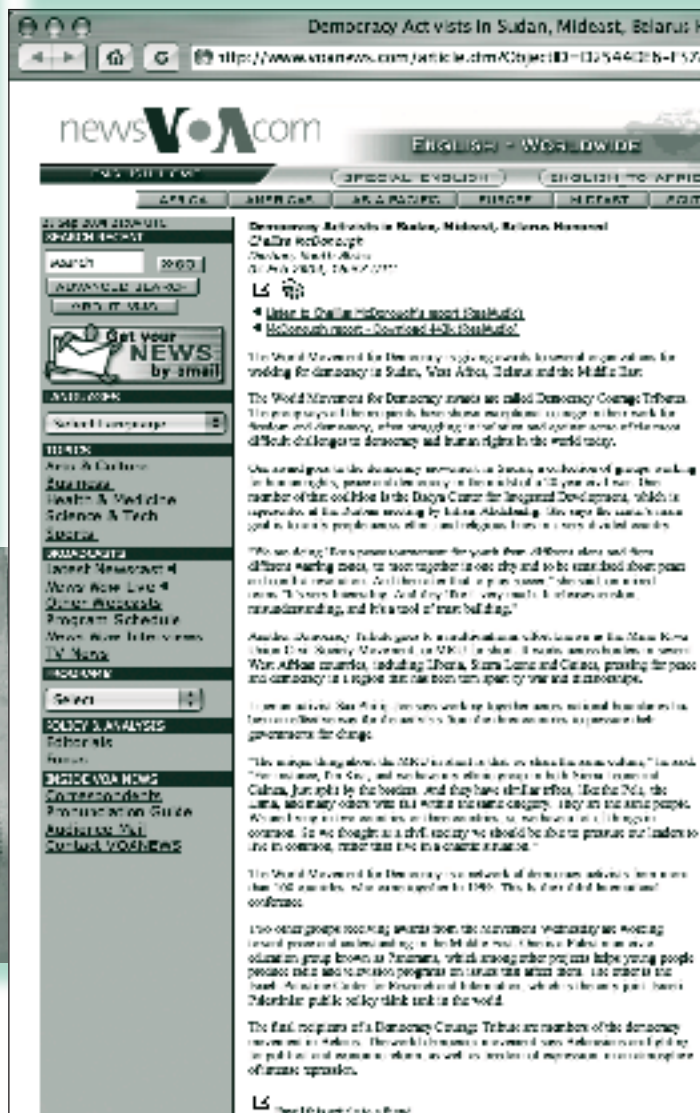
**Gene Ward**  
U.S. Agency for  
International Development

**Marcus White**  
Interfaith Conference

**Chris Wyrod**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy

**Sandra Zacarias**  
National Endowment  
for Democracy









## Luso-Fórum Reúne em Durban

[illegible]