WORLD MOVEMENT *for* DEMOCRACY

Confronting the Challenges to Democracy in the 21st Century

The Fourth Assembly

Istanbul, Turkey, April 2–5, 2006

Advancing Democracy: Justice, Pluralism, and Participation

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The World Movement for Democracy is a global network of democrats, including activists, practitioners, academics, policy makers, and funders, who have come together to cooperate in the promotion of democracy. The Washington, DC-based National Endowment for Democracy (NED) initiated this nongovernmental effort in February 1999 with a global Assembly in New Delhi, India, to strengthen democracy where it is weak, to reform and invigorate democracy even where it is longstanding, and to bolster pro-democracy groups in countries that have not yet entered into a process of democratic transition. At the conclusion of that Inaugural Assembly, participants adopted, by consensus, a Founding Statement creating the World Movement for Democracy as a "pro-active network of democrats." Emphasizing that the World Movement is not a new centralized organization, the statement declares that the resulting network "will meet periodically to exchange ideas and experiences and to foster collaboration among democratic forces around the world."

The World Movement offers new ways to give practical help to democrats who are struggling to open closed societies, challenge dictatorships, democratize semi-authoritarian systems, consolidate emerging democracies, and strengthen established democracies. It has the potential to do so in several ways…

- as an **ally** of democrats in dangerous situations who need political solidarity and moral support;
- as a **lobby** for the cause of democracy in international bodies and in countries where democracy is under siege;
- as a **facilitator** that can help link democrats from different countries and regions to exchange information more efficiently, work together, and help one another;
- as an **innovator** that can encourage the development of new ideas and effective approaches for overcoming obstacles to democracy;
- as a **big tent** that can provide a meeting place for democrats who are active in different professional areas, such as human rights, media, law, political party development, workers' rights, economic reform, research, and education;
- as a **resource center** that can make basic materials on democracy available to groups around the world;
- as a **monitor** that can convey the views of democratic activists on the efficacy of different forms of democracy support; and
- as a **catalyst** to stimulate new initiatives and help shape the priorities of the broader community of institutions concerned with the promotion of democracy.

Networks
The World Movement Web site **(www.wmd.org)** provides links to various regional and functional networks focused on advancing democracy.

DemocracyNews
As the electronic newsletter of the World Movement, *DemocracyNews* enables participants to share information with their colleagues, announce events and publications, and request assistance or collaboration in their work. To subscribe, send an e-mail message to subscribe-democracynews@lyris.ned.org.

World Movement Assemblies
Global assemblies offer World Movement participants the opportunity to take stock of the accomplishments they have achieved and the challenges they confront, and to build networks of mutual solidarity and support.

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

Message from the Steering Committee

The Fourth Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy brought together nearly 600 participants from some 120 countries on April 2-5, 2006, in Istanbul, Turkey. Under the theme of "Advancing Democracy: Justice, Pluralism, and Participation," the many activists, practitioners, and scholars who attended engaged each other in plenary sessions, panel discussions, and more than 50 round-table workshops. The Assembly was held in the face of both long-standing challenges to the work of pro-democracy and human rights organizations, as well as new challenges, including recent "backsliding" by governments from democratic progress and the increasingly coordinated international "backlash" against democracy assistance to NGOs and the work they undertake.

The Steering Committee was delighted to have the World Movement convene in Turkey, which, like many democracies, continues its efforts to meet the goals of a fully democratic society. We wish to express our deep appreciation to our two local partner organizations on the Assembly, the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV) and the Helsinki Citizens Assembly, Turkey (hCa), as well as to those funding institutions that made the Fourth Assembly possible (whose names are listed at the back of this report), especially the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality.

Special words of thanks are due to our Steering Committee colleague, Can Paker of TESEV, who unfailingly supported our endeavor to meet in Turkey, and to Murat Belge, chairman of hCa, for his dedication to the goals of the Assembly and the World Movement itself.

We are also grateful for the inspiring opening address delivered by Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, and the insightful and stimulating presentations made by Kim Campbell, Secretary-General of the Club of Madrid, and Anwar Ibrahim, former Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia. Above all, however, we wish to thank the participants who took time away from their work to attend the Assembly, many of whom traveled great distances, and some of whom participated at personal risk to themselves and their families.

At each World Movement assembly we seek to highlight the critical work conducted by the thousands of democracy activists around the world, only a small number of whom can attend these global gatherings. We are pleased, therefore, that the World Movement presented its Democracy Courage Tributes at the Fourth Assembly to the democracy activists in Vietnam, the human rights and democracy movement in Uzbekistan, the civil society of Nepal, and the Crimean Tatars and their Mejlis (Parliament) with the hope that our recognition will help sustain their challenging work.

The participants in the World Movement's Inaugural Assembly in New Delhi in February 1999 knew that they were bringing something unique into existence—not a new organization as such, but a pro-active network of democrats who would come together periodically to exchange ideas and experiences and to build solidarity across borders. In November 2000, democrats working in distinct but complementary areas of work gathered in São Paulo, Brazil, for the Second Assembly, which embodied the participants' commitment to further democratic progress in all global regions. By the close of the Third Assembly in Durban, South Africa, in February 2004, a wide variety of both regional networks (such as the African Democracy Forum and the World Forum on Democratization in Asia) and global networks (such as those focused on youth, women's political participation, local governance, democracy research, and solidarity among parliamentarians) had been established and had begun taking on the main work of the World Movement.

In addition to other achievements, the Fourth Assembly served to solidify those regional and functional networks, and to launch several new ones, but with a new sense of urgency. As many of the reports herein demonstrate, the international environment for democracy promotion has become more problematic since the founding of the World Movement in 1999. The space for democracy and human rights NGO work has been shrinking in many countries; persistent poverty and inequality in new democracies has often undermined confidence in democratic change; and various developments have tended to diminish solidarity in the democracy-promotion community. The World Movement has committed itself to addressing these and other new challenges during the two years until the Fifth Assembly in 2008. We hope you will join us.

Steering Committee
World Movement for Democracy

Opening Session

Ayo Obe, chair of the World Movement Steering committee

Steering Committee member (Nigeria) and Chair, Ms. **Ayo Obe**, welcomed the participants to the Fourth Assembly in Istanbul. Currently in private law practice, Ms. Obe recently ended her term as the President of Nigeria's Civil Liberties Organization (CLO).

Welcoming Remarks

Can Paker has served as a Board Member of the Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV) since its establishment as a foundation in 1994, and more recently as Chairman since 1997. He is a member of the World Movement Steering Committee and serves as treasurer. TESEV served as a local partner organization on the Fourth Assembly.

Can Paker, of TESEV, local partner organization

Excerpts: *Today we come from some 120 countries, and I think this is a very exciting opportunity and a very important symbol for our belief in the future of democracy. . . . Having attended the last Assembly in South Africa, I can tell you that we are part of a vitally important network of activists around the world who are working for the good of democracy. In spite of all the threats and dangers they are faced with, these people fight to extend democracy to their peoples and they are often not given credit for all the hard work that they do. You don't find their names in newspapers; you don't see them on TV screens; but nevertheless, they play a very important role, and they are all heroes as far as we are concerned. . . .*

We are very excited that this Fourth Assembly is being held in Turkey, and I hope you will agree at the end of the Assembly that it was very meaningful to hold it in Istanbul. I think one of the biggest factors in choosing Istanbul is that our country has taken some very important steps towards strengthening democracy in the last few years, and we would therefore like to draw the world's attention to Turkey and to Turkey's efforts in this respect. . . . And of course there are some very important lessons we have learned, and there are also some very good practices that we have shared around the world. I hope that we will have an opportunity to discuss them at length in the sessions to come.

Murat Belge of hCa, local partner organization

Murat Belge is a well known Turkish intellectual and civil rights activist. He is chairman of the Helsinki Citizens Assembly, Turkey (hCa), a local partner organization on the Fourth Assembly.

Excerpts: *Good afternoon, friends, and a hearty welcome to you to be here in Istanbul, my beloved city. I'm especially happy to be on the welcoming side here today, because I'm not merely a host, but have participated in World Movement for Democracy assemblies since the first one in New Delhi. So I consider myself a veteran of this network.*

These three words—world, movement, democracy—when I hear them, I know I should participate in whatever event brings them together. And now we have the fourth such event, this time in Istanbul. . . . For civil society to really exist, international solidarity is essential and should never be neglected. . .

These meetings are important for two things: One is the exchange of information. So we should have more exchanges, bringing us together from all continents of the world so that we can understand and discuss each other's problems. But to discuss the problems is not enough; we should also take inspiration from each other. . . . And maybe we can manage to take a creative look at what has been tried and done and achieved elsewhere. . . . The second general area, which is perhaps even more important, is the level of international solidarity. So I hope this meeting will be a profitable one, a useful one, vis-á-vis these aims, and once again I welcome you warmly to Istanbul.

Address

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is Prime Minister of Turkey. Educated at a religious Imam Hatip school, Mr. Erdoğan graduated from Marmara University's faculty of economics and business. After local elections in March 1994, he became Mayor of Istanbul as his Welfare Party became Turkey's largest party for the first time. Imprisoned in 1998 after reciting a poem deemed incendiary by the authorities, Mr. Erdoğan, upon his release, led the split of the "renewalist" or moderate majority of Turkey's Islamist movement. Under his leadership, the new Justice and Development Party won an overall majority in the 2002 parliamentary elections.

Excerpts: *Distinguished guests, and those of you who have come together in this city to think about new ways of strengthening democracy, I would like to say that I'm very happy to be with you all, and I would like to convey my best wishes to all of you. . . .*

We are currently living the days that were predicted by Marshall McLuhan, who was the first person to suggest the term global village. When McLuhan declared that the world was becoming a global village, communication satellites had only recently been sent into space . . . . And this new cultural revolution, which started with communication satellites, has reached its summit thanks to the Internet and the digital revolution today. . . . Unfortunately, humanity has failed to respond to the changes brought about by this cultural revolution in a timely and adequate manner. Many societies were ill prepared and were thrown off guard, . . . but of course at this juncture the most basic and burning question is what should be the basis for the new global village?

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Prime Minister of Turkey

Ladies and gentlemen, in my view, the most important aspect of meetings such as this is creating a common platform for discussion . . . and I think we have to find ourselves working towards the same common values. And can democracy, justice, and pluralism be the values that will establish this common platform? Of course, you will be discussing this question for three days, and I believe that you will very positively contribute to this discussion by proposing your very valuable ideas. . . .

We believe that Turkey has an important role to play, and that is why we have worked very hard to move towards achieving the Copenhagen criteria, and this is why we have worked very hard to achieve objectives in such a short period of time. And of course freedom was at the top of our agenda. We have done much to achieve freedom of expression, freedom of faith, and freedom of association. Of course, you can always ask whether what we have done has been sufficient.

We have harmonized many of our laws, but of course

there are some habits and traditions, some prejudices, that we also have to overhaul, and we have to also start seeing the application of these principles. . . . We believe that today we need a culture of tolerance and reconciliation, because . . . we would like to preserve our differences, but we also have to find a way of cohabitation. . . . We would like to create unity and plurality, and in order for this principle to be realized no faith or culture should be deemed the "other," and no culture or faith should be looked down upon. . . .

NGOs and opinion leaders have very important roles to play here. As Goethe said, the best governments are those that teach us how to rule ourselves, and the most important role of government in an open society and in a democracy is to open the way to civil society.

Presentations

Anwar Ibrahim is the former Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia and one of the world's leading Muslim democrats. Detained without trial for 18 months in 1974 following student protests, he was elected to the Malaysian parliament in 1982. In 1987 he was elected Vice-President of United Malays National Organization, the ruling coalition's principal party. In 1993 he was appointed Deputy Prime Minister while continuing to serve as Finance Minister. Sacked from the government in 1998 and imprisoned on trumped-up charges, he was acquitted in September, 2004.

Anwar Ibrahim of Malaysia

Excerpts: *Democracy is about giving dignity to the human spirit founded on the adoption of natural rights, because all individuals are endowed by the Creator with the rights to life, liberty, and estate. Essential to this process is a profound commitment to the protection of the minority, to the rule of justice, so that these natural rights shall not be taken away from the people. But yet there are those who say that democracy is largely a western construct, molded from the historical circumstances of the West. They say that liberal democracy is inherently incompatible with Asian values. . . . They say that before the supremacy of the state and the well being of its citizens, there is no place for individual liberty. . . . Similar arguments are being made about democracy and Islam. We hear the view that democracy and Islam are diametrically opposed because liberal democracy places sovereignty in the hands of the individual, while in Islam it belongs only to God. They mention that freedom, for example, is an alien concept. On the contrary, however, within Islam freedom is a fundamental objective of divine law. In fact, not just freedom but the crucial elements of constitutional democracy and society are moral imperatives in Islam—freedom of conscience, freedom of expression, the sanctity of life, etc. . . .*

Though elections are essential in that the authority of the government derives from the consent of the people, the question is whether the mere phenomenon of elections means that democracy is alive and well, or are there still other fundamental issues to be resolved? Where I come from, the opposition is barred from the air waves, rallies are not allowed, and the opposition newspapers operate underground. If democracy means participation in government in its fullest sense, then the existence of a vibrant opposition is essential as the bulwark against the tyranny of absolute power. . . .

To my mind, if a modern democratic Muslim state purports to set limits on the authority of the state in deference to the rights of the individual, then it is wholly in line with the requirements of constitutional democracy. Seven years ago, Indonesia plunged headlong into democracy after more than 30 years of oppression and dictatorship. As the largest Muslim nation in the world, it stands out as the single most significant political phenomenon in the recent history of democracy. The press there is free, and the fairness in the conduct of elections is unsurpassed. . . . The people may gather to protest decisions and policy without fear of reprisal. Still, efforts to deepen democracy must be continued relentlessly. Economic progress must remain high on the list of priorities, and with a concomitant program for social justice. Fighting corrup-

tion must continue to be pursued with full conviction.

Fellow democrats, these are not merely theoretical constructs. This is about honor, dignity, and human survival. Every day that passes without change means another bleak night for a political prisoner languishing in solitude, another death from hunger, destitution, and disease as a result of neglect and deprivation and another opportunity for the corrupt to abscond millions from the state coffers. For us this is not a luxury of intellectual discourse. . . . It is our fervent hope that democratic forces throughout the world will continue to assert their will and build a strong foundation of universal support to move the agenda forward.

The Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell, Secretary-General of the Club of Madrid

Kim Campbell is Secretary-General of the Club of Madrid. She became the first female prime minister of Canada in 1993, as leader of the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada. Her previous political appointments included Minister of State for Indian Affairs and Northern Development; Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada; as well as Minister of National Defense and Minister of Veterans' Affairs. Campbell finished a two-year term as president of the International Women's Forum in 2005.

Excerpts: *It is an honor for me to be here and somewhat daunting in a way, because I held elective office at all three levels of government in Canada—local, provincial, and national. In the course of my political career, I have been yelled at; I have confronted demonstrators; I've had mean things said about me in the press; and I never got a chance to answer, and as a woman I often felt my biggest battle was establishing my right to be there at all. But I never got thrown into jail, and I never worried that I would not put my head on my own pillow at night and sleep in the safety of my own bed in my own home in my own community. But there are many of you here who fight for the same things that were my passion in public life, but you do so under much more difficult circumstances. Many of you have seen the inside of a jail cell, and many of you know the price that has to be paid to create democracy. . . .*

Sometimes people argue that we shouldn't be in a hurry in countries that aren't democratic. After all, if you look at the system that Canada has, it probably got its start in the year 1215, when King John of England met with the barons at Runnymede and signed an agreement limiting his power. That was the Magna Carta. . . . So you could ask yourself, what's the hurry? Why are we rushing other countries? Shouldn't we allow other countries maybe not to take 702 years, but to take a little bit longer? Well, I think we all would agree that the answer to that is no, because it is a different world, and we have all changed. . . .

Many of the new democracies come not just from slowly evolving societies, but from seriously authoritarian or totalitarian rule, and those kinds of government not only do not foster the skills needed for democracy, but actively discourage them. . . . And so the challenge that many countries face today, even when there is a decision in a country's leadership that favors democracy, is in developing the skills and the techniques that can make democracy work, and this is why it is so important when people have great expectations and then those expectations are not met, and the sad thing is that it is often democracy that is discredited, not simply the incapacity of those who are there to do all that is needed. . . .

So I think it is important for all of us who care about democracy to push back against those who say that democracy promotion and those who support it are in some way the carriers of a negative agenda, are trying to undermine governments, or are in some way engaged in subversive or nefarious activities. On the contrary, we are simply trying to share what we know about how to translate the dream of democracy into the nuts-and-bolts organizational and technical capacity that keeps that dream alive, as opposed to the disappointment and disillusionment that failure creates when government structures simply cannot meet that challenge.

Democracy Courage Tributes

Presented at the John B. Hurford Memorial Dinner

Xiao Qiang presided over the Courage Tributes Dinner

At 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:

The Democracy Activists in Vietnam

We recognize two particularly heroic figures: Hoang Minh Chinh, a former high-ranking member of the Communist Party, and Buddhist dissident Thich Quang Do, Deputy Leader of the Unified Buddhist Church of Vietnam, who has spent over 25 years in detention for his non-violent advocacy of religious freedom, human rights, and democracy. Even from prison, these men and many others like them from both the secular and religious communities have dared to disseminate messages defending human rights, increased pluralism, and the rule of law in Vietnam.

Han Dongfang presents Courage Tribute to Vo Van Ai, representing the Democracy Activists in Vietnam

The Human Rights and Democracy Movement in Uzbekistan

During the past year, more than a dozen Uzbek activists, including human rights defenders, journalists, and opposition politicians, have been jailed on spurious charges. We pay tribute to the following groups that have continued their extraordinary advocacy in the face of this campaign of repression: Human Rights Society of Uzbekistan-Ezgulik, Mothers Against the Death Penalty and Torture, Legal Aid Society of Uzbekistan, Human Rights Society of Uzbekistan, Ozod Ovoz, Arena news service, Burning Hearts, Appellation, and members of the political opposition parties Free Peasant's Party, Sunshine Uzbekistan, Erk and Berlik.

Courage Tribute recipients representing The Human Rights and Democracy Movement in Uzbekistan

Krzysztof Stanowski presents Courage Tribute to Vasila Inoyatova, representing the Human Rights and Democracy Movement in Uzbekistan

The Civil Society of Nepal

Over the past eight years, Nepal has been besieged by one of Asia's deadliest conflicts that has resulted in over 10,000 deaths. In the decade and a half since its democratic transition, Nepal has struggled to contend with both a Maoist insurgency and a repressive and anti-democratic monarchy. Nepal is a country of 26 million people where over 40 percent live below the poverty line and where ethnic and caste divisions continue to plague the country. Nepal's tenacious civil society, which must work in the limited space between the Maoists and the monarchy, continues to fight to reestablish the democracy that appeared briefly just over 15 years ago. Since the tribute was made at the Assembly, hundreds of thousands of Nepalis went to the streets demanding the restoration of democracy. The king, facing the prospect of large and growing street protests and an increasingly unsupportive international community, relinquished the absolute control he had wielded since February 2005 and quickly moved to reconstitute the parliament, which he had originally dissolved in 2002.

Elisabeth Ungar presents Courage Tribute to the Civil Society of Nepal

Courage Tribute recipient Puspa Bhusal representing the Civil Society of Nepal

The Crimean Tatars and their Mejlis (Parliament)

The Crimean Tatars continue to struggle to build democratic culture while supporting democratic change. We pay tribute to this movement and especially to one of its heroic figures, Mustafa Djemilev, who spent a total of 18 years in the gulag as a prisoner of conscience, and to the Mejlis (parliament) that he heads and helped shape into a unique self-governing body.

Inna Pidluska presents Courage Tribute to Mustafa Djemilev representing the Crimean Tatars and their Mejlis (Parliament)

Recipients of the Democracy Courage Tributes

The **John B. Hurford Memorial Dinner** 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 an important role in helping to conceptualize and bring into being the World Movement for Democracy.

Previous Tribute recipients include The Democracy Movement in Sudan, The Democracy Movement in Belarus, The Mano River Union Civil Society Movement, The Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information (Israel)/ Panorama (Palestine).

Hurford Foundation President Robert Miller

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.

Reports

Combating Anti-Democratic Forces

Plenary Session on "Restrictive Laws and other Government Pressures on NGOs: How Can Democracy NGOs and the Assistance Community Meet the Challenge?"

Organizers:
National Endowment for Democracy – *U.S.*
Centre for the Development of Democracy and Human Rights – *Russia*

Moderator:
Carl Gershman – *U.S.*

Rapporteur:
Michael Allen – *U.K.*

Presenters:
Yuri Dzhibladze – *Russia*
Carlos Ponce – *Venezuela*
Maria Lisitsyna – *Kyrgyzstan*
Reginald Matchaba-Hove – *Zimbabwe*

Since the third wave of democratization in the early 1990s, democracy promotion has become accepted as a norm of practice, Carl Gershman noted in his introductory remarks, but a countertrend of resistance to democracy programs has recently emerged. It differs, however, from the manifestly repressive hostility of long-standing dictatorships that never permitted democracy assistance and that routinely repress internal opposition. The new backlash is occurring in countries where democracy assistance has previously been possible and relatively unobstructed.

Challenges:

Yuri Dzhibladze highlighted the painful irony of Russia assuming the G8 presidency of the advanced democracies just as it was curbing NGOs following earlier stifling of independent critics in business, parliament, and the media. Although a new anti-NGO law had not yet taken effect by the time of the World Movement Assembly, some 30,000 officials were already being recruited to implement the new law, which will allow the Russian Federal Registration Service to invoke alleged "threats to the constitutional order" to justify ending foreign funding of certain activities and give officials unprecedented discretion for judging programs or projects detrimental to Russia's national interests.

Even where legislation has not been implemented, the existence of draft provisions can have a chilling and intimidating effect on civil society groups, said Maria Lisitsyna of Kyrgyzstan. Similarly, in Zimbabwe the NGO bill has yet to be passed by the legislature, but according to Reginald Matchaba-Hove it already hangs like a "sword of Damocles" over civil society.

Many states manifestly repress independent NGOs, while others maintain a more ambiguous position, allowing civil society groups to operate under restrictions and the threat of arbitrary interference or dissolution. Regimes are also adopting more proactive measures, such as creating tame, government-organized NGOs (or GONGOs). In Venezuela, for example, the Chavez regime has organized a wide range of parallel "Chavista groups," Carlos Ponce told the plenary, which deliberately confuse and cloud the issues by taking pro-government lines in international meetings.

Authoritarian regimes employ varying rationales to justify repressive measures. A common trend is to claim anti-terrorism as a pretext, but it is also common, as in Venezuela and Russia, to claim that NGOs represent alien foreign interests and that democracy promotion is a tool used by advanced democracies to promote their geo-political interests.

Recommendations:

The response to this challenge of backlash must come at three distinct levels—tactical, political, and normative. Local NGOs and activists are already developing tactics to circumvent restrictions, including, for instance, reviving techniques in Russia that were used during Soviet times, said Ms. Lisitsyna. The panel presenters also recommended regional forms of cross-border assistance through activist groups in neighboring democracies that collaborate and provide aid to besieged colleagues. In addition, civil society consortia can provide small NGOs some protection, according to Carlos Ponce.

Politically, international and multilateral organizations (for example, the OSCE, SADCC, and the OAS) should be engaged, and cross-border engagement conveys a message that democracy assistance is not intended to promote narrow foreign-policy objectives of particular governments.

On the normative front, Mr. Matchaba-Hove stressed the need to strengthen the values and protocols for protecting civil society at the local, national and regional levels, and Mr. Gershman argued for an international campaign to broaden the acceptance of democracy promotion as an international principle and practice.

Panel Discussion on "People Power Movements: The Role of NGOs Before and After"

Organizers:
Europe XXI Foundation – *Ukraine*
Initiative for International Dialogue – *Philippines*

Moderator:
Edil Baisalov – *Kyrgyzstan*

Rapporteur:
Jaroslaw Szostakowski – *Poland*

Presenters:
Rama Naidu – *South Africa*
Inna Pidluska – *Ukraine*
Gus Miclat – *Philippines*
Vesna Pesic – *Serbia*
Ghia Nodia – *Georgia*

The moderator opened the panel session by giving a short introduction on the subject. In many authoritarian countries, he said, NGOs are seen as a main force behind anti-government opposition and international agents. This is a result of their activities teaching people about their rights and mobilizing them to fight for those rights and for free elections. One important goal of NGOs is to help political prisoners and people aggrieved by the government, but the situation of NGOs changes after a dictatorship collapses.

Gus Milcat presented the situation in his country, the Philippines. NGOs participated in the opposition movement against the dictatorships of President Marcos and his successor. The revolution would not have been possible without NGOs and their participation in the national democratic front. They conducted both lawful and underground activities. After the democratic changes, the opposition divided and went in different political directions. Many of its democratic goals have not been realized. Corruption and repression against journalists still exist. It is more difficult to support people when a government's progress on democracy slows. NGOs should thus create the conditions for a "people power" movement both theoretically, by creating programs and teaching people, and practically, by organizing public campaigns.

Rama Naidu spoke about South Africa's experience in fighting against the apartheid dictatorship. Political parties began the fight, but in the late 1970s, the first opposition trade union was established. In the end, a national democratic front was created by more than 600 organizations, including political parties, trade unions, NGOs, student groups, and churches. Finally, democratic change was possible as a result of a confluence of the following factors: the strength of the national front, international sanctions, the collapse of the Soviet bloc, and a partisan war. After the democratic transition, political rights were guaranteed, but not economic and social rights. Many NGO people moved into government and their organizations ended their activities or changed their missions. In democratic terms, NGOs should concentrate on economic and social matters and help people find their places in the new situation.

Vesna Pesic presented the factors that brought democratic change to Serbia. The Serbian regime was semi-authoritarian. The media was free and some elections were organized, although they were not free. In October 2000, after federal and local elections took place, the opposition forced Slobodan Milosovic to resign. This was only possible because all of the following elements were present: opposition unions, international community support, youth mobilization, a complicated economic situation, and independent control of the elections. In addition, the people from the old regime thought it was time for change. After winning, however, there was no consensus on the next steps. The opposition was divided and there were no radical reforms.

Ghia Nodia spoke about the situation in Georgia, which was a semi-authoritarian regime and whose Rose Revolution took place within the context of protecting constitutional rights. In this case, change was possible because of the work of political parties and cooperation among NGOs. During the revolution, people used strategies learned from other countries, especially Serbia. Most NGOs supported the revolution, and afterwards many NGO people went into the government. The changes were judged to be insufficient, however, and some people thought the enthusiasm of the revolution should be used to achieve deeper reform. Unfortunately, the legal system did not allow for more rapid change, since the requirements of the new government for changing the laws were much stricter than those of the previous one. This is why some people were disappointed.

Inna Pidluska evaluated her country, Ukraine, before the Orange Revolution as semi-democratic. There was legal political opposition in the Parliament and free media. The government also declared itself democratic. After the counterfeit presidential election, however, the mobilization of the people and the scale of the protests surprised everyone and brought about a re-run of the elections, which the opposition leader won. International support was very important for the Orange Revolution. In addition, national and local NGOs helped advance the revolution by reminding people about their rights, the importance of mobilizing to vote and protest, and the civil control of the election process. Following the revolution, the opposition was divided. In 2006, the first parliamentary elections were held since the revolution,

and turn-out was very high. This shows that the people learned about democracy. As in other cases, following the revolution, many NGO leaders joined the government. The new officials tried to reach decisions through consultation with NGOs, but without much practical effect. Fighting for democracy is thus a process, not a single event.

Following the presentations, discussion focused on questions concerning:

- the role of Western governments and their relationships with dictatorial governments;
- the effectiveness of international support for democratic movements;
- advice for countries in which authoritarian regimes use nationalism and populism to gain or maintain power; and
- the dangers posed by national fronts that include populists and nationalists in addition to democrats.

Recommendations:

- NGOs should inform people about their rights and inspire them.
- NGOs should analyze the situation in a country and prepare a program to address it.
- Civil control of the election process is very important, as is the role of NGOs in training people for it.
- In the fight for democracy there should be unity among different forces, such as political parties, NGOs, trade unions, and churches.
- The role of the international community in supporting democracy movements is very important for putting pressure on dictatorships.
- The activities of NGOs should focus not only on political, but also on economic and social, rights.
- Following democratic change, NGOs should develop new visions for their activities.

Panel Discussion on "Confronting the Challenges of Terrorism and Anti-Terrorism"

Organizers:
Welfare Association for the Development of Afghanistan
Shahin Abbasov – *Azerbaijan*

Moderators:
Mohammad Nasib – *Afghanistan*
Shahin Abbasov – *Azerbaijan*

Rapporteur:
Tanya Lokshina – *Russia*

Presenters:
Amena Mahmod – *Iraq*
Pulatjan Ahunov – *Uzbekistan*
Hikmet Haji-zada – *Azerbaijan*

This panel discussion brought together approximately 50 participants who unanimously condemned terrorism in all forms and affirmed that there can be no justification for acts of terror or violence against civilians for the purpose of intimidation. At the same time, they emphasized that methods used by some states to fight terrorism—or methods used under the guise of fighting terrorism—are not only in serious breach of human rights and fundamental freedoms, but may in fact qualify those governments as engaging in "state terrorism" (violence against civilians and collective punishment aimed at terrorizing populations into submissiveness).

Authoritarian regimes, in particular, use the "war against terror" to eliminate their political opponents and those who support them, and in such circumstances the "war against terror" turns in reality into a war against democracy, as one of the presenters illustrated by reference to Uzbekistan. The participants agreed that when Western democratic states cooperate with authoritarian regimes in fighting terrorism—"supporting a lesser evil to counter a greater evil"—they become complicit in the erosion of human rights values and democratic principles. In addition, when authoritarian regimes use violence and repression against civilians in the name of fighting terror, they actually facilitate recruitment by extremist groups and force people to engage in radical and violent resistance. Such methods of anti-terrorism only breed terrorism and the very "war against terror" thus turns counterproductive. The participants emphasized that Western democratic countries should acknowledge this problem, review their positions on the issue, and put an end to such complicity with authoritarian regimes.

The participants also agreed that there must be no state monopoly on anti-terrorism and that a civil dimension of anti-terrorism should be found. Echoed by several other participants, the presenter from Iraq urged NGOs to become engaged in developing an anti-terrorist agenda of their own and to advocate a culture of peaceful coexistence and tolerance.

The presenter from Azerbaijan emphasized, and several participants agreed, that to prevent the spread of radical, extremist Islamism it is especially important to work with democratically-oriented Muslims and support their groups in all possible ways. Such groups are often attacked by regimes and their persecution serves to increase their alienation and radicalization (as cases from Azerbaijan and Russia served to demonstrate).

The participants agreed that when people have political objectives space should be provided for them to work towards the fulfillment of those objectives, and legitimate political demands should be listened to.

The participants lamented the lack of an international legal definition of terrorism, which enables some states to use the rhetoric of anti-terrorism where it is not applicable (such as calling the armed conflict in Chechnya a counter-terrorist operation). They thus agreed to urge the international community to formulate a clear definition of terrorism and urged NGOs to contribute actively to this process.

Recommendations:

- Carry out an in-depth analysis of the root-causes of terror, and formulate relevant prevention strategies.
- Put pressure on governments to improve social and economic conditions of the poor (since those living in poverty are particularly vulnerable to extremist propaganda).
- Educate young Muslims about the dangers of extremist thinking and the radicalization of Islam.
- Call on Western democracies to work towards boosting economic development in under-developed countries and to invest in educating their publics.
- Urge the international community to develop new standards of humanitarian law that would be applicable to the protection of civilians from terrorists, on the one hand, and from the efforts of disproportionate and violent anti-terrorism measures, on the other.
- Universal minimal standards of human rights compliance in situations of terrorist threats should be developed and incorporated into national legislation, thus making it impossible to restrict human rights beyond certain legally defined limits.

Given the danger of continuing to employ double standards regarding human rights, the participants also agreed to call on the governments of the United States and the European Union member-states, along with their respective civil societies, to demand universal standards to prevent the further erosion of human rights, which are themselves a pillar of security.

Topical Workshops

How to Confront the Misuse of Traditional and Cultural Values by Anti-Democratic Regimes

Organizer:
World Forum for Democratization in Asia

Moderator:
Mab Huang – *Taiwan*

Rapporteur:
Debbie Stothard – *Malaysia*

Presenters:
Vo Van Ai – *Vietnam*
Hannah Forster – *Gambia*
Lotfi Hajji – *Tunisia*

Democracy and human rights are "a part of," not "apart from," cultural values; pluralism in the context of culture and religion is a fundamental part of democracy. This was the consensus of the diverse participants in this workshop. Participants voiced strong concerns about how repressive regimes have appropriated and misused culture and religion, thus hampering democratization and consolidating control over citizens.

While recognizing that culture and religion are dynamic forces that are both subject to and factors of change, participants identified pro-democratic principles within diverse cultures and religions.

Observations:

- In many instances, traditional cultural practices and systems are compatible with and conducive to democracy. Confucianism, for instance, which Asian dictators have tried to use to justify repression, actually embodies democratic values that put people ahead of the state and sovereign.
- Some failures by democratic regimes to address issues of inequality faced by diverse ethnic and social groups continue to be a problem. Participants also acknowledged that traditional class systems can obstruct participation in and access to political structures.
- Neither the state nor any single entity should have the sole authority to interpret cultural or religious values for a population.
- The use of culture and/or religion to thwart women's rights and political participation continues to be a serious problem.
- The willingness of some international stakeholders to accept dictators' use of "cultural values" as a justification for repression is a sign of intellectual laziness that borders on discrimination. It implies that people of certain cultures are less deserving of human rights. Acceptance of such misuse of cultural values by foreign governments also helps entrench these anti-democratic regimes.

- International solidarity and related activities are important to support the empowerment of local groups in their efforts to confront the abuse of cultural values. This can include the capacity of international parliamentary and political networks to generate pressure. The case of Amina Lawal in Nigeria was cited as an example.
- Despite the challenges, the importance of democracy remains generally undisputed. Even dictators appear to believe that the language of democracy is integral to their legitimacy. This is another example of leverage that can be exploited to further the cause of democracy.

Recommendations:

- Identify and exploit opportunities for leverage against repressive regimes to defend democratic forces (for example, Vietnam is desperate to be removed from blacklists so it can join the World Trade Organization).
- Recognize and engage potential groups within existing structures to expand and deepen democracy. Pluralism must be valued and upheld so that potential anti-democratic elements can be neutralized and absorbed.
- Use aid to encourage democracy and democratic processes that are able to use cultural elements as an entry point.
- Reinforce the role of independent NGOs working for democracy and human rights, as well as the capacity of international solidarity groups to support local interventions.
- Utilize traditional values and leaders in helping the general population adapt to and integrate into democratic development rather than allow democratic development to be seen simply as a way for elites to engage the global community.
- Improve educational curricula and systems to deepen analytical skills and raise the level of knowledge in societies.
- Use cultural references to help put democratization into local contexts and engender local ownership of democratization. This will help "translate" democratic concepts into more accessible forms and encourage active engagement.
- Prioritize freedom of expression; this will help accelerate efforts to increase awareness, understanding, and a vibrant exchange of ideas.

Strengthening Democracy through Anti-Corruption Reform: A Private Sector Perspective

Organizers:
Center for International Private Enterprise – *U.S.*
Center for Liberal-Democratic Studies – *Serbia*

Moderator:
John Sullivan – *U.S.*

Rapporteur:
Jen Reutershan – *U.S.*

Presenters:
Boris Begovic – *Serbia*
Melinda Quintos de Jesus – *Philippines*

Corruption is one of the leading reasons for the ongoing political and economic failures of many developing countries. It impedes the development of markets, drives away investment, increases the costs of doing business, and undermines the rule of law. The need for an increased emphasis on fighting corruption is more evident today than ever before, as global corruption flows, according to World Bank estimates, have now surpassed $1 trillion annually. Studies in Serbia and Lebanon and other major surveys of business communities suggest that corruption imposes significant costs on society and that the need for strategies to combat it is pressing.

Attitudes toward corruption are changing in countries throughout the world. In many countries, it is no longer a taboo subject and discussions on its causes and damaging effects continue to become more widespread. Moreover, in many economies the business community is no longer blaming corruption—or placing the burden of combating it—solely on government officials. The emerging consensus is that anti-corruption efforts should combine initiatives from the public sector, the business community, and other civil society groups. While in many countries discussions about corruption are more evident and there is a popular consensus that corruption has a negative impact on political, social, and economic institutions, successful, working approaches to limiting it are still few in number.

The importance of linking corruption with democratic development cannot be underestimated. The relationship is circular: corruption is often a result of weak democratic institutions (such as weak rule of law and limited freedom of speech) while at the same time widespread

corruption weakens democracy (for example, by eroding public support for democratic institutions and precipitating mismanagement of public and private funds). Efforts to combat corruption, therefore, cannot be separated from efforts to strengthen democracy.

Recommendations:
Participants in the workshop identified a number of anti-corruption strategies that the private sector (large corporations, smaller businesses, business associations, NGOs, think tanks, and labor unions) might undertake:

- The private sector should introduce and enforce codes of conduct, including internal control mechanisms, as part of a corporate governance strategy to curb the supply side of corruption.
- The private sector should advocate for public policies that increase economic freedom, reduce administrative burdens and complexity, and thus reduce the opportunity for corruption. Further, anti-corruption programs should include diagnosis of the corruption potential of existing and new legislation.
- Strengthening good democratic governance offers a positive approach to reducing corruption by building mechanisms of accountability and transparency within all government branches and agencies, including local government. The private sector needs to be mobilized to press for good governance.
- A free and independent media combined with freedom of information laws are key elements of national anti-corruption strategies. Further, economic education of journalists increases their ability to diagnose and expose corrupt practices. Civic participation can serve to enhance the impact of independent media.
- Developed nations should adhere to anti-corruption conventions and provide mechanisms to enforce these standards in transactions by their national companies within developing countries.
- Anti-corruption strategies should be adapted to adjust to the realities of fragile states and low income countries. In such cases, building democratic governance and effective institutions must be a priority.

How Can Civil Society and Independent Media Counter Anti-Democratic Uses of Populism and Nationalism?

Organizers:
Malaysiakini – *Malaysia*

Moderator:
Steven Gan – *Malaysia*

Rapporteur:
Balazs Jarabik – *Slovakia*

Presenters:
Ebru Agduk – *Turkey*
Kelmend Hapciu – *Kosovo*
Carlos Ponce – *Venezeula*

The moderator, Steven Gan, opened this workshop with a short presentation on Malaysia, where it is impossible to obtain a license for electronic media, but the Internet is still free due to a loophole in the system, so one can operate freely in virtual space. This is one of the tools that media can offer to address the misuse of populism and nationalism by authoritarian regimes.

In her presentation, Ebru Agduk focused on civil society development in Turkey, where the army is the most trusted institution and the left relies mainly on nationalism as its main political theory. The economic crisis of 2001, the Iraq invasion, and the lead-up to negotiations on the admission of Turkey into the European Union (EU) have all contributed to the emergence of this nationalist discourse on the left, but the nationalist left has also successfully formulated its new nationalism by making use of Kemal Ataturk's six principles, which were outlined during the first years of the Republic. Another factor is the position of the army; Turkey's modern political history was interrupted twice by military interventions. Both the left and the army share this new nationalistic ideal, therefore, thus making a powerful combination.

Turkish civil society started to flourish only in the last decade and has only begun to discuss sensitive political issues as such. The biggest problem is a lack of domestic funding for fulfilling the ideas of NGOs, and a great dependence on outside donors (the UN, World Bank, and foreign embassies in Turkey) creates an impression that they are agents of foreign countries, a natural subject of the new leftist nationalism. The question of nationalism must be taken much more seriously, therefore, and although Turkish NGOs are not particularly good in forming coalitions, they should develop a new strategic coalition to focus public debate on the benefits of the EU for Turkey and how Turkey can contribute to the EU. At the same time, Turkey needs a good opposition both within Parliament and outside (in part because EU accession depends on Turkey's further democratization), and the media and civil society have significant roles to play in fostering this.

Carlos Ponce spoke about Venezuela having always been under some sort of strongman; the emergence of democracy has been seen only in the last 20 years. Now, with Hugo Chavez as president, Venezuela is backsliding. The idea of having one leader controlling everything is being advanced and justified with new socialist messages and policies, and anti-globalist movements have been

used to mask authoritarian steps, not only in Venezuela but in Peru as well. Manipulating voter trends and the media are part of this.

The international community should thus take more seriously the so-called "revolutionary export" from Venezuela to other Latin American countries, most notably Peru and Nicaragua.

While the media in Venezuela appear to be free, harassment of journalists is very common; in fact, opposition politicians don't need to be afraid, but journalists do since the media has basically been playing the role of opposition. Media owners are threatened with losing money at the hands of the government, and therefore self-impose regulation and censorship. Therefore, the Internet is basically preserving the role of independent media to fight authoritarianism.

Kelmend Hapciu spoke about the media situation in Kosovo, where it has no status and where the wounds of war remain fresh. The biggest problem is a lack of communication between the two main communities, Serbs and Albanians, even within the media.

One workshop participant spoke about Malaysia, a post-colonial society that is only now building a certain unity of the nation (having become independent from Great Britain in 1963). The failure of its economic policy, as well as the diversion of society's attention from that failure towards other things, namely race or religion, creates the potential for conflict in the country. Islam maintains an unchallenged position in Malaysia, especially since September 11 and the beginning of the anti-terrorist campaigns, during which the position of religion has strengthened within the state.

In general, the workshop participants recognized that while NGOs appeal to society to fight against dictatorships that very message is being used by dictators to label NGOs as the agents of foreign governments. The emerging answer to this situation is more thorough building of civil society and new ideas that go beyond the usual civil society appeals. In addition, the failure of civil society to create effective checks and balances has prevented pro-democratic governments from operating effectively. Civil society should formulate new ideas to address this as well.

Challenges and Recommendations:

The following challenges and recommendations resulted from discussion of cases from a variety of countries.

- How can the challenge of the emotional, historical, and cultural hijacking of national political ideas by dictators be addressed?
- Despite their rhetoric expressing anti-globalist language, dictators gladly take money from multinational organizations. It is the task of independent media to expose such differences between rhetoric and action.
- Concerning the idea of fighting populists with populism, this was tried by the Venezuelan opposition against Chavez, but it led to the destruction of serious policies, and actually allowed Chavez to make even more use of populist language. The opposition must now begin to formulate a new alternative, which will only give Chavez more time to further strengthen his authoritarian regime. The lesson is that populists must be addressed by the right tools.
- To understand the challenge, it is important to ask what laws authoritarian regimes are using to confront the media and/or civil society.
- The case of Belarus regarding authoritarian laws and regulations is instructive for other situations, especially Venezuela.
- How the modern left (as in Chile) can be strengthened vis-à-vis the populist left (as in Venezuela) is an important consideration. What can be done to foster a less populist, and thus a more modern, left?
- An agenda is necessary for both civil society and the media to encourage the public to discuss countering populist policies, especially to provide alternative economic policies.
- It is important to recognize that civil society in Serbia and the media (such as B-92) "broke the neck" of Milosevic, not the political parties.
- Reflecting on the issue of religion in the negotiations on Turkey's accession to the EU reveals two different worlds, as the Danish cartoon controversy has suggested, but in the 21st Century, this challenge should be addressed, perhaps through the modernization of political parties (not only in Turkey, but elsewhere), and better engagement of civil society in politics.
- The new Turkish penal code was passed by the Parliament without comment by the Turkish media, despite the fact that it can severely restrict press freedom. The press awoke to the situation only at the last moment. The media should be able to mobilize society against this kind of development, but, surprisingly, in Turkey they simply did not realize the threat.
- The media must take more responsibility for political developments within a country because they claim to be the "fourth sector" in addition to the three branches of government. The media should therefore also be subject somehow to checks and balances, perhaps through media monitoring.
- Mechanisms and new structures should be established to engage other layers of society, while it is necessary, for countering populists and nationalists.
- The Danish cartoon controversy is one of the best case studies of how populists and nationalists are strengthening their voices not only domestically, but also internationally. This also demonstrates the main strength of populism: emotions and the mobilization of the poor. It is easiest to mobilize poor and uneducated people, while it is harder to mobilize those who are educated, urban, and more liberal-minded.

Tactics and Strategies in Human Rights Struggles: Exploring Adaptability

Organizers:
Helsinki Citizens Assembly, Turkey
Center for Victims of Torture – *U.S.*

Moderator:
Lale Tayla – *Turkey*

Rapporteur:
Gokce Gunel – *Turkey*

Presenters:
Maina Kiai – *Kenya*
Rebecca Sako-John – *Nigeria*
Rolly Rosen – *Israel*
Andrey Yurov – *Russia*
Tolekan Ismailova – *Kyrgyzstan*
Joyce Kawkabani – *Lebanon*

Participants in this workshop shared their valuable experiences implementing tactics and strategies in human rights struggles through the utilization of materials, tools, and methodologies from the New Tactics in Human Rights project (www.newtactics.org), which resulted from its symposium in September 2004. The symposium brought together activists from around the world to share the tactics they have used to address various human rights violations. The goal of the project is to share various tactics that some activists have used successfully so that other activists can be inspired by them.

Rebecca Sako-John of Nigeria reflected on her realization that human rights activists in Nigeria lacked a means of national coordination, and that not everyone was eager to share in the work; they sought to have their initial network evolve into a national one. They thus organized programs to reach the grassroots and elaborate on the importance of sharing. They now offer training for grassroots groups and seek to empower women to change their position in public life.

Rolly Rosen was an Israeli participant in the New Tactics symposium where she said she saw the significance of strategic thinking and "mapping" (tactical mapping is a method of visualizing the institutions and relationships sustaining human rights abuses, and then tracking the nature and potency of tactics available to affect these systems, ultimately serving as a tool to monitor the implementation of strategy). Afterwards, she was involved in activities to improve the role of civil society in times of conflict. During one of these activities, she came across a group that worked for the rights of detainees from Palestine. The mapping strategy helped them understand that they might benefit from an alliance with the soldiers who are also opposed to the maltreatment of detainees. It is not clear, however, whether this tactic will be applied, since it requires a total change of identity of the NGOs involved to reflect collaboration with the army officials.

Maina Kiai of Kenya spoke about two problems constantly faced in Kenya: transitional justice and ethnic impunity. After hearing about the Museum of Consciousness at the New Tactics Symposium, he returned to his country ready to prepare a traveling museum to help expose the ways in which people contributed to the struggle for independence, and to assist in nation building while eliminating ethnic rivalries. Kiai argued that Kenya requires common linkages in order to strengthen national identity, and government transparency. The plan is to exhibit modern Kenyan history as a preventative measure against human rights violations and for nation building.

When elaborating on the significance of New Tactics,

Andrey Yurov of Russia indicated that his organization has excellent programs on civic education, but it is unable to describe them in a methodical way. The development of the New Tactics project provided an impetus for further organization and communication. He proposed that additional networks to share tactics be established at a more local level, for instance, a Black Sea network. According to Yurov, if we do not organize and communicate with each other, we cannot carry ourselves into the future, and this is unacceptable. We must make our experiences available to those in other countries.

Tolekan Ismailova of Kyrgyzstan explained that after participating in the New Tactics Symposium, her organization, Civil Society Against Corruption, has managed to produce a documentary on the lives of refugees, creating awareness about the situation of women and children in camps who have fought for the right of peaceful protest. Eventually, they achieved this right. Building on that were peasant protests against gold mines, and now they are working to stop the gold mines from functioning.

Recommendations:

- A major discussion focused on the methods to disseminate information under circumstances where there is no freedom of the press. Proposals included a traveling theatre, Internet radio, and underground newspapers.
- Some participants maintained that while it is good to share what we have done, should we not also focus on what we have not been able to do, on why some things have gone wrong in certain instances? A participant from Côte D'Ivoire noted that sharing and working together can protect civil society from outside risks, and another participant from the U.S. pointed out that we keep believing that if we do it more effectively we will somehow induce change, but it is impossible to resolve every problem through one tactic; there is a need, therefore, to utilize various tactics. Multiple tactics put pressure on the system, create dissonance within the system, and induce change. That's why we have to come together and listen to each other carefully and learn from each others' successes.
- One discussion centered on the country-specific resolutions prepared by the UN Human Rights Commission. Are these resolutions beneficial? Some argue that they instigate a momentum that will build up in time and force the violators of human rights to improve their conduct.
- One participant asked about non-state actors. The "twin cities practice" from Turkey, one from the Aegean, one from the Southeast, was explained to illustrate what can be done to ease the relations between the people. This process involves the selection of two cities and a tightening of relations between the residents of both through mutual events and exchanges.
- The point was also made that the citizens of countries should consult international organizations for closer monitoring of their governments' misconduct.
- One comment helped sum up the discussion: It is true that there are many important topics to discuss. We are talking in general, and not everyone is interested in the details, but we understand perfectly well that we have different experiences. We are given a platform for general information so that we don't have to reinvent the wheel every time.

Among the conclusions of the workshop were that the challenges found in different environments may not be that different from one another and that the number of tools that have been used in creating tactics has varied. We attack complex problems with simple tactics, but they are too complex for a single tactic. We should therefore use many tactics to manipulate the system. Finally, some tactics have been out there for a while; maybe we should start calling them creative tactics instead of new tactics because in a few years even the new ones will be old.

How Can the Right to Information Help in the Fight for Transparency?

Organizers:
Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV) – *Turkey*
Institute for Information Freedom Development – *Russia*

Moderators:
Basak Er – *Turkey*
Ivan Pavlov – *Russia*

Rapporteur:
Aysegul Tansen – *Turkey*

Presenters:
Asim Mollasada – *Azerbaijan*
Inera Safargalieva – *Uzbekistan*
Eric Johnson – *U.S.*
Fikret Ilkiz – *Turkey*

This workshop included 28 participants from more than 24 countries. Although legal mechanisms related to the right to information do not exist in some of their countries, all the participants agreed on the necessity of access to information in promoting administrative transparency and monitoring NGOs, politicians, and the media. While the workshop was intended to examine the role of the right to information in fighting for transparency, however, participants mostly focused on the quality of the legal mechanisms in their countries for ensuring access

to information and the problems of implementation.

Observations:

- Even countries that have adopted laws on the right to information face serious problems in implementing those laws.
- Most of the laws in these countries lack a clear definition of restrictions in the access to information and do not provide adequate tools for journalists to access information. In general, the dissemination and use of the documents obtained according to right to information laws are forbidden. Independent media cannot benefit from this right, therefore, unless information can be disseminated and published. For example, in Uzbekistan, according to a decree of the ministry of foreign affairs, accreditation for local and foreign journalists is obligatory for the distribution of information.
- Many officials deny requests without any legal justification because of disciplinary sanctions.
- The circulation of information is of utmost importance to prevent abuse of powers and corruption.

Challenges:

- One of the most important challenges regarding legal regulations is that terms such as "secrecy," "confidentiality," and "privacy of individuals" are not defined and classified clearly. This vagueness results in inefficient implementation of the laws.
- Although right to information laws provide the basis for access to information, in some countries many other laws restrict this right, such as those on prevention of corruption, administrative and military procedures, state secrets, trade secrets, penal law, and press law. Access to information thus cannot be applied properly to various investigations.
- Public officials often use their own discretion in providing access to information, thus preventing standard implementation of the laws.
- In some countries, individuals are unaware of the scope and application of right-to- information laws due to, among other reasons, a low level of activism on the subject.

Recommendations:

- Raise awareness among the public and parliament to encourage wider application of right to information laws, thus contributing to better governance and transparency. In particular, taxpaying citizens should be made more aware of the importance of participation in decision making at the local level, which affects their daily lives, so they will be more likely to press for access to information.
- Monitor the implementation of civil mechanisms to help ensure they are implemented properly for the long term. Greater civic participation through the right to information will likely encourage government officials to reveal information.
- Different groups that enjoy this right—namely, the media, oppositions, the ombudsmen, research institutes, independent NGOs, etc.—should work together to promote access to information.
- Government and official bodies should develop archives, and technologies for information collection should be improved. Governments should be obliged to make information available on their Web sites.
- Access to the courts should be guaranteed by right to information laws, thus ensuring that cases related to the right to information can be efficiently resolved.

How to Get Closed Societies and Failed States on the International Agenda?

Organizer:
U.S. Committee on Human Rights in North Korea – *U.S.*

Moderators:
Debbie Liang-Fenton – *U.S.*
Therese Jebsen – *Norway*

Rapporteur:
Penelope Faulkner – *UK (France-based)*

Presenters:
Charm Tong – *Burma*
Manuel Desdin – *Cuba (Spain-based)*
Vo Van Ai – *Vietnam (France-based)*
Debbie Liang-Fenton – *U.S.*
Reginald Matchaba-Hove – *Zimbabwe*

Forty people from 20 different countries participated in this workshop and engaged in a very open discussion on the topic. Presenters from three continents described different forms of closed societies, two Communist countries (Vietnam and Cuba); one military junta (Burma); and one society described by the presenter as both closed and a "failing state" (Zimbabwe). A disturbingly common picture, dominated by a culture of violence and fear, widespread human rights abuses, and lack of democratic freedoms, emerged from these completely different

stories. All agreed that it was crucial to maintain international focus on these societies if democratic processes were ever to get underway within them. The participants identified the main challenges and proposed some common strategies.

Challenges:

- There is a disturbing perception in some quarters that certain anti-democratic governments are, in fact, acceptable (Vietnam, Cuba, and others).
- Political, economic, or strategic interests are often thought to supersede the interests of democracy and human rights.
- There has been an increase in the militarization of state institutions and a widening of the culture of violence.
- Certain international actors and governments have gained credibility due to double standards.
- UN reform poses new challenges to efficacy (for example, it may be harder to pass country specific resolutions in the new UN Human Rights Council).

Recommended tactics:

- Information should be shared and should flow in more than one direction (that is, media information should flow into and out of the country) to inform activists of realities on the outside and to educate the international community.
- Democracy activists and groups should work together, provide mutual support, and undertake greater coordination.
- Efforts should be made to influence the UN Democracy Caucus and regional fora, such as the Asia-Pacific Cooperation (APEC), African Union, Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), etc.
- It is important to identify and engage emerging moderate actors.

Recommended secondary tactics:

- Stage or utilize high-profile events to garner international and media attention.
- Provide the "name and face" of a cause; for instance, focus on political prisoners, dissidents, human rights defenders, etc.
- Emphasize to people on the ground that confronting their governments' abuses of power are a question of accountability and governance, not just a matter of a supposed Western imperialism.
- Reach out to individual actors who have access to officials in repressive regimes (such as China), and encourage them to raise the cause.
- Aid and trade should be conditioned on progress in democracy and human rights.
- Implement capacity building among both external and internal actors.
- Expand and employ dialogue among democrats and diasporas.
- Persevere and recognize that we are building a foundation on which to move forward.

Developing Independent and Responsible Media

Organizers:
Global Forum on Media Development
Thai Journalists Association
– *Thailand*

Moderator:
Roby Alampay – *Philippines*

Rapporteur:
Eric Johnson – *U.S.*

Presenters:
Melinda Quintos de Jesus
– *Philippines*
Owais Aslam Ali – *Pakistan*
Daoud Kuttab – *Jordan*
Catherine Cosman – *U.S.*

A number of important questions and challenges were raised in this workshop. Owais Aslam Ali of Pakistan argued that there is no need to prove that independent media is needed. Do we really need a responsible media, he asked, if responsibility means choosing not to release speeches of Osama bin Laden? The "new world economic order" argument about responsibility has resulted in governments hijacking the definition. Is it possible that a surfeit of media in a particular market results in a reduction in how responsible they behave, in which case might their number need limiting? Who is responsible for the media being responsible? Do we expect the media to perfect themselves, or should society play a role, too? A government-created press council is just regulation by another name. Freedom of information laws are a good start, but they are not enough in and of themselves; they need to be implemented and used.

Melinda Quintos de Jesus of the Philippines pointed out that the press has been a key player in all the political upheavals in the Philippines since Marcos was deposed, at which point the country reverted to its very high respect for freedom. Her organization publishes a monthly magazine about the media, focusing on what they are doing well and not so well; it is partly about

holding media to their end of the social contract, according to which, on behalf of constitutionally protected freedom of speech, the media should be expected to exercise a certain degree of corporate social responsibility.

In Jordan, Daoud Kuttab pointed out, we are caught in a bind: we oppose heavy-handed government regulation of the media, but we do not want our colleagues engaging in yellow journalism that might be untrue and/or socially disturbing. So we have to figure out how to regulate ourselves voluntarily, which is particularly difficult when there is competition and when there are unethical folks around. In Jordan we have a weekly radio show on which we judge how well the media meet their own standards (codes of ethics and conduct); we found that peer judgment from fellow journalists is much more effective than government criticism.

According to Cathy Cosman of the U.S., the commercial pressures on media can undermine the good journalism we support, sometimes encouraging sensationalizing news (to sell copy) or "dumbing it down" (to appeal to the widest possible audience). News in many countries is now driven by TV; being based on imagery it ends up driving the kind of news that gets conveyed. The increasing use of the Internet provides greater diversity, but also makes it harder to limit expressed points of view to those that are responsible. The media need to promote tolerance, but it is not easy, since it requires respecting someone with whom you totally disagree (as seen in the Danish cartoon controversy).

Observations:

- Pluralism (or diversity) in the media is as important as independence and it may be a more realistic proposition. Responsible journalism results when news bureaus follow their own editorial rules: fairness, check facts, source information, provide balance, etc. Self-monitoring is one important solution.
- Transparency is also as important as independence, and it too may be a more realistic proposition. The amount of power the owner (or the government, if it is the owner) has over the day-to-day editorial policy-making process should be made clear to the consumer. Regulation on this point can be a good thing and hard to abuse. Of course, from an ethical point of view, it is important for the media to separate the business side from the editorial side to prevent business concerns from coloring the journalism.
- On the supply side, media practitioners will always need journalistic as well as thematic training. The media should be strongly encouraged to provide continuing education to staff and must not neglect their stringers (particularly foreign ones) as opposed to the full-timers. Journalism schools should do a better job keeping up with the times, since they seem to be often training students to meet yesterday's challenges. Managers need business training, but they also need to be instilled with a sense of the social mission that society invests in the fourth estate.
- The ability of NGOs, or even of governments, to affect journalistic quality may be declining as news globalizes. This can be both good (opening closed news markets) and bad (if the invading media lowers standards). International media can do a better job if they realize that some of the most interesting debate takes place in local languages and is not always reflected by the debate among the English-language elite; on the other hand, however, local-language versions of international media can dramatically expand the information available to the world's non-English-speaking majority.
- As media diversity grows, people often choose only the media with which they already agree; how can we encourage people to broaden their minds? To combat both this and "if it bleeds, it leads" we need to build media literacy among the public (demand-side work), probably starting with schools. One way to encourage better media behavior is to provide market incentives for good journalism, just as media ownership has been liberalized through tax credits.
- You cannot really work to achieve independent media from inside a dictatorship until the citizens demand it. International pressure on offending governments is an essential element, since dictators are vain and hate criticism. One way to increase the desire for freedom among a population is through education (perhaps via foreign-source media); other factors include increasing wealth, generational change, and increased exposure to new ideas through study tours abroad. Sometimes terminology matters. A seminar on "governance and journalism" is more acceptable than one on investigative journalism; technology training is seemingly innocuous but powerful in reality.
- Elections can be a good opportunity to convince an outgoing administration that more media freedom will result in more scrutiny over the incoming government. Another is working through intergovernmental organizations like UNESCO, which often merely needs its attention drawn to a particular situation and a suggested proposal to act to circumvent governmental limitations on improving journalists' capacity.
- The Internet regularly provides new possibilities, and *Oh My News* in Korea and the role Internet radio played in Jordan in forcing terrestrial broadcast licensing are good examples. Another strategy might be a medium funded at least partly by an endowment (for example, *The Namibian*), thus freeing it from the pressures of government control or pure commercial forces.

Beyond Failed States: Civil Societies in Transition

Organizers:
Afghans for Civil Society – *Afghanistan*
Regroupement des Acteurs Ivoiriens des Droits Humains – *Côte d'Ivoire*
Rights & Democracy – *Canada*
Le groupe de 184 – *Haiti*

Rapporteur:
Maxime Longangue – *Canada*

Presenters:
Rangine Hamadi – *Afghanistan*
Diaby Baba – *Côte d'Ivoire*
Yanick Lahens – *Haiti*

Among other objectives, this workshop offered the opportunity for participants to debate the validity and pertinence of the notion of the "failed state" given the recurrent use of this term by international donors and developed states when categorizing developing countries. For some participants, although useful for pointing to very problematic countries in terms of respect for human rights and democratic principles, the term does not facilitate an understanding of the complexity and diversity of situations or the political and social dynamics occurring in a country. In fact, the notion of a "failed state" may overshadow efforts toward reconstruction or democratization made by internal actors and, perhaps even more, the successes of civil society organizations struggling to operate in particularly difficult situations due to the incapacity of the state to fulfill its basic responsibilities.

Observing that civil society is very vulnerable in "failed state" situations, some participants directed attention not only to the successes of civil society organizations operating in such conditions, but also to some challenges that may result in failures of civil society itself. Specific attention was given to the importance of NGOs remaining absolutely independent and nonpartisan given that their active participation in politics could severely damage their credibility.

The presenters from Afghanistan, Côte d'Ivoire, and Haiti directed the participants' attention to coping mechanisms developed by civil society organizations in countries emerging from conflict and/or relative collapse of the state. Propositions were also formulated on how donors should work with organizations in such countries.

Recommendations to civil society:

The workshop participants identified some common coping mechanisms that civil society organizations might adopt in "failed state" situations:

- Consult people on the ground to gain a full awareness of their priorities, concerns, and opinions on important issues of development or democratic governance; use tools, such as dedicated radios or newspapers, to give marginalized citizens the ability to bring their opinions and concerns to the public sphere and to the attention of political leaders; empower mar-

ginalized citizens by facilitating their participation and interaction with public institutions (i.e., by introducing in the legislative body draft laws that address those citizens' concerns).

- Create coalitions of NGOs or social actors to address security concerns by minimizing the risks they would face as individual persons or NGOs; create broad coalitions to avoid possible appearances of partisanship; favor inclusion; develop consensus among civil society actors and enhance their ability to influence political leaders and institutions.
- The notion of civil society may be very new in a particular country or may be interpreted in different ways by actors inside and outside the civil society; it is thus important to explain the role of civil society and, in particular, to emphasize the distinction between civil society actors and political parties, and to clarify that civil society cannot replace the state.
- Concentrate on strategic actions; be inventive and smart; remain aware of the environment; and keep a sense of humor!

Recommendations to donors:

Knowing that in situations of "failed states" donors often tend to cease all activities in the country, the participants formulated the following recommendations to donors:

- Believe in the capacity of local actors to contribute to the normalization of their own country;
- Conduct exploratory missions to identify reliable local partners;
- When maintaining staff on the ground is impossible, establish focal points with strategic partners to remain abreast of the situation; and
- Support local and/or national coalitions.

Finally, the participants concluded that democracy cannot simply be exported to a country, and that it is important to give voice to the people on the ground. Local actors and international donors should cooperate on projects that aim at this goal.

Developing Strategy and Tactics in Human Rights: Using the Tactical Map Process

Organizers:
Center for Victims of Torture – *U.S.*
Helsinki Citizens Assembly, Turkey

Moderator:
Mariclaire Acosta – *Mexico*

Rapporteur:
Rolly Rosen – *Israel*

Presenters:
Douglas Johnson – *U.S.*
Ozlem Dalkiran – *Turkey*
Nancy Pearson – *U.S.*

The workshop included 21 participants from diverse countries, including Belgium, Colombia, Israel, Jordan, Pakistan, Romania, Tunisia, Turkey, and the U.S.

Since the 1970s, human rights organizations have been using three main tactics in their efforts to stop human rights violations in general, and torture in particular:

- Setting standards (international conventions, legislation etc.);
- Monitoring the implementation of those standards; and
- "Naming and shaming" the violators.

In spite of huge efforts, however, torture still continues to flourish, so the question is, why does it continue to persist? The "tactical map" (http://www.newtactics.org/file.php?ID=1227) is a visual way to present the different social relationships that enable a certain social phenomena (such as torture) to happen. It therefore suggests many possibilities for intervention, using different tactics or "touching" different players in different ways. "Pull tactics" (positive rewards) should be used along side "push tactics" (exposing and shaming). The map can be a useful tool for building coordinated action among different organizations using different intervention tactics.

In addition, it would be useful if funders did not create an atmosphere of competition among organizations, but encouraged joint efforts to create a big picture and coordinate interventions instead. This would enable each organization to continue doing what they do best, while creating a deeper, joint understanding of the wider context, resulting in increased chances that complex systems will be influenced successfully.

For example, in Turkey, a process is currently underway through which NGOs, government officials, professional associations, and others are trying to draw a tactical map, and develop an action plan based upon it, aimed at the goal of ending torture in that country. It is an extensive effort based on participatory principles, and the results will be published and open to the public.

The map can also be useful in authoritarian or dictatorial countries, even though it seems that local actors have less means of influence. Still, it is relevant to ask what the rulers' bases of power are and how they can be undermined (including using outside pressure).

Using new tactics may also help mobilize new partners interested in tactics they have not used before.

Justice, Pluralism, and Participation

Plenary Session on "Empowering Women to Fulfill their Roles in a Democratic Society"

Organizer:
Women's Learning Partnership for Rights, Development, and Peace – *U.S.*

Moderator:
Asma Khader – *Jordan*

Rapporteur:
Anne Mugisha – *Uganda*

Presenters:
Mahnaz Afkhami – *Iran (U.S.-based)*
Larry Diamond – *U.S.*
Mariclaire Acosta – *Mexico*
Miria Matembe – *Uganda*

The session opened with an invitation to the participants to reflect on women's participation in public life. Asma Khader remarked that women are central to democratic development and that they require real power and effective participation to move the democracy agenda forward. Yet world statistics indicate that women are still a minority in national legislatures with percentages as low as six percent in the Middle East. She argued that democratic principles should extend not only to the public sphere, but also to the private sphere and the daily life of all women. Women are the driving force for change in society, and when they are elected to decision-making positions directly or through affirmative action, and in large numbers, they will cause positive change to happen. The need to ensure that women who take up public office are empowered to represent other women by promoting gender sensitive policies and elimination of discrimination against women was also emphasized. While having more women in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government is good for shattering stereotypes of gender roles, Asma Khader argued, there is a need to ensure that in these positions they represent women's needs.

Miria Matembe, a Ugandan parliamentarian and former cabinet minister who serves in the Pan Africa Parliament, shared her experience as an African woman politician and legislator for the past 18 years. She explained how her roots as a women's rights activist had prepared her for a political career that has spanned

nearly two decades. She stated that inequality and discrimination against women was evident in the political arena where some male counterparts felt threatened by women politicians who did not conform to stereotypes of submissiveness. Ms. Matembe said she was able to meet the challenges of her role because she had a clear mission and goal for gender equality and empowerment. She is proud of her achievements during her political career, which included drafting and passing a gender-sensitive constitution for Uganda in the mid-'90s, but she regretted the inability to translate the constitutional provisions into laws that promote and protect the rights of women in spite of her unwavering fight in Parliament. She attributed this failure to a lack of political will on the part of the government and the failure of women who benefited from a quota system to stand up for women's rights when they became legislators.

In his remarks, Larry Diamond emphasized the importance of having a significant proportion of women in parliaments and that women legislators be empowered to work independently by representing their constituents' interests rather than those of party leaders. He said it was crucial to design electoral systems so that they facilitate and guarantee the election of a minimum percentage of women, and that a critical mass of women is needed at all levels of governance, from local to national. He argued that women will be empowered to work for other women if they are chosen by their constituents rather than by male party leaders. He also observed that women get elected in bigger numbers in proportional representation systems. He referred to a study by Harvard scholar Pippa Norris that shows that in majority election systems women MPs hold 8.5 percent of parliamentary seats on average, while in proportional representation systems they hold 15.4 percent. Dr. Diamond also highlighted the importance of designing party lists of leaders to ensure that women are fairly represented, and argued that open or partially open lists allow voters to choose women candidates in party elections. He also spoke about the importance of raising consciousness and confidence among women, as well as political training and assistance as essential elements in increasing women's political participation.

Mariclaire Acosta addressed the issue of raising women's voices and concerns effectively. She presented a case study of the women of Ciudad Juarez, a Mexican town on the Mexican/U.S. border in which over 300 young women were violently murdered. One hundred of the women had been sexually violated in serial murders, but the crimes were not given serious attention by the police or the government for a decade. The victims were assumed to be involved in prostitution and the murderers went free because of prejudices in the community against women who were economically empowered by an industrial boom in the city in the 1990s. Ms. Acosta discussed the strategies that women's groups and civil society used to mobilize action to end such impunity. In 1993, the groups engaged in public mobilization, but were ignored by elected officials for nearly five years. The human rights community picked up on the initiative and took it first to the ombudsman, and in 2000 the case was raised at the United Nations and attracted international attention. In 2002, the issue was mainstreamed by a coalition of civil society groups and allies in government as a human rights issue. A national commission was appointed and the issue became a rallying point for activists and the families of the murdered women. The report from the investigation described most of the deaths as domestic violence crimes, however, thus reducing their significance as human rights violations. Therefore, the root causes of the problem were never addressed by the investigation.

Mahnaz Afkhami addressed women's democratic participation from the perspective of culture. She observed that women's status around the world has its roots in history, not culture, and historically the role and status assigned to women have been remarkably similar until relatively recently; nowhere in the world could women choose to work in education, train for a job, get a job, get paid equally, marry, have children, get a divorce, own property, or travel of their own free choice. Until the end of the 19th Century, nowhere in the world did women have the right to vote or hold elected office. From China to Ecuador, patriarchy was the basic foundational structure for human relationships, and that structure was based on the idea that men and women are different by nature and that women must therefore play roles that are complementary to men. Given this assumption of unequal and complementary gender roles, the system was quite rational and based logically on the division of roles. The patriarchal structure was reinforced by religion, myth, literature, and political and economic institutions. According to Ms. Afkhami, therefore, to bring about full and equal participation of women, in all decision making affecting their lives and the lives of their communities and societies, requires a complex and multifaceted reworking of all aspects, socio-political, economic, and cultural. She argued that over time scientific progress has reshaped roles of individuals, families, and communities, and a new, equally rational, system must be designed to address economic and political matters so that it is responsive to community needs. Societies need to develop a shared vision in the struggle for change, applying the best minds in all fields, and this requires partnerships across various organizations concerned with social justice issues. Ms. Afkhami stated that the task is possible because modern information technologies make communication easier and networking is therefore possible to build solidarity and work for change. There is also a new consciousness that women should be involved in decision making, and the struggle for change is also facilitated by the involvement of scholars and activists working together.

Recommendations:

- Civil society provides a solid base for nurturing women political leaders.
- Women leaders must be equipped with knowledge to take up the challenges of political leadership and decision making.
- Affirmative action and quotas for women leaders is important, but they should be designed to empower women to act independently of male political leaders.
- Women leaders should have clearly defined missions and goals.
- Electoral systems can and should be designed to promote women's effective participation at all levels.
- Open party primary elections enable more women to participate as party candidates and mobilize women to support authentic voices.
- Proportional representation with open or partially open lists and moderately sized electoral districts give women a better chance of participation.
- Innovation of systems like the "single transferable vote" in Ireland support women's participation.
- Women need training and resources to participate meaningfully.
- Women's rights are human rights, and they must be guaranteed and protected for women to be contributors to development in their societies. Justice systems should be overhauled to end impunity in cases of violation of women's rights.
- Governments should be mobilized to provide real solutions to women's problems, rather than leaving them to the market to solve; this can be done through the provision of social security nets to address some of the root causes for violence against women.
- Women's issues are issues of the whole society; they are broad and deep and concern matters of justice, development, class, globalization, institutional development, culture, human rights, equity, and equality.
- Scientific progress has reshaped the roles of individuals, families, and communities, and an equally rational social justice system should be designed for progressive economic and political change. This requires the best minds in all fields of human endeavor.
- There is a new consciousness of the need for women's participation in the private and public spheres, and change can be mobilized by scholars and activists working together.

Panel Discussion on "Perspectives on Democratization in Turkey"

Organizers:
Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV)
Helsinki Citizens Assembly, Turkey

Moderator:
Etyen Mahçupyan – *Turkey*

Rapporteur:
Derya Demirler – *Turkey*

Presenters:
Selma Acuner – *Turkey*
Ayhan Bilgen – *Turkey*
Ümit Cizre – *Turkey*
Murat Çelikkan – *Turkey*
Arus Yumul – *Turkey*
Bettina Luise Ruerup – *Germany*
Michel Nawfal – *Lebanon*

This panel discussion began with a short evaluation by Etyen Mahçupyan of trends in the conceptualization of democracy in Turkey. His main theme was that the very existence of different ways of understanding democracy in Turkey contrasts with a narrow approach that focuses only on voting, since a more comprehensive understanding includes the redefinition of identity and embraces human rights.

The panel presenters included experts on different problem areas of democratization in Turkey, such as women's issues, human rights, the security sector, and minorities, as well as two speakers from outside Turkey who presented their views on the Turkish experience in democratization.

Selma Acuner spoke about the women's movement and its relations with the state. As she presented the status of women in Turkey, many challenges emerged that must be met to mainstream the gender perspective in Turkey. She emphasized that while the government took significant steps towards fulfilling the Copenhagen criteria by enacting a series of reforms, the democratization process will only be able to survive if the reforms are realized and the involvement of civil society in democratization efforts is encouraged. The women's movement in Turkey illustrates one of the good practices of civil society involvement, particularly concerning the law-making, and EU-accession processes. During the process of reforming the Civil and Penal Codes, the women's movement achieved a voice for their demands, but, in addition to other matters, such as violence against women, poverty, illiteracy, inadequate access to health services, etc., the fulfillment of those demands will take a long time and will thus remain on the women's movement agenda. Although the women's movement demonstrated involve-

ment of civil society in the democratization process, the response of the state is far from meeting the needs and demands of women.

Ayhan Bilgen criticized the democratization process in Turkey, and called the result "so-called" democracy. He claimed that threat perception has served as the framework for the democratization vision, and that there are many structural problems inhibiting the process. As recent incidents in Diyarbakir and Batman in southeastern Turkey and the case of Şemdinli, in which a bombing incident reportedly demonstrated the involvement of the state apparatus in violent incidents, have vividly demonstrated, a disconcerting atmosphere of fear, distrust, and despair remains. Exactly who is perceived to be a threat is constantly changing, sometimes being Muslims (which is publicly visible in the headscarf controversy), sometimes being Kurds, and sometimes being non-Muslim minorities. He identified the threat perception framework as the main obstacle to the consolidation of democracy in Turkey.

Ümit Cizre identified the mother of all problems concerning democratization in Turkey as the role of the military in politics. According to Mr. Cizre, the military in Turkey sees itself as the main establishment responsible for protecting the regime. The role of the military in determining the political agenda has been weakened by the processes of reform and EU accession, but there are many things that need to be done for consolidation of democracy to be successful. The most important steps are to guarantee accountability and transparency. The media and Parliament have the potential of being the leading entities for facilitating the process for normalizing civil-military relations.

Arus Yumul began her presentation with a critique of the entrenched understanding of the nation-state. The foundation of the Turkish Republic rests on efforts to homogenize the people and create the nation, but efforts to create a homogenous nation have led to discriminatory behaviors towards non-Muslim and Muslim minorities. According to Ms. Yumul, the alternative way to pursue democratization in Turkey should be based upon a comprehensive understanding of the idea and practices of citizenship.

The two speakers from outside Turkey, Bettina Luise-Ruerap and Michel Nawal, emphasized the experience of democratization in Turkey as a good example of civil society involvement in law- and policy-making processes. As Mr. Nawal said, the EU-accession process has contributed to democratization in Turkey, and has helped make the country an example for transitional countries in the Middle East.

Topical Workshops

How to Incorporate Minorities and Indigenous Peoples in Multi-Ethnic, Religiously Diverse Societies?

Organizers:
Centre for Organization Research and Education – *India*

Moderator:
Anna Pinto – *India*

Rapporteur:
Julie Anne Boudreaux – *Poland*

Presenters:
Liljana Popovska – *Macedonia*
Raul Gangotena – *Ecuador*
Mahmut Ortakaya – *Turkey*
Laith Kubba – *Iraq*

A working definition of "minority" was agreed upon for the purposes of discussion: "A minority is any group that is excluded." It is thus not just a matter of numbers. The discussion began with the recognition that minorities can strengthen a democracy and consideration of the ways in which they can do so.

Key issues:

- The example of working with women and the disabled in Macedonia shows that there are many benefits to working together on issues of importance across ethnic and religious divisions, including being able to attain a critical mass when pressing on an issue. Including all the minority groups of a country in an issue campaign increases democracy because all groups are incorporated in the movement, thereby strengthening the civic capacity of the society and increasing the cohesion of the country; one works as a citizen, not as a member of a particular ethnic group. It is important to take a step-by-step approach, making allies, not enemies.
- One framework for indigenous inclusion that has worked well in Ecuador takes a hierarchical approach. Indigenous groups first strive for political equality (full participation, representation in important decision-making institutions, influence on power and adoption of public policies that address appropriate concerns). This political equality is a prerequisite for social-economic parity. But this approach was questioned by a participant from Iraq who emphasized the possibility of a parallel approach; perhaps a

group need not achieve all earlier stages of inclusion in order to achieve a higher one. There is also the possibility of reversal (that is, the danger of slipping back). Part of the strategy adopted by the indigenous of Ecuador involved the creation of indigenous corporations of their own to give them economic parity.

• Social inclusion requires a degree of maturity on the part of the dominant group and awareness on the part of the excluded group of its own responsibilities and duties. Inclusion is thus a two-sided matter and may require concessions on both sides in the areas of rights, assets, opportunities, and access. This was highlighted in the Ecuador case and reiterated in the case of Kurds in Turkey.

• The non-violent approach has been effective in Ecuador where indigenous people have undertaken a peaceful movement that in turn reduced discrimination. This strategy of non-violence, while an aim of the Kurdish movement, has been less successful in Turkey and neighboring states where democracy has surrendered to arms as a result of forced integration.

• A broad band of society needs to be involved in minority-rights movements. Responsibility lies on both sides, with each having an obligation to become civically involved.

• The Iraqi presenter pointed out how special interest groups operated, acting in reactive rather than proactive modes. A successful strategy mandated the creation of shared space. NGOs should be inclusive, rather than exclusive, and should put function above identity and integration above segregation. For example, a center in London providing services for women of various backgrounds emphasized their needs, not their ethnic identities, and thus reduced their isolation. There is much energy in marginalized groups that can drive NGOs. One can begin with needs, but should end with support for democracy and its open space.

• Affirmative action and quotas for ethnic minorities was a controversial subject. The discussion looked at how a quota system can be used to increase political participation. On the one hand, it is an initial step that stimulates participation, but on the other hand, it can also be used to reinforce differences. It can certainly serve as a temporary instrument or tool whose usefulness depends on each country, case, and subject. Sometimes it can be used to force inclusion, but does mere physical inclusion actually translate into true representation of a discriminated group? And is this really effective? One opinion is that it worked well for women's issues and is quite transferable to the situation of minorities. Quotas make change happen more quickly, and such a "corrective action arrangement" has worked well, for instance, in South Africa.

• Federalism was also suggested as a possible way of addressing the needs and rights of minorities. The concept of democratic federalism and the various forms it might take were discussed (including the examples of India, South Africa, Iraq, and Turkey). There was no consensus on this strategy, since it does not effectively address the issue of very small minorities, and there is a need to find effective means of giving them a voice; even the smallest groups must be recognized in a democracy. How can one give their interests a hearing without being reduced to "tokenism"?

In conclusion, the participants agreed that in a democracy diversity is the rule not the exception. No matter how small, minorities do not speak with one voice any more than a majority speaks with one voice. A way must be found for all voices to be heard, while at the same time there must be a realistic functional process. We thus need a system that is effective and fair, even if not perfect. The discussion must be anchored in realism.

From left to right, the Mayor of Istanbul, Kadir Topbaş, Can Paker, chairman of TESEV, and Carl Gershman, president of NED (secretariat of the World Movement), at the Cultural Evening and Dinner for participants hosted by the Mayor.

Civic Experiences in Post-Conflict Reconciliation

Organizers:
Helsinki Citizens Assembly, Turkey
African Democracy Forum

Moderator:
Ayo Obe – *Nigeria*

Rapporteur:
Can Sezer – *Turkey*

Presenters:
Christophe Solioz – *Switzerland*
Ayse Betul Celik – *Turkey*
Alexandra Nerisanu – *Romania*
Dismas Kitenge – *Democratic Republic of Congo*

This workshop focused on sharing the post-conflict experiences of civic initiatives in different localities, ranging from region-wide conflict in the Balkans to country-level conflict in Turkey, to the post-civil war experience in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The presentations and discussion revealed both the unique circumstances of each post-conflict situation and the common need to find a more or less unified, coherent methodology for achieving reconciliation in such situations.

Having worked extensively on former-Yugoslavian countries over the past 15 years, Christophe Solioz questioned the compatibility of international NGOs and local civil society initiatives. These two kinds of initiatives, while often bearing fruit, do not necessarily complement each other. International NGOs, which usually pursue a methodology of building governmental capabilities, simply cannot address the need for region-wide post-conflict reconciliation, which can only begin when the process takes account of the continuity of problems (that is, both pre- and post-conflict). What has been missing from region-wide reconciliation processes in the former Yugoslavia and other conflict zones is developing local ownership of the issues and regional partnerships in reconciliation efforts. Without ensuring sustained local ownership, outside help cannot sustain a local civil society.

Ayse Betul Celik presented the Kurdish question in terms of a post-conflict environment; while analytical work on the issue of conflict resolution strictly separates conflict and post-conflict environments, the transition from violence to peace has not been clear cut. Classified as post-conflict, the Kurdish problem has frequently turned into a cycle of peace and escalating violence. As in other conflict zones, issues specific to the Kurdish question have perpetuated the escalation of violence, but the major issue has to do with parliamentary representation. With a threshold of 10 percent of the national vote to attain representation, thus limiting the representation of Kurds, the issues of the conflict cannot be sufficiently taken up at the parliamentary level. However, without a "personal voice" at the local level, even such parliamentary representation cannot by itself address the fundamental problem.

Alexandra Nerisanu focused on common issues and reconciliation methods with specific reference to East Timor. Among the three leading tenets of reconciliation was an integrated strategy with top-down and bottom-up initiatives. Another was the local ownership of the causes of conflict; both the victims and the perpetrators should voice their experiences because they are the ones who have the most accurate knowledge of the causes of conflict. The third tenet is addressing the root causes of the conflict, which introduces the time element and thus a more holistic portrayal of it; how far back into history should the reconciliation process delve to address the injustice? In the case of East Timor, the time element could cover injustices from the Indonesian occupation to Portugese colonialism.

Dismas Kitenge shared the experience of the truth and reconciliation commission following the five-year war in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The goal of the commission was to bring all sides in the conflict to the discussion table. However, the discussion was constrained because the transition authority formed in Congo rested on vesting political authority in the warlords of the conflict themselves. The problematic issue of bringing both perpetrators and victims to the table was one of the most thoroughly discussed issues in the workshop.

Challenges and Recommendations:

Among the questions for discussion was, how many limited resources can a transitional government expend on the rehabilitation of victims and combatants from a conflict? This is an especially crucial problem in environments where both combatants and victims return to the same communities. It was agreed that international tribunals are too expensive and time consuming and do not serve the immediate needs of victims, be they rape victims or peasants returning to their fields, who try to adjust back into normal routines. Considering the scarcity of resources, the primary expense should be rehabilitation.

A question emerged as to how to manage "spoilers" (i.e., perpetrators who may have joined a high echelon of government bureaucracy), while bringing both the victims and the perpetrators to the discussion table? This, for instance, was one of the primary issues faced by the truth and reconciliation commission in Congo. Addressing this question requires listening to people, especially victims; the dialogue between a mediator and victims usually indicates who to include and exclude from the table.

Another question arose from thinking about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the mistrust it entails. Given the high level of mistrust, the two sides do not consider a dialogue, but depend on unilateral moves and withdrawals, actions that are perpetrated without dialogue. Though constrained by mistrust, however, such dialogue might be initiated by those willing to take part and contribute until that mistrust is overcome.

Finally, the workshop participants discussed the problem of local ownership and the potential (thus far generally unrealized) of civil society organizations (CSOs) as region-wide actors in post-conflict reconciliation, as opposed to national actors. Such CSOs possess the advantage of being able to work across different spheres of activity, binding together both the social and the political. If the expertise and knowledge of international NGOs could be transferred to local grassroots NGOs, the latter might facilitate local ownership, which could further the development of local civil society.

Political Engagement of Youth: What Works?

Organizers:
World Youth Movement for Democracy

Moderator:
Ryota Jonen – *Japan*

Rapporteur:
Andrea des Marais – *U.S.*

Presenters:
Serdar Degirmencioglu – *Turkey*
Andrey Yurov – *Russia*
Polina Konovalova – *Ukraine*

This workshop examined the major challenges faced in bringing youth into democracy and human rights movements and instilling democratic values in the next generation. It considered new methodologies for engaging youth more effectively.

Challenges:

- **Lack of democratic spaces and experiences** – Even when a country's schools include the concepts of democracy in their curricula, young people rarely, if ever, experience democracy. Many modern cities, in which increasingly large percentages of populations are concentrated, lack true public spaces where diverse young people can gather and exchange ideas. Many societies have lost the traditional spaces and structures in which young people used to interact with each other and with community leaders, developing their sense of community and social responsibility. Furthermore, most of the institutions that children experience, such as school and family, are not democratic. Standard education in most countries focuses more on technical skills than critical thought. Exclusion has made many youth into consumers of pop culture, goods, and ideas rather than producers, that is, into objects rather than subjects.

- **Aversion to "politics"** – For a variety of reasons, many young people reject politics and activism. Many prioritize financial security and/or personal gain over social or civic responsibility. Some young people do participate in activism or student government, yet do so to develop their own careers rather than to improve their communities. Other young people do not participate in activism at all because it does not offer the promise of high salaries or prestige and might even result in blacklisting or exclusion from government positions. The very word "politics" is dirty in some countries, as it is strongly associated with corruption and deception. In many countries, violent secessionist or extremist groups, corrupt governments, or the military offer more money, power, and privilege to young people than do peace and democracy movements.

- **Generational divide** – Irrationality, short-sightedness, naiveté, and political apathy, traits intensified by political exclusion, are frequently seen as natural characteristics of youth. This perception leaves many older activists and professionals unwilling to work closely with young people, and those who do often see the relationship as one-way: teaching values to youth rather than engaging in dialogue. Such attitudes are a major barrier to the sustainability of democracy movements; the younger generation very much needs the wisdom and mentorship of experienced activists to develop their own skills and consciousness, and established activists need the fresh perspectives of youth to adapt their movements to new realities.

- **Social divisions** – Though it is often easier to access and organize children and youth enrolled in formal education, it is crucial to reach out to those outside of these institutions as well. Socially and economically excluded youth can be a great obstacle or great asset in citizen movements, depending on their opportunities and incentives.

Recommended Methodologies:

Working with young people requires focus on the paradigms of today's youth. Experienced activists cannot expect the younger generation to be motivated by the same concerns that motivated them when they were young, or see the priorities and meaning of political

action in the same way. The workshop explored ways to create spaces and incentives for youth to set their own priorities and develop their own agency.

Serdar Degirmencioglu of Turkey presented the Public Achievement model used in his work, which builds civil consciousness in young people by stimulating them to draw connections between their personal concerns and larger issues in their countries and set their own priorities for taking action. It then provides them with the skills and opportunity to design and execute their own community service projects:

- Youth participants identify real-life issues and concerns that are important to them.
- Volunteers form teams around the selected issues.
- With guidance from a college student or adult coach, the teams meet regularly to design non-violent, legal projects towards a common good.
- The coach facilitates the group dynamic and helps the young people develop the social and public skills they need to implement their project.
- The teams execute their projects.

Other participants described similar projects that empower youth and develop their civic consciousness by stimulating discussion on the linkages between personal and public concerns, encouraging youth to identify issues important to them, and providing opportunities for young people to take action on the issues that they determine to be important.

In addition to building skills for political action, group work among diverse young people can stimulate their concern for the problems of others, respect for diverse opinions, and ability to find common ground – necessary skills for the citizens of functional democracies. Such solidarity may be built more easily at the local level, where common ground is more obvious.

Such methodologies are useful even with younger children who might not yet have the capacity to understand abstract concepts such as human rights, but can internalize democratic values by practicing them. Some participants also noted that such programs teach young people to be politically active without "politics," which can be useful where participation in politics is unpopular. However, others noted that extremist movements are very successful in recruiting young people for explicitly political aims, and peace movements should not be afraid of being political. The real trick is to provide the proper skills, knowledge, and incentives for young people to use democratic means to achieve their goals.

Suggested Activities:

- Contests (essays, flash animation, art, etc.) attract youth with the promise of a prize and recognition, while stimulating them to reflect on democracy issues. The contest entries, designed by youth, may be more engaging for other youth than adult-designed materials.
- Community service—when voluntary, not forced—develops concepts of civic responsibility and community engagement, particularly among younger children.
- Developing groups of young professionals to combine career development assistance with broader discussions of the role of young people as members of society.
- Youth parliaments give young people space to debate policy and opportunities to directly engage with official parliaments.
- Democracy fairs can provide young people with opportunities to express their feelings about issues and rights through dance, art, poetry, or other diverse forms.

Barriers and Breakthroughs: Using Technology to Empower Women's Participation

Organizers:
Kabissa - Space for Change in Africa – *U.S.*
Women's Learning Partnership – *U.S.*

Moderators:
Rakhee Goyal – *U.S.*
Liz Trautman – *U.S.*

Rapporteur:
Liz Trautman – *U.S.*

Presenters:
Lina Quorah – *Jordan*
Sakena Yacoobi – *Afghanistan*
Sindi Medar Gould – *Nigeria*
Amina Lemrini – *Morocco*

Challenges:

Access to technology entails far more than just having technological equipment or tools; real access depends on a variety of factors to ensure people are truly able to use technology effectively to improve their lives. Any technology strategy or initiative must address questions of cost, availability of local and relevant content, capacity to use technology, and socio-cultural factors, among others.

However, women face additional challenges in gaining real access to technology:

- They have less disposable income and are thus less able to afford the relatively high cost of technology tools.

- Most Internet content is not created by or for women, and is often not available in local languages.
- Women are too often excluded around the world from formal education, including formal computer education and training.
- Many technology training workshops do not consider the needs of women who are single heads of households or who cannot take time off work to attend them.
- Finding electronic content in local languages is challenging, particularly when non-Roman characters are used in writing. To create a Web site of Arabic resources for women in Jordan, for example, developers struggled to find technology tools that supported Arabic script, and had to begin by "Arabizing" software to read right to left. (There are now more software options available in local languages and characters, making Web content more accessible to women.)

These are just a few of the barriers women face in accessing technology, but women's organizations around the world are finding creative solutions to improve access and empower women.

Observations:

- In **Afghanistan**, women's centers are being set up in provinces across the country to provide safe spaces where women and girls can access computers, the Internet, and receive training. This enables them to find better paying jobs, instills confidence, and creates a network of women with shared experiences. In addition, women can stay in contact with their families around the world who help support them through remittances. E-mail networking was an important factor in mobilizing women to vote in the recent elections.
- E-mail facilitates solidarity among experts across borders, enabling information sharing on important or urgent campaigns. For example, in **Liberia**, during the elections, cell phones played a critical role in helping the Minister of Women's Affairs access e-mail: whenever the electricity generator failed, she would call partners in Nigeria who accessed her important e-mails and read them to her.
- "Technology" does not only mean the Internet and computer technology; in **Nigeria**, women record cassette tapes with information about important gender issues and meet up to listen to them.
- In the **Middle East**, women were hungry for computer training and skills, yet couldn't easily travel to trainings because of a variety of restrictions. Distance learning courses provided a solution for one group of Middle Eastern women. Such courses are provided online and via e-mail, with regular assignments, deadlines, and group discussions.

Recommendations:

The workshop participants shared technology strategies and solutions for supporting women in democracy work, particularly in campaigns to promote women's political participation. They devised culturally-appropriate technology solutions, which include:

- Develop a campaign song and popularize it through the radio, make it a ring tone for cell phones, and sing it at support rallies.
- Record campaign messages onto cassette tapes, play them on public transportation, and distribute them widely in rural areas where radios and cassette players are widely available.
- Record messages from national celebrities and make them available on a Web site, through podcasts, and as voicemail messages.
- Print symbols and candidates photos on flyers for distribution to illiterate populations.
- Raise funds nationally and from diasporas through donation links on campaign Web sites.
- Develop a simple campaign message that can be shared through an e-mail network of friends, families, and supporters and posted as campaign banners and "pop-up" windows on other Web sites.
- Print and distribute posters with campaign messages, Web site and e-mail addresses, and toll-free telephone numbers ("hotlines") so supporters can share their views with candidates.
- Use mobile drama performances and cinema to reach youth and illiterate populations.

Outcomes:

Two of the workshop participants planned to employ these strategies in their campaigns. In Haiti, the second round of legislative elections was to take place less than three weeks after the Istanbul Assembly. The participants' organization, which was seeking to have 16 women elected to the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, had focused the ICT strategy of their campaign on developing a Web site that was incomplete for lack of resources. After the workshop, the organization planned to use several of the solutions recommended above to raise the profile of women candidates both in Haiti and in the diaspora.

In Kenya, another participant's organization is working to raise awareness of women candidates for a parliamentary election using a three-pronged media approach: candidate profiles will be available on television, radio, and a Web site.

The Role of Decentralization and Local Governance in Democratic Consolidation

Organizers:
Global Network on Local Governance
Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV) – *Turkey*

Moderator:
George Mathew – *India*

Rapporteurs:
Meltem Aslan – *Turkey*
Ash Narain Roy – *India*

Presenters:
Ruben Fernandez – *Colombia*
Rama Naidu – *South Africa*
Fikret Toksoz – *Turkey*

A diverse group of some 40 people representing more than 20 countries expressed equal degrees of skepticism and confidence about the virtues of decentralization and local governance for democratic consolidation. Despite the diverse views, there was a shared level of enthusiasm about the issue and a keen interest in learning from each other's experiences.

After brief introductions, the moderator provided an overall framework by emphasizing the idea that decentralization means giving power to the people. In this context, decentralization is not delegating power that can later be withdrawn, but real, permanent devolution of power. He framed the central question as whether the people (all people everywhere, even in remote areas) have power.

The three workshop presenters shared their experience with decentralization emphasizing the significance of establishing a normative framework upfront: legal and constitutional reforms setting up the political and administrative mechanisms that allow for participation is the first important step. In each country such reforms may have been driven by different internal and external forces, which inevitably lead to emphasis on different aspects of decentralization. Given South Africa's context of having emerged from apartheid, for example, the need to untangle the web of a racist regime led to the establishment of three very distinct levels of government: national, provincial and local. Each level has its distinct set of powers thus leaving no ambivalence about the role of local government. Public participation and hearing the voices of the people was a top priority. The roles of government on different levels are not as clearly defined in every country and this poses one of the major challenges.

In Turkey, powers were delegated to the local authorities at different points in history only to be gradually taken back. Recent reforms therefore emphasize the need to make local governments share power with the people and empower the people to be active participants in the decentralization process. The challenge in Turkey is how to overcome years of repressive attitudes toward civil society organizations and get them to truly participate in meaningful ways.

Perhaps there was too much expectation from the decentralization process in Colombia, especially in the area of alleviating poverty. In fact, the poverty level is still around 60 percent, and the unmet expectations to reduce poverty through decentralization have led to frustration about the whole process. Decentralization cannot solve the problem of poverty by itself.

Challenges:

- It is almost impossible to delineate clearly the areas of responsibility among levels of government. The central state finds it very hard to delineate the powers of the municipalities.
- Systems can sometimes create forgotten areas. Many municipalities may not be financially viable enough to deliver necessary services to citizens.
- Local government entities face the threat of capture by illegal armed groups; i.e., what if the devolved power goes to the wrong people?
- There is often a lack of enough participation by women.
- There is often a lack of capacity and skills.
- Marginal groups have often been excluded, and there has not been enough space for indigenous people.
- Sometimes there is subversion of the process of public participation because while constitutions lay out the mechanisms, they often remain only on paper. People often do not have access to information enabling them to participate, and they thus feel disempowered.
- Local leaders are usually associated with a political party, which often creates an issue of trust (or lack thereof) and prevents broad-based participation.

Many of the above challenges can be summed up in the "5F" framework that the moderator introduced during the session:

- **Functions** – Are enough functions provided? Are the functions fundamental, effective, and important?
- **Funds** – Are enough funds provided? How much tax revenue can be collected locally? Is there a budget from the next higher level of government?
- **Functionaries** – Are there enough people to implement decentralization?
- **Freedom** – Are local governments given enough

authority or is everything directed from above?

• **Follow-up** – Are the efforts continuous? Is there follow-up to monitor implementation?

Recommendations:

• In devolving power, the community itself must be involved in establishing its priorities. Outside consultants create unrealistic expectations.

• There must be genuine political will to devolve power.

• A clear delineation of roles and responsibilities among different levels (i.e. central, provincial, local) is needed. These have to be written into the constitution.

• A normative framework has to be established upfront. A "body" must be created to serve as a formal mechanism for participation.

• Civil society must create space for creativity and diversity. The role of civil society is to open up public space, but once voices are heard, the people want to see things happen—schools being built, health centers being opened, etc.

• There is no "waiting period" or "preparation stage" for decentralization. One must take the plunge and learn how to swim.

• For local governments to be truly effective the center has to change its attitude about tutelage and shift to partnership and a true sharing of power.

• Communities have to be given information that is relevant and meaningful to the people.

• When outside experts arrive, there has to be a clearly written transfer of skills and a clear way of passing on what has been learned.

• Cooperation among local governments is also critical. They have to find ways and means to cooperate on service delivery.

• Civil society has to get beyond criticism and protest and become a real partner with local government.

• Participatory structures that are close to the interests of the people need to be built.

• Inclusion of excluded communities (minorities, indigenous people, etc.) in decision making is critical.

• Inclusion of women is critical. In some cases (for example, in Ecuador), women have proven to be more trustworthy in councils. Quotas are one way of ensuring women's participation. A conference should be held specifically on women and local governance.

During the decentralization process, which can take years and is full of challenges, there is also a tendency by the center to revert to old ways and take back the powers that have been given to local government and the people. So a central question becomes how to make sure such powers are not, in fact, taken back? There is no easy answer, but the moderator drew the participants' attention to the point that the people have to claim their right to decentralization. They have to fight for it through unions, associations, active participation, etc. The road to decentralization that will empower the people should be a rights-based approach.

Women and the Challenge of Democratic Transition

Organizer:
International Republican Institute (IRI) – *U.S.*

Moderator:
Judy Van Rest – *U.S.*

Rapporteur:
Christopher Sands – *U.S.*

Presenters:
Sabah Chraibi-Bennouna – *Morocco*
Cyd Ho – *China*
Oksana Holovach – *Ukraine*
Winifred Masiko – *Uganda*
Narmin Othman – *Iraq*
Lenka Surotchak – *Slovakia*

Challenges:

There are particular challenges for women in democratic transitions. There is the problem of skills not-yet-acquired by women who are confronted with the opportunities and challenges that come with democracy. There is also the problem, however, that some men see the rise of women in politics and civil society as a manifestation of discomfiting change and see women as threatening rather than as partners. Just as important, talented women face the same challenges as men in learning to make democracy work, and these challenges need to be addressed by men and women together: weak infrastructure, underdeveloped institutions, and the lure of opportunities outside politics.

Recommendations:

• **Women must have training to master new roles.** Women elected to office need support to learn their roles: how to be effective in the legislature; how to be effective in constituent services; and how to be effective in building coalitions of support within parties and bridging to civil society. Parties often lack the resources to provide training in these areas, and institutions do too little to orient new office holders to their jobs. NGOs can help fill this gap by providing training with special emphasis on helping women to overcome the experiential knowledge gap with male office holders who know the system better. However, this is at best a temporary solution; parties need assistance during democratic transitions to develop an internal, self-sustaining training capability to assist men and women to master these skills.

In addition, voter education for women should be a priority in democratic transitions. The goal of such education must be more than just to encourage participation, but to teach women about citizen rights and responsibilities as well.

• **Women must succeed in the economy as well as in politics.** The role of women in the economy is critical. In some places (for example, Hong Kong, Ukraine), the civil service has been willing to adopt gender provisions, and this has created economic opportunities for women, as well as opportunities for visible public leadership. Large firms should thus be pressured to have women on their boards of directors and in senior management; yet small- and medium-sized enterprises remain the main entry point for women in the economy, and entrepreneurial skills are critical for all members of society. Women should be included in the effort to provide business education.

Literacy was raised in the workshop discussion as a critical problem impeding women's participation in politics and the economy. Education reforms to ensure women have this most basic skill—to reduce any gaps in the quality of education for boys and girls—is therefore vital. In addition, where education has improved for today's students, the generation of women who did not have educational opportunities merits special outreach from parties, candidates, and governments. It was suggested that radio can serve as a crucial information resource for such women in some societies, and civic education via radio and television may be an effective response. Computer literacy is just as important in today's world, and for business or political life basic computer skills should be taught to students and older women. Access to the Internet is also of great importance, but the skills in using it once access has been gained should be developed on a parallel track. This is something that NGOs in particular should take care to build into the design of training curricula for women.

• **Quotas can work if designed carefully, but women must be prepared.** The role of quotas was discussed at length, with many participants supporting quotas in the initial stage of a democratic transition to prove the concept that women can be effective leaders to an electorate that has never experienced female leadership. In fact, it was argued, quotas can serve as an indicator of probable success to encourage women to come forward as candidates. Otherwise, women who are not activists might be reluctant to run.

Two recommendations concerning quotas received broad agreement from the workshop participants. First, they agreed that the quality of women candidates and officeholders is more important over time than quantity. Women must not take the votes of women for granted or seek only to fill the role of tokens. Second, they agreed that winning office is just a first step, and that articulating a well-developed policy agenda that reflects what women want, why they want it, and how it would be achieved is essential. Quotas that bring women to office who

have no developed policy proposals merely reinforce the notion that women are less effective as representatives than men. Still, when quotas are carefully designed, and women who take office are well-prepared, citizen acceptance of, and even demand for, women in political and governance roles can and will increase, as was the case in India.

• **Solidarity among women in politics is critical.** However, it cannot be assumed that solidarity among women will endure because it can also erode as a transition unfolds. The bonds formed by those women who first break through barriers to participation in various roles can be attenuated by the emergence of a more diverse set of agendas brought to the table by women who gain experience in their own right. In Uganda, for instance, women parliamentarians fell into fighting, which hurt women candidates in the next election. A multiparty women's parliamentary caucus, which was created in Kosovo, was suggested as one way to counter this. International networks can provide additional support and can help women legislators or NGO leaders recover solidarity by drawing lessons from the experiences of other women like themselves.

Best Practices in Nongovernmental Governance

Organizers:
African Democracy Forum
European Center for Not-for-Profit Law – *Hungary*

Moderators:
Ayesha Imam – *Nigeria*
Nilda Bullain – *Hungary*

Rapporteur:
Ayesha Imam – *Nigeria*

After choosing four key issues on which to focus, the group agreed that good governance characteristics are ideal principles that must be adapted by and embodied in different NGOs given diverse mandates, sizes, missions, and stages of development, as well as political, economic, and social contexts, etc. Accordingly, there cannot be a single model of good governance for NGOs that all must aspire to copy. Rather, there is a need to address principles and share concrete, possible best practices.

Recommendations:

Adaptability

• NGOs should recognize that there will inevitably be changes in their environment (including changes in funding, politics, etc.).

• NGOs should review their objectives, strategy and tactics regularly. However, basic values must be kept constant. It thus may be that following a review, an NGO will refuse to change because the proposed change conflicts with its basic views.

• If NGOs change their missions, objectives, strategies, etc., it should be done through a process that is open, transparent, and publicly communicated.

• NGOs should be open to cooperation with other organizations, coalitions, networks, etc. This can help provide them with signals for when and how change is needed and ideas for how to implement it.

• NGOs should have external and independent evaluations.

• An NGO should bear in mind that in certain changed situations the best option may be to close down.

Values, Vision, Mission, and Strategic Planning

• Sharing values is fundamental; therefore, NGOs should ensure that people who are involved—staff, volunteers, board members, etc.—share the same values.

• NGOs should develop documents that state clearly their values, vision, and mission, as well as administrative procedure, etc. These should be used and referred to consistently, including in the orientation of new staff, board members, or volunteers.

• The practices of an NGO should clearly embody its stated values (e.g., a pro-democracy NGO should be demonstrably democratic in its own internal operations).

• Values are permanent, but situations are not. It may thus be necessary to shut down an NGO if a given context does not permit its values to control its operations, or if it has outlived the situation to which it was established to respond.

• There should be periodic reviews of an NGO's procedures and the correspondence of its stated values and its activities.

• NGOs should not spend so much time on detailed planning that it does not actually do anything.

• People who are knowledgeable about an organization's values, vision, mission, and activities are necessary to ensure continuity. This can be accomplished via board members, but it should be extended to include all people involved.

• Values should not be compromised by the availability of resources, which should only be accepted on the basis of an NGO's mission and program. NGOs that define their non-negotiable principles, issues,

and concerns are in a better position to negotiate for resources to carry out their missions.

Board, Executive, and Managerial Leadership

- Developing good documentation (by-laws, guidelines, policy manuals, procedure handbooks, etc.) helps ensure clear and effective succession.
- Board and senior management should prepare for succession, including training of successors to leadership.
- Clear chains of authority and divisions of responsibility are important.
- Accountability and transparency facilitate leadership and successful succession, especially audited financial and narrative reports.
- An NGO's leaders should bear in mind the organization's interests, but should endeavor to motivate, inspire, and keep committed people involved.
- Good leadership requires dealing well with crises, but also includes a learning curve, since people do make mistakes.
- Good leaders keep track of the values of an organization.
- Good leadership takes time, patience, and sustained effort.
- Leaders need management skills, and training to instill them may be helpful.

Governance and Management

- Governance and management should be addressed through the structure of an NGO.
- The principle of separation of powers should be borne in mind.
- There should be explicit and clear procedures and mandates.
- The larger the organization the clearer the need for formal separation of governance and management structures (e.g., a membership body as the highest level of governance, with a board of trustees following, and an executive officer responsible for management). Smaller organizations should delineate governance and management, but may not have formal separation of bodies.
- In real life, there are bound to be tensions between governance and management (which may, in fact, be creative). However, the use of clear procedures and practices helps to minimize conflict.
- Transparent, open discussion among board members and management is helpful.
- Access to training and related resources can be very helpful for many of the practices recommended above.
- Finally, the workshop participants overwhelmingly identified key defining issues for well-governed NGOs: values (such as democracy) embodied in its practices; leadership (strong, effective, and inspiring); and accountability and transparency.

Ensuring Democracy in an Age of Economic Transition

Organizer:
American Center for International Labor Solidarity – *U.S.*

Moderator:
Heba El-Shazli – *U.S.*

Rapporteur:
Mark Hankin – *U.S.*

Presenters:
Binnur Neidik – *Turkey*
Thabo Tshabalala – *South Africa*
Issa Aremu – *Nigeria*
Hanad Mohamud – *U.S.*

There were 30 participants from 24 countries in this workshop, which used a case study, entitled "The Economic and Political Impacts of the End of the Multi-Fiber Agreement on Democracy in Developing Countries," to explore the effect of trade liberalization and economic globalization on country political systems. The Multi-Fiber Agreement, which for years allocated garment/textile production among developing countries, resulted in an unprecedented dispersion of manufacturing among some of the poorest countries in the world. In doing so, desperately needed jobs were created. Now that the agreement has expired, jobs are beginning to be concentrated in fewer countries, some of which are known human and labor rights violators, because costs of production are lower and efficiencies of scale can be achieved; others are fragile democracies that are struggling towards a full transition to democratic practices.

While the formal presentations concentrated on the negative impacts of job loss on struggling democracies in the African region, participants representing almost every region of the world noted similar concerns. For example, one presenter noted that in Nigeria an upsurge of communal violence took place in those communities that had seen job loss because of an upsurge in Chinese garment imports that had displaced local production. More generally, participants said that young women who were recent migrants to cities had been thrown out of work. These young victims who could have been the

building blocks of a democratic society are now losing faith in a system that had given them so much hope just a few years ago. Participants also explained that the loss of jobs meant that trade unions so crucial to the functioning of democracy were being emasculated. They were being replaced by other organizations that, rather than wanting to work within a democratic industrial relations system and institutions, often had political agendas that went outside of them.

Despite predictions that these negative impacts would occur with the end of the Multi-Fiber Agreement, few governments, employers, and worker groups had developed positive action plans. Some actions to mitigate these results have begun, but thus far they have achieved only minimal results.

Questions:

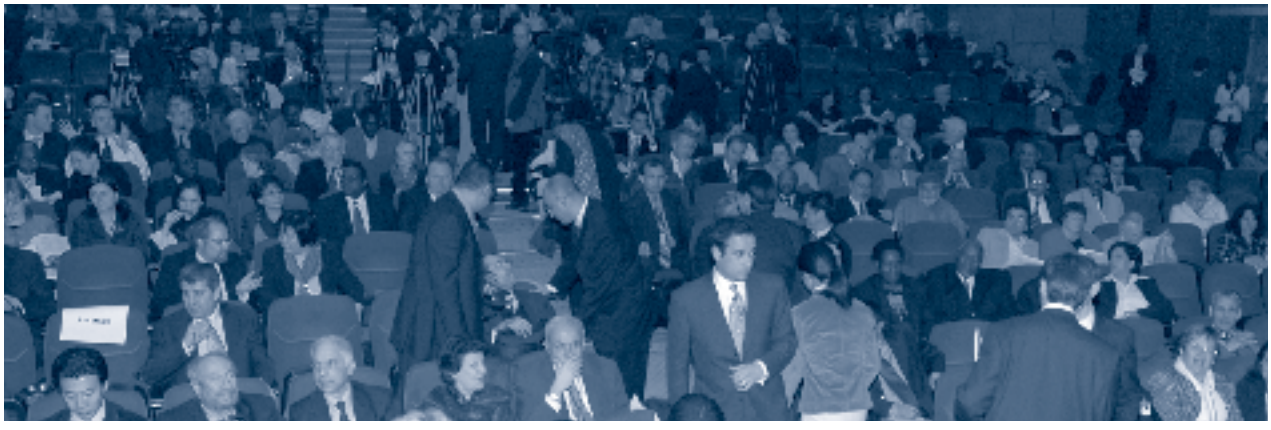
- What can unions do to mitigate the impacts of the expiration of the Multi-Fiber Agreement?
- What role can employers play in addressing the changed business environment?
- Should government play an aggressive role in protecting jobs and creating responses to economic adjustments?
- As this challenge extends across borders, what role should international organizations, NGOs, and multinational corporations play?

Responses to these questions during the workshop discussion were especially noteworthy because participants represented unions, the business community, the media, and NGOs.

Recommendations:

- Recent experience shows that tripartite cooperation among business, unions, and government can help improve productivity, and therefore maintain garment and textile orders. Such cooperation is an important first step.
- The development of industrial bargaining councils within countries can prevent a race to the bottom among employers and promote best labor practices that can appeal to international brands that care about corporate responsibility.
- Trade unions must adopt new modes of action, including efforts to promote productivity, and not simply act in defensive ways to preserve jobs. Meanwhile, employers must be more creative in exploring market niches based on comparative advantage.
- International trade union and NGO networks must hold brands accountable so that product sourcing decisions first seek to maintain production in current countries, and if that is not possible, to ensure that phase-outs of production include provision for social safety nets and observance of legal requirements regarding termination benefits.
- Expanded efforts by governments are needed to harmonize labor law and labor standards so that decisions on where to produce goods are made on the basis of quality and productivity considerations and not just on the ability to exploit workers.
- International technical assistance organizations have an obligation to promote best practices dissemination across borders.
- Since the media has generally ignored the trade related impacts of globalization on democracy and human rights, outreach needs to be expanded by all stakeholders.
- There is an urgent need to review trade preference programs that specifically reward countries for observing labor rights and democratic practices.

In conclusion, participants shared the view that the experience of the textile garment sector with trade liberalization illustrates a world trading system that has emphasized macro-economic growth at the expense of other public goods, including the preservation and expansion of democracy. It is urgent that tripartite discussions are held that revisit the original goals of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) that emphasized equitable economic growth objectives and social outcomes that are underlined by the International Labor Organization's "Decent Work Principles."



Political Party Building and Elections

Plenary Session on "Developing Viable Democratic Arenas in Muslim Societies"

Organizer:
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) – *U.S.*

Moderator:
Les Campbell – *U.S.*

Rapporteur:
Jeffrey England – *U.S.*

Presenters:
Anwar Ibrahim – *Malaysia*
Saad Eddin Ibrahim – *Egypt*
Murat Mercan – *Turkey*
Naha Mint Maknass – *Mauritania*
Vali Nasr – *U.S.*
Hidayat Nur Wahid – *Indonesia*

This session brought together several leading thinkers and politicians from across the Muslim world who are currently addressing the topic, which was particularly timely given political developments in, for instance, Palestine and Egypt. The participants discussed issues impacting the development of a democratic framework to ensure the inclusion of political parties from across the political spectrum as equals while at the same time adhering to international standards of democracy (both principles and practices).

Anwar Ibrahim began the discussion by asserting that there is no longer a need to debate the compatibility of Islam with democracy. Rather, he argued, the key issue for democracy in the Muslim world right now is framing a common agenda for progress that cuts across political affiliations and does not attempt to marginalize any one particular group. He also emphasized that any democratic transition will require clear constitutional guarantees of the freedoms of conscience and expression, as well as provisions protecting the sanctity of life and property. Dr. Ibrahim pointed out that while attention is largely focused on issues related to the Middle East, the Muslim world is much bigger and broader than that, with four-fifths of the global Muslim population living outside that region. While the Muslim world must articulate its own vision of democracy, he noted that it will not look much different from other democracies around the world because of commonly held principles.

Vali Nasr then outlined several critical points for nurturing democracy in Muslim societies. The real focus, he argued, should shift from Western assumptions about what Islamists might do if elected to the issue of what framework will enhance democracy more generally if there are commonly accepted values and agreement to compete according to established rules. The process of finding a solution to the issue of Islamist participation, and getting Islamist parties to become more moderate, is, in fact, a part of the transition process itself; the transition cannot be held in check until all of the rules are determined. Discussions and negotiations establishing the rules are themselves part of the process. He also noted that Islamists are already moderating their platforms and ideologies in some places where they are being included in the process.

Dr. Nasr outlined several key elements to help address the challenge, all of which can be enhanced with international attention and support:

- Negotiations about the path to democratization matter; they set out the rules, procedures, and boundaries that lead to concessions and moderation on all sides.
- Including more points of view in the discussions promotes more negotiation and the creation of coalitions: The discussion moves beyond black and white to grey, which is where negotiations actually happen.
- There should be a focus on building stronger political parties, a process that pushes the democratic agenda and promotes negotiation.
- The more voting and transfers of power, the better; this process encourages moderation over time because parties want to be re-elected.
- There are many examples from around the world of what has and has not worked (including within Muslim Asia), and these lessons should be leveraged, but only in full recognition that a successful process will have to reflect the culture and realities of any given society.

Several political party leaders from predominantly Muslim countries also shared their insights:

Naha Mint Maknass discussed the case of Mauritania, where a post-coup transition is in process. She noted that the key question for the transition there is how the desired components of a democratic framework will fit with Mauritanian society. The transition must focus on what people need and recognize the contextual limitations. Maknass pointed out that Mauritania is 100 percent Muslim, but also multi-ethnic, so religion actually provides a bonding element for the country. Islamist parties are thus not legal because the people will not accept the idea that the religion is "owned" by one group or another when Islam is in fact the basis of the nation's Constitution and laws. While democracy will be critical for the future of the country, vigilance is necessary to ensure that anything voted for democratically will not contradict Islam.

Murat Mercan pointed to Turkey as demonstrative of the principle that the more democracy a country has the more prosperous and wealthy it will be. He also noted that Turkey's integration into the West has provided opportunities for the country without creating any incompatibilities with Islam. Even in Turkey, where religious-based parties are outlawed, the democratic framework does not make the country any less religious. Dr. Mercan argued that the key issue is not whether democracy is good or compatible with Islam, but whether the fact that the democratization process is unique to each place and requires sacrifices and trade-offs will be recognized. Ultimately, he said, success will rest in being able to move away from theoretical debates and toward addressing people's daily concerns to ensure popular support.

Hidayat Nur Wahid shared insights from Indonesia, which has the world's largest Muslim population. He noted that democratic development depends on the correct circumstances converging in a given society based on the country's history and political experience. Indonesia's political experience, and its inclusion of Islamic parties, demonstrate that Islam and democracy are compatible and that religious and political activities can work in parallel and actually support each other. Recent political reforms in Indonesia have provoked a change in the nature of politics at all levels, and have focused attention on the needs of constituents. Therefore, the Islamic affiliation of certain political actors does not limit their role in the process; they will cooperate and enter into coalitions with other groups, including Christians, in order to fully participate.

In closing, the well-known activist Saad Eddin Ibrahim of Egypt asserted what he believes everyone across the Muslim world now knows: Democracy is the only game in town. This idea is coming through loud and clear from the people, he said, and political leaders are taking note. Even if they aren't always sincere when they discuss it, leaders are beginning to take some steps that are opening the way for people to continue pursuing the democratic ideal and making it as true, transparent, and fair as possible. Dr. Ibrahim noted that the remarks of the other panel members and other research reveal a wide variation of practice, and a wide range of belief systems, within Islamic cultures. Therefore, he argued, the core issue is not about the compatibility of Islam and democracy, but about the ways in which to adopt democracy within diverse cultures and in accord with on-the-ground realities in each country.

Topical Workshops

Best Practices in Multi-Party Cooperation

Organizer:
Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy

Moderator:
Jan van Laarhoven – *The Netherlands*

Rapporteur:
Maarten van den Berg – *The Netherlands*

Presenters:
Adrian Muunga – *Zambia*
Augustin Cissé – *Mali*
Njeri Kabeberi – *Kenya*

Dialogue and multi-party cooperation are essential ingredients for democratic development and political stability. This is the shared experience of political party representatives and others who participated in this workshop, which featured three African examples of multi-party cooperation: in Zambia, Mali, and Kenya. Experiences from Guatemala and Macedonia were also highlighted.

Background:
Jan van Laarhoven introduced the workshop by explaining that in those countries where the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMD) operates (all of the aforementioned countries, except Macedonia), it promotes dialogue and multi-party cooperation on the premise that when parties work together, they can truly achieve something. The IMD, itself a multi-party organization, supports the development of political parties in young democracies, and does so in a strictly nonpartisan manner and always as part of a wider effort to build and improve democratic institutions.

In Zambia, inter-party dialogue helped political parties to re-establish multi-party democracy after nearly two decades of one-party rule. According to Adrian Muunga, this has led to a mutual agreement on the need to redraft the Constitution and electoral legislation. From comments of Akashambatwa Mbikusita-Lewanika of the Movement for Multi-Party Democracy, Zambia's current ruling party, and his political opponent, Tiens Kahenya of the United Party for National Development, these remain contentious issues, but both politicians affirmed their commitment to further inter-party dialogue and cooperation.

Likewise in Mali, which has had a multi-party system since 1992, political parties are also engaged in inter-party dialogue. However, as Augustin Cissé observed in his presentation, constructive dialogue is a chal-

lenge because there are currently 106 political parties in the country. Therefore, the parties involved in the IMD program have agreed that they would stand to benefit most from training to form alliances. To organize this, they established a "partnership for capacity" in support of alliance-building, leadership training, and (with a view to the upcoming elections) training of election monitors.

In Kenya, the establishment of multi-party cooperation unfolded far more quickly than initially expected. Within a year after its founding in 2004, the Centre for Multi-Party Democracy (CMD) adopted a five-year strategic plan that clarifies its vision and mission, defines its goals, and includes a detailed activity plan. Among the activities highlighted by Njeri Kabeberi, director of the Centre, are a computer refurbishment and training program and a youth program. The Centre also seeks to further expand its gender program.

As these examples illustrate, various forms and degrees of multi-party cooperation are practiced, but in all cases such cooperation commenced with the recognition by party leaders of a shared responsibility to make democracy work. This was underscored by a participant from a political party in Guatemala, where a standing group of parties works to overcome declining public confidence in both the government and parliament. In the end, any such effort requires the involvement of civil society, including trade unions, women's groups, and the media. Indeed, as all of the workshop participants acknowledged, without strong ties between political and civil society, no democracy can flourish.

Political Parties and Civil Society: How to Build Better Relations?

Organizers:
Alfred Mozer Foundation – *The Netherlands*
Congreso Visible – *Colombia*

Moderator:
Elisabeth Ungar – *Colombia*

Rapporteur:
Rubén Fernández – *Colombia*

Presenters:
Vlatko Sekulovic – *Serbia*
Elisabeth Ungar – *Colombia*
André Gerrits – *The Netherlands*
Graeme Herd – *Germany*

The purpose of this workshop was to explore the relationship between civil society and political parties; how can this relationship contribute or fail to contribute to the establishment and/or consolidation of democracy and to achieving the goals of a more democratic society?

The moderator introduced the discussion by emphasizing that the relationship must always be understood within the specific context of each country; it is not possible to make hard-and-fast generalizations, but for the daily work of democrats learning from experience is a very important step forward. The most important effort must be to escape false dilemmas and to better understand the role of each actor in the global context of political crisis, growing conflict, acute national and international confrontations, and a great need for more democracy and justice.

Observations:

In the case of **Serbia**, Milosevic won the elections in 1990 and controlled the most important institutions of the regime. A wave of assassinations and persecution against the opposition began, and there were no distinctions: NGOs, trade unions, independent media and political parties were all treated as enemies. The regime was in power for more than ten years, and it was more of a mafia than a regime. Finally, the situation became a total crisis while democracy was nonexistent. NGOs, student groups, and trade unions were very active in campaigns for democracy. Some lessons were learned from this experience: "We have to unify" is the first and most important lesson; there is no room for divisions within the opposition; there is no room for "messiahs"; there is no place for intolerance, including against people who work with the regime; there is no time for big expectations and realism is important during periods of reconstruction. Political parties and civil society organizations should coordinate with each other to help build a democratic regime.

In the case of **Colombia**, because of the armed conflict, the relationships between political parties and civil society organizations are really complex. The state does not have a monopoly on the use of legitimate force and control of the territory. In some regions, there is reduced capacity in the provision of basic services, low credibility and legitimacy of the government, and political parties and civil society organizations are fragmented and disperse. A clear indication of this situation is the internal forced displacement of more than 2 million persons with the Colombian government unable to stop it. Paramilitaries and guerrillas in Colombia have a big influence on elections; they have either promoted or prohibited voting for some parties or candidates. Four years ago a paramilitary leader said that his group had influence over some 35 percent of members of Congress. Illegal armed groups frequently act as political actors and as members of civil society, thus creating confusion and difficulties in relations between political parties and civil society in the country.

In the **former Soviet Union**, after several decades some electoral and secular revolutions have occurred, but democracy must be clearly reinforced, especially in the spirit of the society. Strengthening the role of independent media and youth is indispensable. These young democracies need their skill and talent, and they have the responsibility, for instance, for creating a democracy with a Russian face.

Recommendations:

- In many cases, authoritarian regimes can fall while "authoritarianisms" in the society stay alive. Serbia and Georgia are examples of this. The work of civil society is thus central in spreading democratic culture as an ethos within all social spheres.
- A democratic society needs a democratic state, which means that it is important to have enough managers and officials to direct the state in this direction. In this, the role of political parties is crucial. They can serve to train such officials and develop their capacity. On the other hand, both political parties and civil society have responsibility for promoting civic education since good voters make good elections.
- Political parties are closer to political decision-making processes, which is why to some people the existence of parties is much more important than the existence of civil society organizations. For others, the presence of both is necessary, as is the coexistence of representative democracy with participative democracy. A spirit of permanent agreement and collaboration between political parties and civil society organizations is advisable, and they should be seen as complementary.
- The international agenda should have an increasing concern for relations between civil society organizations and political parties. In this connection, reform of the United Nations is particularly relevant.
- The human rights agenda is open all over the world because everywhere there are critical violations of its precepts; for this reason democratic civil society organizations and democratic political parties should stay close. We can only have human rights with the right human beings.
- In transitional societies, which by definition do not have a strong network of civil society organizations, international cooperation can help greatly to prevent individualism in the leadership.
- The most important conclusion is that both political parties and civil society organizations are necessary for democratization; each has a particular role and cooperation between them is the best way to contribute to deepening democracy. They are allies, not enemies, in promoting democratic change.

Islamic-Oriented Political Parties and Democratic Reform

Organizer:
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) – *U.S.*

Moderator:
Les Campbell – *U.S.*

Rapporteur:
Jeffrey England – *U.S.*

Presenters:
Amr Hamzawy – *Egypt*
Lehcen Daoudi – *Morocco*
Sheikh Ali Salman – *Bahrain*
Syed Ahmad – *Malaysia*

With dynamic political developments unfolding across the Muslim world, this workshop proved equally lively. Continuing calls have been made for increased political competition from across an ideological spectrum, transparent and representative elections, and other hallmarks of democracy. Among the issues affecting this process is the continuing debate over the role of Islamic-oriented parties in the political life of predominantly Muslim countries. The workshop thus provided an opportunity for the participants, some of whom are party leaders, to engage in an open dialogue on visions of democratic reform in predominantly Muslim societies.

Workshop presenters began the session by providing political party perspectives on the key structural issues that need to be addressed for a successful democratic framework that includes all parties as equal participants. Presenters included party leaders from Islamic-oriented parties in Bahrain, Malaysia and Morocco, along with an Egyptian academic researcher taking a broader regional view of party trends. Issues that they explored included the shape of a meaningful constitution; protections for individual and minority rights; an effective judicial system that backs up those rights; the nature of fair electoral laws; and the development of effective political party laws.

Among the various points discussed were the need for consensus on creating a level playing field where all political actors can compete equally; the need for systems that encourage the development of a manageable set of strong parties rather than a large number of weak ones; the need to fight corruption; and the establishment of an independent judiciary. The need for a constitution

was also debated, with some participants arguing that political will and balance of power would be the ultimate guarantor, while others argued that a solid framework requires an agreed upon constitution that is flexible and has a system for amendment. It was noted several times that the strongest sign of democratic values, whether among Islamic or secular parties, is the holding of regular elections administered by professional independent bodies.

Observations:

- A number of participants argued that there is no question of whether Islamic-oriented parties should participate in the political landscape, since it is a reality on the ground. Several noted that the failure of secular parties have allowed Islamists to become the only viable alternative in the absence of strong opposition movements and fragile civil societies.
- The question arose about guarantees that can be put in place to ensure that rights are not overturned or diminished when there is a power shift. One participant noted that the real guarantee in any situation is to have an opposition that provides a counterweight to the ruling party, whether secular or Islamist.
- A number of grey zones were noted in the platforms of Islamic-oriented parties that raised legitimate concerns for some participants, and the way they would be addressed would impact the nature of the parties' participation. These included the limits of political pluralism; the implementation of *Sharia'*; the role of women; limits on civil and personal liberties; and the rights of minorities. It was noted, however, that other political actors also regularly have grey zones that affect the political system.
- A request was made for more sharing on Southeast Asian experiences, given the example of the long and continued participation of the Islamic parties in Malaysia and Indonesia and the need to start looking for examples and lessons in Muslim societies beyond the Arab world. One participant noted that there should be continued interaction and learning from a range of external actors to help establish mechanisms for plurality (and this does not inherently result in a loss of faith or national identity).
- Related to this, a number of participants noted that there should be increased dialogue between secular and Islamic parties to better understand one another. This would foster a better understanding that Islamist parties do not have exclusive ownership of Islam and recognition among secular parties that religion is an important element in the lives of large numbers of people.
- Acknowledging that it is inherently good for a system, participants suggested that pluralism among Islamic parties within a country would itself create greater debate and competition among Islamists.
- However, a number of participants also advocated that religion and politics should be kept separate from one another.
- Several participants noted that the fundamental distinction among all political forces should be the issues of violence versus non-violence. Some political Islamic movements have shifted from a base in violence to one of platforms and participation in the political process; one participant noted that even if Islamists "don't feel it in their souls," it is still movement in the right direction.

Building Political Parties in New Democracies

Organizers:
Conservative Party – *UK*
Labour Party – *UK*
Liberal Democrats – *UK*

Moderator:
Philippa Broom – *UK*

Rapporteur:
Karla Hatrick – *UK*

Presenters:
Gary Streeter – *UK*
Anne Linde – *Sweden*
Tomislov Damnjanovic – *Serbia*
Jasper Veen – *UK*

The aim of this workshop was to look at strengthening political parties in new democracies and specifically at the value of sister party-based political party building. The background to the workshop was a concern that although political parties are an essential part of any democracy, they often do not appear high enough up on the democracy-building agenda. In the UK, the Westminster Foundation for Democracy (WFD), established in 1992, enables the UK political parties to work with their sister parties around the world. Half of the funding of the WFD goes directly to the political parties for such party development work. The other half of the funding is used by WFD to undertake mainly civil society work.

Observations:

Ann Linde began by noting that political parties are a key part of a democracy, and therefore in strengthening a democracy it is important to strengthen political parties—yet this remains controversial for two main reasons: governments remain reluctant to meddle in other countries' internal affairs, and civil servants and

NGOs are not used to political party work and are thus unsure how to approach it or evaluate the activities undertaken. In addition, when a partner party loses an election some see it as a failed party and view their work with it in those terms, but in a functioning democracy the role of a strong opposition is key, and the peaceful change of governments is evidence that the system is working. It was noted that there is a kind of snobbery in the democracy-building world where it is fashionable to say that a support organization is non-partisan or to say it is "clean" and not tainted by politics or by working with political parties. Yet this view should be challenged. In democracy building, politicians and parties must be strengthened in cooperation and dialogue with NGOs.

A second problem arises when people accept the need for political party work, but only if it is cross-party. But this often does not work because, for instance, parties may be reluctant to discuss weaknesses openly in a cross-party environment. It is important to have the trust and respect of parties with which an organization is working, and experience that is learned from polling, policies, etc, are often better learned within the framework of sister party-to-party work, where strategy, positions, etc. are not being revealed to others.

Gary Streeter noted the current fashion of criticizing politicians, with politics becoming a dirty word. Most politicians are indeed good and decent people doing their best for their communities and countries, however. To actually take part to make something happen takes much courage and, indeed, hard work. The NGO community should therefore engage more fully and actively with the political process. Politicians are key to democracy and you cannot have politicians without political parties. People need to gather around a set of political ideas and then distill policies from them, and the electorate should know what to expect from their politicians and parties. There is a great need to build the capacity of parties so they can identify what they stand for, distill their principles into policy, write their manifestos and get their messages across, run a campaign, recruit candidates and members, and convert manifestos into programs for governing. Parties need help with all of this, and the best help may be from politicians and political parties themselves. Mr. Streeter noted his own time as a minister and the unique character of being a politician; it is an unusual job and takes much learning. Political parties, politicians, and activists who have been through the process are best placed to share their experiences and learn from one another. Politicians and parties are more comfortable, and indeed better at, sharing their vision and experiences with those with similar views; thus party-to-party work of likeminded parties is highly effective. The in-depth and long-term partnerships that come with such work can give a more effective outcome than cross-party approaches.

Jasper Veen noted the role of the political party internationals and the political parties within them. As organizations of like-minded parties around the world who subscribe to the same principles and values, political internationals undertake activities similar to political parties: they campaign, form and agree upon policy, communicate their messages with a view to spreading their ideas and values, and bring like-minded people together. While the internationals do not seek to elect politicians to any supra-national parliament, they do seek to promote their members into governments and positions of power. Political parties thus have a great amount to gain from participating in political internationals. Politics in this globalized world has repercussions beyond borders. While labels may seem false, the principles and platforms work to bring parties together. Political internationals provide the only forum where parties of both government and opposition can meet and exchange ideas. The solidarity gained from being within an international family means that pressure can be applied globally with members morally obliged to help one another.

Tomislav Damnjanovic presented an example of the very practical effect that party-to-party work can have. G17 was formed as a union of independent economists to remove Milosevic from power in Serbia, growing into G17 Plus, a union of citizens to help Serbia. Promoting and organizing rallies across the country, G17 Plus, as an NGO, was offered and accepted government posts following Milosevic's fall. However, this experience in government led G17 Plus to face up to its future—as an NGO or as a political party? It chose to become a political party and with contacts in the international community it began work with the Conservatives in 2005. The work involved a visit to the Conservative Party's General Election campaign from which it took ideas and experiences to be incorporated into its own situation. The change in campaign methods, party organization, and, indeed, in the evident increase in votes, appears to show just how sister party-to-party work can have impact and results.

Challenges and recommendations:

- What approach can be taken when parties are in the pre-transition stage (that is, when no political parties or opposition parties are allowed and debate is difficult to start or influence)? Workshop participants from Jordan, Cuba, and Bhutan noted the difficulties inherent in these problems. It was emphasized that pressure from international political families, sister parties, and other organizations is vital, but the people on the ground in the particular country must take the lead. The possibility of forming organizations that act more or less as political parties was also noted, as was the potential to work with parties in exile despite the restrictions that can entail.
- What is the best approach when parties are trying to topple a dictator? The situation in Zimbabwe was

raised, and encouraging parties to come together for a common goal was emphasized, seen most recently, though unfortunately not as successfully as hoped, in Belarus. The Serbian experience provides a very relevant example of parties having come together in coalition to topple a dictator, and the more recent experience in Kenya was also noted. The breakup of such coalitions following a transition was also noted, however, and the need to prevent negative effects of such breakups was highlighted.

• What is the best way of instituting checks and balances within a party? How do parties ensure internal democracy? Different approaches and options were noted. Parties should be encouraged to find their own means to secure internal democracy, but ensuring that they are based upon the grassroots and on more than one or two leading personalities are two leading recommendations.

• How can the participation of women and youth in politics and political parties be promoted? Participants from Turkey noted some innovative ways of using new technologies to encourage youth participation, and different models of promoting the participation of women were noted from Kosovo, Sweden, and the UK.

• The relationship between NGOs and political parties was discussed, including the need to work constructively together, but also to call on NGOs to be more active in supporting the political process and if they find themselves unhappy with it to take the next step and become political parties themselves. The benefits and drawbacks of NGOs forming parties and NGO activists serving as politicians were also discussed with a common theme being the need to remain true to principles and values.

Finally, the workshop participants agreed to call upon the World Movement Steering Committee to advance the issue of developing political parties on the international democracy-promotion agenda.

Election Campaigning in Countries in Transition

Organizers:
Centre Party International Foundation – *Sweden*
People's Action for Free & Fair Elections (PAFFREL) – *Sri Lanka*

Moderator:
Åke Pettersson – *Sweden*
Kingsley Rodrigo – *Sri Lanka*

Rapporteurs:
Anselmo Seonghoon Lee – *South Korea*
Lukas Forslund – *Sweden*

Presenters:
Abid Faisal Ihmaid – *Iraq*
Olga Karatch – *Belarus*
Pär Granstedt – *Sweden*

The workshop presenters focused on issues connected to elections and election campaigning in Sri Lanka, Iraq, Belarus, and various parts of Africa. The presenters highlighted the importance of well functioning electoral systems, the problem with violations affecting opposition parties, and elections in general. The workshop also covered the issue of election campaigning in a society affected by terrorist attacks and sectarian and religious conflict, as well as "elections as a threat to democracy and peace."

Observations:

• Elections are a vital part of democracy. Even though they are not always respected and fair, they put an external pressure on regimes that disrespect them.

• The will of achieving democracy can be stronger than the fear of severe violations committed by dictators.

• When regimes violate the electoral rights of the opposition or stop it from campaigning, it is important to respond in a nonviolent manner. It is also important to show solidarity when an individual's rights are violated.

• Good elections create good parliaments, and bad elections create bad parliaments.

• Elections can themselves generate conflict.

• Capacity building, training (including organizational management training), and exchange of experiences are vital for countries in transition.

Questions:

• How should opposition parties act when a dictatorial regime is making it impossible to campaign?

• From where do opposition parties get their finances and how do they account for them?

• How can we assure that an electoral code of conduct is followed?

• How do you define the independence of an electoral commission?

• What is the role of media in a multi-party democracy?

Recommendations:

• Freedom of speech and a free and independent

electoral commission are of great importance for democratic elections.

- Monitoring both elections and campaigns is needed.
- A combination of domestic and international observers is important to achieve free and fair elections.
- To enhance democracy, there is a need to avoid dividing democratic forces.
- All groups in a society must feel that they are represented; therefore, a proportional or mixed electoral system should be considered.
- It is important to have a system that allows a change of power by ensuring reasonable conditions for the opposition; change of power must not be a catastrophe for the majority.
- A code of conduct in election campaigning is necessary.
- Gender perspective in the nomination process is necessary.
- A system of transparent and public party financing should be preferred.
- A dialogue should be sought with religious groups in democratization work.

Democracy Research and Education

Topical Workshops

Measuring Democracy

Organizer:
Network of Democracy Research Institutes (NDRI)

Moderator:
Larry Diamond – *U.S.*

Rapporteur:
Sabine Donner – *Germany*

Presenters:
Asher Arian – *Israel*
Ghia Nodia – *Georgia*
Hauke Hartmann – *Germany*
Christopher Walker – *U.S.*

The workshop presenters provided an overview of two global, cross-national indices on democracy based on experts' analyses (Freedom of the World by Freedom House and the Bertelsmann Transformation Index by the Bertelsmann Foundation), and a national democracy audit conducted by gathering empirical data and conducting public opinion surveys (Israel Democracy Index by the Israel Democracy Institute). The goals of the three indices are comparisons with other countries and monitoring the development of democracy within a certain country over time.

Key questions:

- Is cross-country comparison legitimate?
- Subjective versus objective measures: How to ensure the reliability of measurement?
- Is there a conceptual validity to the definition of democracy?
- Should the findings be aggregated in a single measure?
- Do the different indices complement each other?
- Do the results bear comparison with the real situation in a country?

Observations:

- Participants agreed that serious efforts to measure democracy are indispensable as complex and problematic as they might be.
- There is a rising demand for and a growing importance of democracy measurement. Reform actors from countries in transition and the increasing amount of money spent on democracy promotion trigger this demand to a certain extent. The indices are used more and more to justify the spending. The level of responsibility for the producers of indices rises with the attention paid to them. Therefore, questions of data reliability and validity have to be taken very seriously.
- Many participants shared a concern for the impact that measurement efforts have on policy makers. While some stated that measuring democracy in a country can be used as a tool for shaming or encouraging political actors, others emphasized the danger that the findings could be instrumentalized by decision makers for their own ends.
- Rankings and indices support the view that building democracy is a long-term commitment and therefore needs continuous monitoring. The pluralism of democracy measurement can help foster the ongoing debate on different concepts and definitions of democracy.
- Some participants suggested that the indices should make a clearer distinction between established and new democracies or countries in transition. In fact, distinguishing between transformation and democracy consolidation, the Bertelsmann Foundation will publish a separate index on established democracies in the fall of 2007.

• A stronger comparison of the results and concepts of existing indices was suggested.

• Aggregating the findings in a single score was seen as a means of attracting attention and facilitating comparison, although it poses several questions about the weighting of different dimensions. Disaggregating the scores is inevitable in order to explain the various aspects of democracy in detail. While the Israel Democracy Index does not aggregate its data in the first place, the Bertelsmann Transformation Index offers access to all disaggregated scores. In addition, Freedom House will publish its sub-data for the first time in its next Freedom in the World survey.

Democracy and Human Development: Grasping the Linkages and Addressing the Disappointments

Organizers:
International IDEA – *Sweden*
Center for Democracy and Development – *Ghana*

Moderators:
E. Gyimah-Boadi – *Ghana*
Goran Fejic – *Sweden*
Judith Large – *Sweden*

Rapporteur:
Anna Pinto – *India*

Presenters:
Paul Graham – *South Africa*
Daniel Zovatto – *Argentina*
Margaret Dongo – *Zimbabwe*
Mikael Bostrom – *Sweden*

Some 40 participants representing civil society organizations, governments, research groups, foundations, and donor agencies discussed various challenges and recommendations related to the issue of democracy and human development.

Challenges:

• There has been a weakening of trust in democratic institutions in some parts of the world due to the perception that democracy does not "deliver" on economic development and social needs.

• There has been declining political participation of citizens in some countries due to the perception that national governments are losing control over important aspects of social and economic life (in particular, effects of globalization, changing terms of trade, etc.).

• The understanding in international fora about the complex linkages between democracy and development has been increasing, along with new emphasis on poverty reduction, social inclusiveness, and democratic governance as conflict-prevention and peace-building tools.

• Both democracy building and conflict management involve gender issues, and women's participation is a sine qua non of sustainable peace and genuine democratic practice.

• Support to democratic transitions has become a major component of international peace-keeping and peace-building efforts, yet there is still a weak understanding of the essential features of an effective democracy-building strategy and how it should take the human development dimension into account.

Recommendations:

• Many countries today are undergoing simultaneous processes of economic reform, post-conflict recovery, and democratic transition. Democracy in these countries is expected to produce multiple "dividends" in development, peace, and human security. At the same time, even in countries with established democratic institutions, poverty, social exclusion, and low levels of human security may hamper the real power of citizens to influence political developments. These are huge challenges for democracy that should be addressed in more coherent and effective ways.

• Globalization has both positive and negative effects from the perspective of democracy building. But it is clear that when economic liberalization occurs without any social regulation, the power shifts from the state to corporate structures; this may lead to citizens, elected leaders, and democratic institutions losing power.

• Democratization and economic reform need to be balanced. Both are needed and the demand for both should be encouraged and supported in the process of democratic change.

• In Latin America, in particular, the effectiveness of democratic institutions and the trust they enjoy appear to be closely related to development issues and to the "delivery" of democracy on social and economic rights. The slow and uneven progress towards the attainment of the Millennium Development Goals has weakened confidence in democratic institutions and produced repeated crises of governance in several countries of the region. Latin America not only needs to increase its economic competitiveness to integrate current globalization processes more effectively, but it also needs to carry out political reforms and adopt public policies that will boost employment and reduce social inequalities.

• Political parties and parliaments are key actors in democracy and have major roles to play in the struggle against poverty and inequality. It is important that their institutional roles be strengthened and that they recover the trust and confidence of citizens.

• No democratic reform will be able to address human development challenges effectively if women are not given the opportunity to become real agents of the democratization process. Women and men have fought against oppression side by side, but in post-conflict transitions, there is often a tendency to push women "back into the kitchen." Democratic institutions and processes alone are not sufficient to promote the participation of women. Specific public policies and measures are necessary.

• Democracy and human rights should not be seen as separate areas of work.

• The international community should support in a balanced way all key aspects of democratic change: parliaments, political parties, and civil society. Civil society actors, in particular, should be empowered to understand complex economic development issues and enabled to acquire necessary advocacy skills.

• While the sustainability and vitality of democracy depend on its social and economic performance, sound democratic governance is an important factor contributing to development.

• Donors' policies increasingly include democracy assistance as a key component of development assistance and conflict resolution strategies. The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), for instance, prioritizes support to democracy based on the following principles: poor people are considered as subjects, not objects, of development policies; support to democracy is not a separate field but a fully integrated part of development assistance; supporting good public administration is an essential feature of an effective democracy-building strategy.

• Finally, democracy building is an important aspect of conflict prevention and conflict resolution strategies.

Teaching Human Rights and Democracy to High School Children

Organizers:
Street Law-South Africa, University of KwaZulu-Natal – *South Africa*
Council for a Community of Democracies – *U.S.*

Moderator:
Robert LaGamma – *U.S.*

Rapporteur:
Sybille Renke de Buitrago – *Germany*

Presenters:
David McQuoid-Mason – *South Africa*
Doğu Ergil – *Turkey*
Beata Budzik – *Poland*

This workshop was intended to illustrate and develop best practices and strategies to teach human rights and democracy to high school children. Participants from more than 15 countries participated in the discussions. Several presentations served to open the discussion, during which the importance and role of interactive teaching methods was highlighted. Participants considered the challenges of people feeling superior to others and how to prevent children from assuming the hatred held by some in older generations. It was suggested that students consider the points of view and feelings of others, that ideas proffered as absolute truths be questioned, and that in democracy and human rights education, methods are as important as content.

Suggestions:
The following interactive methods have been used in different countries and settings for democracy and human rights education:

• Case studies;

• Role playing that draws on the experience of students teaching and developing empathy for others;

• Theater and development of scripts, poems and songs on democracy using popular tunes, art and drawings;

• Community research through which students discover problems around them and discuss these, or street interviews in teams from different backgrounds;

• School elections, constitutional assemblies, and mock trials;

• Democratic practices in the classroom, training in problem-solving, teaching tolerance and dialogue;

• Question-and-answer methods and opinion polls to uncover prejudices;

• Concrete action education using dialogue across backgrounds or states;

• Debate fora;

• Electronic and online discussion and media;

• Taking stands on statements and issues and clarifying them;

• Development of radio programs ("edu-communication");

• Community service and public achievement linking students with professionals and local government officials;

- Students training students in peer seminars; and
- Experiential learning.

Participants also highlighted the importance of applying learned knowledge, ensuring that all points of view are heard and included, demonstrating the need to have respect, seeing and treating others as equals, and teaching in the form of dialogue.

Democracy Education in Challenging Cultural and Religious Contexts

Organizers:
Education for Democracy Foundation – *Poland*
League of Democratic Women – *Nigeria*

Moderator:
Krzysztof Stanowski – *Poland*
Rebecca Sako-John – *Nigeria*

Rapporteur:
Alicja Derkowska – *Poland*

Presenters:
Amina Lemrini – *Morocco*
Festus Okoye – *Nigeria*
Undral Gombodorj – *Mongolia*
Lutfi Osmanov – *Ukraine*

There were 59 participants in this workshop from 35 countries. After individual introductions, five discussion groups were created.

Since many of the participants came from regions where democracy is new or just introduced, or from countries under the danger of oppression, they do not have immediate models for democracy, so it is important to find ways to educate for democracy. Their view is that this process must use existing institutions and behaviors that belong to their communities. For example, when talking about community foundations, they can ask villagers, "Do you remember when the whole village sent a poor boy to the city for education? We can now do the same thing, but the difference is that the child doesn't have to be a boy!" It is possible to build on what is important and already part of the community.

The task of each break-out group was to examine cultures and traditions to determine where democratic roots can be found and built upon, that is, to think about such institutions and traditions in one's own personal history and the history of one's community that can be used to practice democracy instead of importing concepts and practices from abroad. The group presentations not surprisingly revealed very diverse experiences in using local traditions to build democracy.

Recommendations:

- It is important to respect culture and religious values in democracy education. One participant countered, however, that while there are good examples, there are others that would impede democracy education; not every tradition and religious practice is good, but some elements of tradition can be used to teach democracy.
- It is important to remember that democracy goes below the surface and is not defined entirely by the institutions that may appear to be democratic (as in the case of Pakistan, where women sit in Parliament, yet many laws completely disregard women's rights).
- Although traditions may be different from country to country, there should be a consensus on universal democratic values. In cases where traditions and values seem opposed to democracy, they should be re-evaluated and put into a modern context (as in the case of eliminating polygamy in Tunisia).
- Democracy is only as safe as the rights of the minority. In designing messages about democracy, we should be sensitive to ethnic and religious diversity in each country.
- Many activists believe that democracy means a mechanism, but democracy is also a culture, and without a cultural process democracy will not function properly, in which case a re-structuring is necessary so it becomes part of the culture.
- In developing school curricula, one builds on what science can contribute, thus developing critical thought within democratic thought.
- As democracy advocates, our role is to recognize the difference between what and how one teaches, that is, putting theory into practice, but it is the practice that is difficult. The behavior of teachers serves as a model for their students.
- Building trust among people is crucial to the creation of the basics of democracy, as can be seen by the situation in Somalia.

In conclusion, educators should be discerning in using traditions to build democracy. They can be proud of some traditions, and should do their best to use them while avoiding those that would damage the development of democratic values.

Interactive Assessment of Political Organizations: Example of Georgia

Organizer:
Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMD)

Moderator:
Ivan Doherty – *Ireland*

Rapporteur:
Maarten van den Berg – *The Netherlands*

Presenters:
Ghia Nodia – *Georgia*
Álvaro Pinto Scholtbach – *The Netherlands*

In this workshop, Dr. Ghia Nodia of the Caucasian Institute for Peace, Democracy, and Development (CIPDD) in Georgia and Mr. Álvaro Pinto Scholtbach of the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMD) presented the final draft of their report, "The Political Landscape of Georgia's Political Parties: Achievements, Challenges and Prospects." The report is the product of an interactive assessment conducted in 2005 by IMD, CIPDD, and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE-ODIHR), with active participation of the six leading Georgian political parties. The report provides a detailed picture and analysis of the Georgian political system, elaborated by IMD and CIPDD on the basis of data produced mainly by the parties themselves through a series of 24 workshops and two multi-party conferences.

In the workshops, ordinary members, local leaders, and the national leaderships of political parties were invited to discuss the following topics:

- Ideological identity of party and policy making;
- Organizational structure and human and financial resources;
- Internal democracy;
- Public relations and election campaigning.

Discussions during the multi-party conferences focused on such issues as relations between political parties and the state and the role of women in Georgian politics.

By way of introducing the report, Ivan Doherty observed that there is a great need for in-depth political assessments to make democracy assistance more effective. Mr. Childerik Schaapveld of OSCE-ODIHR, who commissioned the report, confirmed this, adding that when political parties are involved directly in such assessments, they are given the opportunity to identify ways of advancing democratic practices within their own organizations and in relation to each other.

One challenge for democratic development in Georgia that became apparent in the presentation of the report is to turn political parties into stronger, more sustainable organizations. The report also observes that the level of cooperation among political parties is very low. Consequently, the report recommends that:

- Democracy assistance in Georgia should include support for party building and capacity development aimed at strengthening the parties internal organization and enhancing the participation of their members in decision making;
- Inter-party dialogue and cooperation should aim at enhancing the rules of political competition and the overall legitimacy of the political process; and
- Georgian political parties should establish more international contacts to develop ideas on organization, ideology, policies, electoral strategies, and internal procedures.

All parties participating in the assessment expressed eagerness to exchange experiences with European party leaders, activists and members.

During the workshop discussion, there was agreement that the interactive approach pursued in Georgia is replicable and should be adopted elsewhere. In fact, a participant from Moldova, who observed striking similarities between the state of political affairs in Georgia and in his own country, proposed that a team of assessors should conduct an interactive analysis of political parties there. Indeed, it seems that the pioneering work of IMD, CIPDD, and OSCE-ODIHR in Georgia is a trend-setting example of the participatory, politically savvy analysis that is needed to make democracy assistance more effective, inclusive, and sustainable.

Publication:
The report discussed in the workshop, 'The Political Landscape of Georgia's Political Parties: Achievements, Challenges and Prospects', can be downloaded from: **http://www.nimd.org/default.aspx?menuid=17&type=publicationlist&contentid=&archive=1**

Regional Workshops

Africa: (Part I) Assessing NEPAD and the African Peer Review Mechanism; (Part II) Violations of Constitutions and Advancing Constitutional Reforms

Organizer:
African Democracy Forum (ADF)

Rapporteurs:
Wanjala Yona – *Uganda*
Ryota Jonen – *Japan*

Part I: Assessing the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)

This part of the African Regional Workshop commenced with remarks from the chairperson of the African Democracy Forum (ADF) management committee, Ayesha Imam of Nigeria, and was moderated by Lucie Coulibaly from Côte d'Ivoire.

Juliet Ume-Ezeoke of the International Association of Criminal Justice Practitioners (Nigeria) presented Nigeria's APRM process and noted that although the NEPAD/APRM Secretariat has been established, questionnaires formulated and distributed to the people for response, little else has been done to create public awareness. Civil society, too, has been sidelined in the process.

E. Gyimah-Boadi of the Ghana Center for Democratic Development presented Ghana's experience and noted that, unlike Nigeria, it was quite inclusive. Civil society has been involved in the whole process, and there is good public awareness about what NEPAD is. He did express concern about whether the Peer Review Committee presented the real issues to the Ghana APRM panel because upon receipt of the Committee's report the panel had no negative comments despite some gaps in the report in several main thematic areas: democracy and good governance, economic governance and management, and corporate governance and socio-economic development.

Recommendations:

- The ADF should identify gaps in the NEPAD/APRM and design measures to strengthen the APRM to address them.
- There is a need for the APRM to address women's rights.
- Civil society should not wait to be invited into the process, but should demonstrate vigilance in getting involved.
- The ADF should disseminate information about NEPAD/APRM to its member organizations.
- Based on Ghana's experiences, the ADF should develop a template for general civil society involvement in the APRM process throughout the continent.

Part II: Violations of Constitutions and Advancing Constitutional Reforms

The second part of the regional workshop, covering constitution violations in African countries, particularly in Uganda, Kenya, and Nigeria, was moderated by Margaret Dongo of Zimbabwe.

Livingston Sewanyana of the Foundation for Human Rights Initiative (Uganda) presented the Ugandan experience in which the country has had several constitutional reviews. He noted that the 1995 Constitution is as democratic as that of South Africa, in that it recognizes fundamental human rights as inherent and not granted by the state, but as has been said, while this is stated on paper, it is not reflected in practice. Human rights have been trampled upon by state actors, and Sewanyana reflected on the grave deficits concerning the rule of law and the doctrine of separation of powers, which the Constitution provides for but has not been established.

The Nigerian perspective was presented by Okoye Festus of Human Rights Monitors (Nigeria) who pointed out the fraudulent process that the President used for establishing a National Commission to take charge of the reform process contrary to a decision of Parliament. The Parliament took the prudent decision not to allocate funding to the Commission, but the President funded it in any case without declaring the source of the funding to Parliament. The whole constitutional process in Nigeria also lacks transparency because the President wanted to change provisions in the Constitution to ensure the possibility of a third term in office.

Maina Kiai of the National Commission on Human Rights (Kenya) presented on Kenya's constitutional reform process and said that the coalition government had promised Kenyans a constitution within 100 days, but to date there is none. The would-be constitution was rejected by 56 percent of the Kenyans in a referendum, mainly because it was not for the people, contrary to the memorandum of understanding that was agreed upon by the coalition parties before the elections, and because of a total lack of trust in the government.

Recommendations:

- Find an exit package for politicians who violate a constitution for their own selfish gain.
- Get involved in challenging negative constitutional reforms.
- Design programs to encourage the emergence of politicians whose hearts are in the right place and who follow through on their commitments.
- Build public capacity in matters of national concern, such as the constitutional reform process.
- Promote constitutionalism.
- Members of civil society should take up leadership positions and set good precedents.

Asia: Does Profit Come Before Democracy?

Organizer:
World Forum for Democratization in Asia (WFDA)

Moderator:
Anselmo Seonghoon Lee – *South Korea*

Rapporteur:
Bo Tedards – *U.S.*

Presenters:
George Mathew – *India*
Nai-teh Wu – *Taiwan*
Han Dongfang – *China (Hong Kong-based)*

Presenters and other participants in this workshop considered the ways in which economic arguments have commonly been used to justify constraints on democratization in Asia by ruling powers, as well as the ways in which international actors have muted their advocacy of democracy because of economic considerations. Participants also recognized the need to grapple with a sense of disillusionment in some Asian democracies due to a perceived lack of economic performance, especially since those countries have been used by non-democratic forces as cautionary examples, even as examples of "too much democracy."

Participants considered the old argument that economic development is a prerequisite for democracy, and there was consensus that it is necessary to separate the two concepts analytically: Democracy is necessary for its own sake, as one participant put it, because it is the way to produce freedom. The state has a necessary role in regulating the effects of the market, especially in reducing poverty and meeting people's basic needs. On the other hand, democracy is necessary to regulate the state; it does this both directly, through the granting of governing mandates by the public, and also through its essential companion institutions, such as the rule of law, independent media, and an active civil society.

The classic justifications offered by authoritarians on the relationship between economic development and democracy were presented, and reference was made to the actual experience in pre-democratic Taiwan. These justifications include "perversity"(meaning efforts to reform will worsen economic conditions) and "futility"(meaning reforms won't achieve anything). It was noted, however, that empirical evidence does not in fact show a clear advantage for authoritarians because the long-term instability of authoritarian regimes negates most of the economic benefits, even in those rare cases in which such regimes actually have an effective development strategy.

In contrast to these "traditional" arguments, the case of India was presented as an example of recent accelerating economic growth that puts the lie to the idea that democracies cannot perform as well as authoritarian regimes. A vibrant civil society and community empowerment ensures that there is continuous pressure on elected governments to take care of the people's needs.

Participants also recognized the urgent need to establish linkages between the ideals of democracy and the daily lives of ordinary people. While advocates for democracy should establish a solid "knowledge base" on development issues, they also should avoid "over-intellectualizing" the concepts of democracy; rather, they should make a case for how they will provide direct benefits to workers who are exploited, farmers who have lost their land, etc.

The international dimension of the workshop subject was also taken up. Participants considered how the rise of China as an economic power impedes regional solidarity for democracy and how China provides support, both directly and through the power of example, to non-democratic regimes. In addition, they discussed the willingness of democratic countries to overlook abuses for the sake of access to natural resources or investment opportunities. At the same time, as one participant pointed out, democracies do allow for the possibility of lobbying for improvement in such foreign policies, and advocates should strengthen their capacity for doing so. Publicizing their countries' voting records in the UN and other international actions is one example.

The participants also emphasized the need to encourage the region's democracies to take more pro-active stances, especially those countries that have strong or growing economies. In addition to taking greater action in international forums, such as the UN, the Community of Democracies (CD), and the International Conference of New and Restored Democracies, such countries should target their overseas assistance more carefully, includ-

ing instituting some forms of conditionality related to democracy and human rights. They should also be urged to establish democracy assistance mechanisms like the Taiwan Foundation for Democracy.

Participants agreed that advocates in Asia should work harder within existing global forums for democracy. The CD's Non-Governmental Process is one forum, especially given its theme of "democracy and development" for the next ministerial meeting (2007). The International Civil Society Forum for Democracy is another, with its regional meeting to be held in Mongolia and the global meeting in Qatar, both in 2006. The participants also called for continued action towards a regional human rights mechanism.

Finally, the group recognized the need to enhance communication at the regional level, for example, by developing e-groups or other means to facilitate stronger networking.

Central and Eastern Europe and Eurasia: Promoting Regional Cross-Border Activities in Europe and Eurasia

Moderators:
Krzyszstof Stanowski – *Poland*
Yuri Dzhibladze – *Russia*
Rodger Potocki – *U.S.*

Rapporteur:
Inna Pidluska – *Ukraine*

This workshop aimed at generating practical strategies and ideas for cross-border programs in the region. It originated from an effort made at the World Movement's Third Assembly in Durban to develop an electronic discussion list to help democracy advocates in the region exchange ideas, news, and proposals, and to seek and give support and solidarity to each other, particularly in cases of persecution. The listserv was expected to form a basis for a future regional democracy network. Considering that the initiative should develop further, the workshop in Istanbul focused on concrete initiatives and specific ideas that can be taken back to the participants' home countries and developed before the next Assembly.

The workshop was divided into three subgroups that addressed working in "difficult" regions, cross-border cooperation in the Black Sea region, and linking Ukrainian and Russian NGOs with partner organizations in the region to encourage joint efforts that could go beyond their own groups and countries. The participants were encouraged to focus less on specific problems of their respective countries and the work they have been doing, and more on what they could do together to counter obstacles and promote democracy.

Recommendations:

Working in "Difficult" Regions

The subgroup on working in "difficult" regions addressed challenges in Belarus, Azerbaijan, and Central Asian countries where democracy and democrats are constantly at risk. Proposals and recommendations from the group included:

- Extend cross-border networking and use the experience of the Ferghana Valley where three countries (Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan) collaborated successfully to resolve a major crisis.
- Arrange and encourage visits to and from "difficult" neighbors, giving people in such countries the possibility of learning from each other.
- Facilitate communication via mass media, particularly foreign media and media in neighboring countries that broadcast abroad, about violations of human rights and democracy principles. Employ a broader use of radio, and host on the Internet the Web sites of NGOs in "difficult" regions that cannot be hosted within their own countries. Printing information, leaflets, newspapers, and other communications and information is critical, since the people in "difficult" countries too often have access only to distorted official information and democrats lack channels for communicating their views.
- Assist with the arrangement of sociological surveys and monitoring, not necessarily by sociologists within the "difficult" countries, but with the help of researchers from other countries.
- Continually update blacklists of public officials personally responsible for violations of human rights (such a blacklist already exists in Belarus). For instance, if a student is expelled from a university for expressing a political position, the rector should be put on the blacklist so that governments of the EU, the U.S., and other democracies can have that information when considering requests for entrance visas. The same should apply to judges, prosecutors, etc. Put pressure on the EU and other international forums to attract attention to the most sensitive issues.
- Explore possibilities for registering NGOs in other countries (i.e., following the Slovakian, Ukrainian, and Lithuanian experiences).
- Arrange more training and other events abroad for

democracy activists from "difficult" regions to draw upon resources of the neighboring countries (e.g., Ukraine, Lithuania, Poland).

- Think about new procedures for providing financial support to NGOs in "difficult" countries.
- Create an international coalition, to include not just CIS states but other countries and international NGOs, to help shape international public opinion, and to facilitate information sharing and the dissemination of democracy alerts.

Cross-Border Cooperation in the Black Sea Region

- Disseminate and learn from good examples of community-building projects, such as uniting a community around schools, and joint applications for projects (e.g., based on the Polish experience).
- Create networks of political integrity "watchdogs" to monitor the integrity of candidates for parliament, to negotiate with political parties to drop corrupt candidates, and to expose them if this fails. A model of this worked in Romania in 2004.
- Transfer best practices from the Baltic countries to the Black Sea countries by establishing a network of NGOs.
- Facilitate internships and study visits. For example, the Academy of Young Social Entrepreneurs invites students from the region to a camp in Poland, followed by an internship with a Polish organization. The students are then encouraged to start their own projects to address a problem they themselves identify.
- Learn from successful projects, such as a cross-border project in which magistrates from one former Yugoslav country monitor the war crimes court in another, and an Armenian/Azerbaijani/Georgian project to help journalists cross-check for ethnic stereotypes, etc. In addition, "post-revolution" projects might monitor the progress of civil society and state reforms after an electoral "revolution."
- Create a network of regional organizations in the Black Sea region that can exchange information and help develop joint projects and a common fundraising and development strategy to address common issues. A newsletter for the network, possibly called the Black Sea Monitor, might regularly publish a selection of legislative and civil society developments.

Linking Ukrainian and Russian NGOs with Partner Organizations in the Region

It was observed that there have been few joint projects between Russian and Ukrainian NGOs that could build on useful experiences and lessons, and that could be shared beyond those two countries, for instance, with NGOs and democratic activists in Central Asia, the Caucasus, and other places in the region. The organizations represented in this subgroup had substantial experience engaging in or focusing on educational activities, enhancing NGO capacity, promoting access to information, democratization research, human rights and democracy advocacy, countering abuse of power by law-enforcement authorities, anti-corruption work, women's issues, drafting legislation, working with judges and lawyers for implementation of international human rights standards in legal work, development of local self-governance (through training and information sharing), and working with local media. Their experiences should be gathered, analyzed, and shared to help build the capacity of democracy activists and to ensure the emergence of a new generation of democrats in the region. Among the recommendations:

- There should be closer cooperation between Ukrainian and Russian NGOs following a study to identify common problems that NGOs in the region want to address jointly.
- There should be information exchanges on NGO work, youth, teachers, and journalists, particularly outside the main cities, to help NGOs become more aware of events in the region.
- NGOs should form a civic platform for cooperation and look for and unite local initiatives to encourage them to exchange experiences and information and to help each other.
- There should be mutual exchange internships for NGOs in Russia and Ukraine, youth summer schools on different issues, training programs for local self-governance representatives, better communication between NGOs and local governments; there is some potentially useful Ukrainian experience in such projects.
- NGOs should work with judges and schools on democracy education, and build information bridges among networks in individual countries to help NGOs working on specific issues acquire information on what is going on in other countries and to enable them to participate in the activities of similar NGOs across the region.
- Ukrainian and Russian NGOs should develop strategies for working together in other countries in the region.

Finally, since the World Movement's Third Assembly in 2004, pressure on democracy activists in Russia has increased, and new, effective ways to counter the backsliding on democracy and freedom should be developed in the region. NGOs should develop substantial long-term projects to engage local communities through civic education and thus increase the chances for democracy to take hold in the society.

Latin America/Caribbean: Political Parties and Women's Participation

Moderator:
Elisabeth Ungar – *Colombia*

Rapporteurs:
Cirila Quintero – *Mexico*

Presenters:
Rosa M. Zelaya – *Nicaragua*
Malena de Montis – *Nicaragua*
Cirila Quintero – *Mexico*
Steve Griner – *U.S.*

The workshop focused on the current situation of political parties and women's participation in political and democratic processes.

Challenges:

Political Parties

- Political parties in Latin America lack credibility, which is part of a global trend.
- Political parties are sources of power or brokers for accessing power, and males continue to play central roles in their leadership.
- There should be an effort to increase the internal democratization of parties.
- The relationship between political parties and civil society should be re-thought.
- Political participation should not be limited to elections, and should thus include social and economic aspects.

Women's Political Participation

- In some countries democracy is considered the domain of men and a process in which women have been largely excluded.
- If parties lack legitimacy, are they the best vehicles for women's participation? Or should we think about alternative forms of political participation?
- Women have long been active in NGOs, so it is important to recognize their new role in appointed and elected positions.
- Social activism is not much different from political activism. Work needs to be done to bring the two together and overcome their apparent mutual exclusivity. Political parties and civil society should be brought closer together.
- Current laws to ensure women's political participation are the result of long struggles led by women from social, economic, and, of course, political sectors.
- Continuing work is needed to ensure women candidates for leading positions, including important districts and as main candidates, and to leave behind the regular practices of having women only in secondary and alternate positions.
- As women's participation in politics increases, their contributions to politics should be considered.
- Women should not be viewed as victims of the current system, but as proactive actors; they should fight to secure more spaces for participation.
- What we understand as politics should be reconsidered, especially from a gender perspective, and men should not be excluded from this process.
- Quota systems have advanced women's participation, but there is a need to continue to work to fully integrate women into politics.

Recommendations:

- Political parties should be strengthened, especially with regard to their internal modernization, the training of new leaders, and their rapprochement with the larger society.
- Best practices among political parties should be identified, with a view to those systems that have worked well and have brought women to power, such as the system in Chile.
- All discriminatory policies and practices within political parties should be ended.
- Association and coordination among different parties to promote women's inclusion should be encouraged.
- Women's education should be promoted, both formal and within political parties, to seek a more just and egalitarian society.
- Women candidates who can really reach elected office should be promoted, but not just to symbolic positions or just to attract voters.
- It is important to create networks of women to learn, share, and analyze best advocacy tactics.
- Public policies that support women once in office should be instituted.
- There is great diversity among women's perspectives and we should work to respect these views if we want to be more successful in promoting women's political participation.

Democracy Building in the Middle East and North Africa – The Role of the Democracy Assistance Dialogue (DAD)

Organizers:
Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation (TESEV)
No Peace Without Justice – *Italy*
Human Rights Training and Information Center – *Yemen*

Moderator:
Jonathan Levack – *Turkey*

Rapporteur:
Alison Smith – *Italy*

Presenters:
Niccolo Figa Talamanca – *Italy*
Ömür Orhun – *Turkey*
Ezzadin Al-Asbahy – *Yemen*
Rola Dashti – *Kuwait*
Saad Eddin Ibrahim – *Egypt*

Background:
This workshop featured presentations by a number of governmental and nongovernmental partners and NGO representatives who have been involved with the Democracy Assistance Dialogue (DAD) since its inception. The broader Middle East/North Africa (bMENA) region lacks democracy, and democracy should mainly be promoted there as a value per se, a central component of which is the right and opportunity of civil society to have an impact on political processes. The lack of effective interaction between governments and civil society, combined with increasing pressure from outside agencies, combines to create a real barrier to regional non-state actors gaining legitimacy, as well as to their ability, opportunity, and power to interact effectively and do their job in the transition to democracy.

The conceptual rationale of the DAD is to assist in preventing and countering that barrier by making it clear (both within the region and to the West) that civil society should be the legitimate counterpart to governments, and any political pressure from the outside should reinforce that work rather than undermine it. The DAD process is driven by a number of different factors, including in particular: the urge for change in the Middle East as more pronounced than in other global regions; regional countries, while stressing the home-grown aspect of change, recognize and accept that outside actors can play a constructive role in this process; and the forces triggering change and reform in the region is multi-faceted and involves both government and civil society. The DAD is

intended to address this by promoting dialogue, cooperation, and interaction, with dialogue between government and civil society focusing on finding mutually accommodating rules of interaction in areas where it could produce tangible results.

The DAD operates through regionally-based workshops and conferences designed to promote non-state actors as the legitimate counterpart for governments in discussions of democratic reform. The DAD is therefore a framework aimed at fostering partnerships between governments and civil society, not just on a symbolic basis, but through active participation. The important aspect of this work is not so much the political commitments made by governments during regional events, but that increasingly the DAD work is the joint work of civil society and governments and the format carries the message: it is meaningful when government and civil society can sit together and agree at least on the need for dialogue and consultation about political reform.

Discussion:

The workshop discussion raised a number of points:

- The participants spoke about the impact of the DAD on the two priority themes on which it focused in the first year: participation of women in public life and political pluralism and electoral processes. On women's participation, there have been improvements, but often based on a desire by governments to present themselves in a positive light to the outside world. There is still room for improvement in the region, therefore, particularly in relation to the media, education, family law, and strengthening the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). Activists and civil society should take the successes and achievements to date and move forward, a process to which the DAD has contributed.

- There has also been progress on political pluralism—2005 can be characterized as the year of "the discovery of the magic of the ballot," with 11 elections in the region, including Palestine, Iraq, Lebanon, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia. The DAD has made a useful symbolic contribution by supporting and reinforcing democratic forces in the region, although organizationally there is still a long way to go.

- One of the major points made about the DAD is the need for some kind of "stock-taking process" regarding the concrete contributions the DAD has made to democratic reform in the region and how it can take the process further. This suggestion was welcomed by all DAD partners present, although it was noted that one concrete indicator of progress so far is the effective integration of civil society participation in the Bahrain meeting of the Forum for the Future, an intergovernmental meeting, particularly when measured against the complete lack of participation in the previous Forum for the Future meeting in Morocco.

- The major criticism offered of the DAD process (aside from the need for more extensive publicity) is the failure so far to translate the format and content of the discussions on the two priority themes into effective action and dialogue at the national level within the bMENA region.

Recommendations:

The participants offered a number of recommendations for the future work of the DAD:

- In terms of making the DAD process more effective:
  - The DAD should not be limited to modest exchanges of information and experience, but should explore new areas to ensure greater impact and effectiveness;
  - A joint and systematic "lessons learned" exercise should be undertaken to help develop more sophisticated initiatives;
  - Closer and more high level coordination among different actors within the DAD would be very beneficial;
  - There should be greater networking of organizations from the region to share experiences and empower each other to keep moving the process forward;
  - There should be more participation of civil society organizations in populist movements, as well as more integration into the DAD process, which also needs to widen participation of nongovernmental actors, such as parliamentarians.
- Many participants spoke about the impact of external actors, particularly from the West, and how they might be useful in moving the democratic reform process ahead in the region. The main issue raised in this respect is the need for external actors to accept the consequences of democratic processes, having pushed for those processes to be implemented. One example repeatedly raised is the Palestinian elections: it is counter-productive for external actors to refuse to accept the results of the elections by refusing to deal with the winners, and doing so de-legitimizes democracy advocates and reformers in the region.
- It was also noted that the international community has a responsibility to be transparent, to talk to governments in the region and hold them accountable for their actions. For example, external actors should not be satisfied with the election of two female members of parliament as evidence of the participation of women in public life, but should push for more progress.
- An additional issue that arose in this context is the so-called "clash of civilizations" idea, which has been adopted by some groups in the region and was highlighted in the workshop as an impediment to progress. There was general agreement that this needs to be

countered, and in that respect it was suggested that the joint initiative of the Spanish and Turkish prime ministers to create an "alliance of civilizations" under the general umbrella of the UN be supported by governments and civil society in all countries.

• The participants in the workshop expressed a general sense of a lack of progress in democratic reforms in the region and a widely-shared frustration in not seeing reform initiatives move fast or far enough. They recognized that people who are working for democratic reforms are not and should not be satisfied with the gains. Nonetheless, it was noted that when activists meet together it is important to see if there has been any movement. While it is important to criticize the lack of progress, it is also important to recognize achievements, however small, to ensure a proper analysis of what has and has not worked and how to move forward.

• The issue of security was discussed, particularly in the context of how the Helsinki model from the 1970s might be used to move things forward in the broader Middle East and North Africa region. The specific model may not necessarily be appropriate, given that conditions in Eastern Europe at the time were very different from the conditions in the Middle East today. There was general agreement, however, that the spirit of the Helsinki process could be a useful framework to promote cooperation and to support the democratization process. Participants noted that this is particularly pertinent in the post-September 11 world, and that there is growing momentum within regional civil society to address security issues in ways that would come from civil society as proposals to the governments, much like the DAD.

• Another issue discussed by participants is accountability both of governments and civil society, particularly in terms of adopting democratic practices. It was noted that if civil society organizations (CSOs) do not empower women and instill equality within their own organizations, it becomes difficult for them to demand democracy in the state. In addition, the transparent accounting of the receipt and spending of funds by governments, CSOs, and by the Foundation for the Future was emphasized. In relation to governments, civil society has a role to play in empowering people by educating them about where public funds are going and the extent to which governments are creating jobs and providing services. For the Foundation and the DAD, one concrete proposal is to host a conference for all NGOs to make a public accounting of the allocation and spending of funds to promote transparency and credibility.

• Freedom of the media emerged as perhaps the most critical issue facing the region at the moment in terms of furthering democratic reform. It was noted that the tightening of access to mass media has created a situation in which the most effective venue for getting messages across has become the mosque, which sometimes gives a platform to radical Islamists while leaving little space for democrats. Public space should be opened up so there can be free media, which must also be responsible, to enable civil society to reach the grassroots and empower them to push for democratic change based on their needs and aspirations. Participants highlighted the role that external actors can play in providing a platform and helping the development of free media in the region.

LusoForum for Democracy

Moderator:
João Carlos Espada – *Portugal*

Rapporteurs:
Eugénia Gamboa – *Portugal*
Elisabete Azevedo – *Portugal*

The LusoForum for Democracy is a network of Portuguese-speaking people committed to the promotion of democracy in eight Lusophone countries (Angola, Mozambique, São Tomé & Principe, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Brazil, East Timor, and Portugal). It was created in 2002 and is based at the Institute for Political Studies at the Catholic University of Lisbon, Portugal.

The LusoForum met for the first time at the World Movement's Third Assembly in Durban, South Africa, in 2004. At that Assembly the members agreed to undertake an initial task of developing a Web site to facilitate communications among the members, and to enable the involvement of other individuals and institutions in the LusoForum. This goal has been successfully accomplished, but members of the LusoForum have expressed the hope that the site can be made more interactive and translated into English to strength potential linkages with others active in the World Movement for Democracy.

In addition to those of Portuguese-speaking participants, this workshop included contributions of English-speaking participants who share the goal of promoting the LusoForum on the African continent. The meeting was for this reason conducted in both Portuguese and English.

All the participants sought to reinforce the significance of having a network such as the LusoForum, particularly because not all the countries in which Lusophone citizens live are democratic. In the last decade, some Portuguese-speaking countries have engaged in political liberalization, but their efforts have not led directly to full democracy.

One of the concerns expressed by participants at the World Movement's Fourth Assembly is the importance of "translating democracy," not just in literary terms but above all in terms of behavior, beliefs, and common understanding. The participants in this workshop thus committed themselves to work toward this goal—to convey the concept that democracy is itself a human right to the more than 200 million Portuguese speakers around the world. In this connection, the participants were pleased with the election of a Portuguese speaker to the management committee of the World Movement's African Democracy Forum. The LusoForum members also reiterated their commitment to cooperate with all of the newly elected members of this African network's leadership body.

Recommendations:

The participants made the following recommendations for further development of the LusoForum:

- Improve the Web site to be more interactive and user friendly;
- Study the prospect of developing training courses in political research and journalism in African countries based on the experience of conducting such courses at the Institute of Political Studies in Lisbon;
- Increase the number and variety of individual and organizational members of the LusoForum; and
- Assure the participation of the LusoForum in the next World Movement Assembly.

Regional Democracy Charters

Organizers:
Steve Griner – *U.S.*
Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa) – *South Africa*

Moderator:
Mariclaire Acosta – *Mexico*

Rapporteur:
Elisabete Azevedo – *Portugal*

Presenters:
Steve Griner – *U.S.*
Debbie Stothard – *Malaysia*
Paul Graham – *South Africa*
Festus Okoye – *Nigeria*
Ted Piccone – *U.S.*

There was a common understanding among all participants in the workshop that regional democracy charters have an undeniable significance in strengthening democratization. With valuable contributions from the other participants, the presenters focused the discussion on three regional institutional experiences: the OAS (Organization of American States), ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations), and the AU (African Union). The first revelation drawn from these experiences is that they are significantly different in their histories, their linkages with civil society, the level of democracy of their member countries, and on the establishment of charters.

The OAS, originally founded in 1948, is at present constituted by 34 American states, including Canada, the Caribbean, all Latin America (with the exception of Cuba) and the United States. In 2001, the members approved a new charter providing a comprehensive definition of the essential elements of democracy. The Asian and African experiences differ significantly.

ASEAN was established on August 8, 1967, without a charter or a constitution, and does not have any official pact to promote democracy. On the contrary, the lack of specific guidelines has allowed manipulation and inconsistency in the promotion or application of the principles of good governance. The member states have used ASEAN as an excuse for their lack of respect for democratic values, often adopting a relativistic perspective (e.g., "yes, in Singapore we don't have freedom of expression, but it is still worse in Vietnam"). There has been broad international and regional criticism of ASEAN on this point and civil society and national assemblies have been demanding that ASEAN adopt a charter of democratic values.

The AU, established in 2002, has been developing important pacts, such as the African Charter for Human and People's Rights, and a pact defining free and fair elections, but there is no democratic charter. There is some indication of progress toward a charter for democracy, but civil society participation has been blocked.

Observations:

- Regional democracy charters generate a space for civil society within their respective regions, and nations can demand accountability from their governments once such democratic treaties are ratified.
- A country's civil society can play a crucial role in bringing to bear on a practical level the principles that their government ratified on the regional level; this can be accomplished through demands for implementation of such principles through national and local law, but also by translating the content of charters into local languages, thus generating awareness of citizens' rights.
- Efficient mechanisms are needed to assure that once a regional charter is established either no violations are made by member states, or in the case of violations such mechanisms address such behavior.
- A regional democracy charter is an important achievement, but it is the beginning, not the end, of the process. Demands from civil society require a continuous evaluation of countries' behavior and the will and capacity to adapt to new challenges (for example, participants from Latin America expressed their hope for movement beyond "free and fair elections" to the need for democracies in which checks and balances are respected).

Recommendations:

- Resources are needed to enable civil society to participate at the national level, especially in non-democratic societies or "hybrid" regimes, in the formulation and implementation of democracy charters.
- The World Movement for Democracy should provide via its Web site information about existing regional democracy charters and efforts to establish new ones.

Functional Networking

World Youth Movement for Democracy

Moderator:
Cristina de Miranda Costa – *Brazil*

Rapporteur:
Andrea des Marais – *U.S.*

Background:
This workshop was intended to share information about the World Youth Movement for Democracy, affiliated with the World Movement for Democracy, and to build partnerships to develop the Youth Movement further in the coming years. The idea of the Youth Movement came from discussions at the World Movement's Assembly in São Paulo, Brazil, in 2000, but it began to take shape when the South American Regional Office of the Global Youth Action Network (GYAN) was selected to serve as the Secretariat and the Youth Movement's working group met to clarify its mission and structure.

The Youth Movement is a "network of networks" that was created to support and complement the work of its participants based on the belief that an effective and sustainable movement for democracy and human rights depends on the active participation of young people. Working with young people means working with three generations at once: the youth themselves, their parents and relatives who may be affected by new ways of thinking, and their future children. In recent years, many organizations within the World Movement have found that their objectives would be well served by working with young people and they are therefore looking for ideas and tactics for involving them.

The Youth Movement seeks to serve as a platform for young leaders to advocate for the importance of involving young people in democracy building; as a forum for sharing information, strategies, training materials, and other resources; and as an action-oriented solidarity movement. The Secretariat has developed a Web site (www.ymd.youthlink.org) and mailing list to provide a central source of information for young democracy and human rights activists and for people working with young people to build democracy. The tools provided will develop further as members share information and resources.

Action Plan:
The workshop participants committed themselves to acting as a "nucleus" of the Youth Movement's membership, and will share resources and undertake efforts to reach out to other organizations.

Immediate Actions

- International coordination will focus on reaching out to new members and stimulating idea exchanges and promoting collaboration among members. Because its membership structure is closely linked to the World Movement, the Youth Movement is especially looking for partners within the World Movement who have strong commitments to networking and youth programs.
- All interested participants in the Youth Movement will send information about their programs, upcoming events, opportunities, and ideas for collaboration to the Secretariat to build the online information hub.
- The Youth Movement will work to develop an agenda for advocacy within the World Movement to give more priority to youth issues and participation. A central proposal would be to increase youth presence at future assemblies.
- Members will organize around the World Youth Day for Democracy each year (October 18) as a way to highlight youth participation in democracy and human rights movements and to reach out to youth on these issues. This can be done by hosting discussions, trainings, rallies, concerts, solidarity vigils, or any other activity within with the focus of participating organizations.

Collaborative Projects
Since a primary purpose of the Youth Movement is to share ideas for collaborative action, participants began the process in the workshop itself. The following ideas emerged:

- Develop national-level Web sites (and printed materials) aimed at young people with information about democracy issues for the respective country and listings of active groups, projects, events, and opportunities.
- Host regional youth assemblies in 2007 or 2008 to bring young people together from different areas of democracy work to engage in capacity building and networking.
- Establish a solidarity alert and information system, integrated with the World Movement, to call attention to the struggles of Youth Movement member organizations and to initiate actions.
- Establish a system for channeling funding to youth engagement projects.
- Develop a "Youth Participation Index" and undertake a survey to evaluate the degree to which different

countries open avenues for youth engagement.

• Conduct a global survey of the roles youth play in developing democracy in societies at different levels of democratic development (closed, transitional, established, etc.), and develop a report to serve as a guide, reference, and advocacy tool.

• Contact political parties with youth wings to get them involved in the Youth Movement, and encourage the formation of youth wings where they do not yet exist.

Anyone interested in participating in the Youth Movement is strongly encouraged to get in contact with the Secretariat by sending an email to ymdsecretariat@youthlink.org and checking the Web site at **www.ymd.youthlink.org.**

Network of Democracy Research Institutes: Translating Democracy

Moderators:
Marc F. Plattner – *U.S.*
Oussama K. Safa – *Lebanon*

Rapporteur:
Vitali Silitski – *Belarus*

Presenters:
Abdu Filali-Ansary – *Morocco*
Adel Abdellatif – *Lebanon*
Daniel Zovatto – *Argentina*
Olga Gyarfasova – *Slovakia*

There is an ongoing battle of ideas between democratic and anti-democratic alternatives in many regions of the world where democracy has yet to take root. The resilience of authoritarian trends in the Islamic world and the former Soviet Union, the emergence of populist regimes that have a high propensity to turn increasingly anti-democratic, the popularity of ideologies that denounce the principles of democracy, and the active encouragement by governments and radical movements of all of this means that democracy is far from winning the battle. Given this, providing sources of information and intellectual thought on democracy for the general public and universities around the world may be critical for promoting democracy in such regions as the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and the former Soviet Union, among others. Conversely, a deficit of knowledge will only deepen the deficit of freedom.

Challenges:

Participants in this workshop emphasized the acute lack of literature on democracy and rule of law, particularly in the Arab world, and outlined the following major problems in "translating democracy."

• While there is an extreme shortage of literature on democracy, there is an abundance of easily available sources of information provided by radical anti-democratic movements.

• While information about democracy is often available in foreign languages such as French and English, the increasing trend toward the exclusive use of Arabic at local universities makes these sources unsuitable for use in the curriculum.

• There is a lack of local support for translating and publishing literature on democracy because some national governments are either uninterested in circulating this information or ban it altogether. Meanwhile, radical and extremist literature denouncing democracy often enjoys substantial official and private support.

• There are certain problems in translating literature on democracy into local languages because of linguistic problems and the incompatibility of certain terminology; many languages in developing democracies lack proper equivalents for such terms as "rule of law," "policy," etc.. Therefore, the quality of translation is often substandard. Moreover, there are many other peculiar linguistic issues, such as differences in spoken and written languages (for many in the Arab world, for instance, even the Koran is difficult to read, and as a consequence "interpretations" are tailored to political agendas).

• Translated foreign books may be prohibitively expensive for the intended audiences in countries where living standards are low (and most of the countries and regions in question fall into this category).

• Printed media, and especially books, can hardly compete with TV for attention in today's world, which means that state-controlled TV channels have a much greater power in defining attitudes of citizens.

At the same time, participants in the workshop emphasized the importance of spreading to broader audiences the knowledge produced and accumulated by democracy activists, intellectuals, and think-tank researchers who have worked on democracy and rule of law issues. The problems here are often prohibitively high costs of translation and publishing for the relatively small potential audience. The quality of translation is also often very problematic; the meaning and substance of the material is often lost in translation when done by those who do not have combined expertise in the subject matter and the language, whether translating from or to local languages.

Recommendations:

- A careful review should be undertaken of the literature already available in the various regions and what remains most pressing to translate and publish.
- Assemble teams of experts and intellectuals to establish plans of action for ongoing work and to help with definitions and solving complex linguistic issues.
- Multiple sources are needed for distributing knowledge; while book publishing is important, it is also critical to use other media, particularly printed media, to ensure a speedy and widespread dissemination of certain basic concepts and ideas.
- "Translating democracy" is in great need of funding, since the political, social, and economic contexts of the regions in question make local sources of funding negligible.
- There is a window of opportunity for getting democracy-related literature into university curricula since there is currently an acute lack of basic textbooks and other sources of information in many educational establishments.
- Translation efforts should address the key misunderstandings about democracy that are widespread in the societies in question (for instance, whether democracy is a competitor of religion or a panacea for all social and political ills) and are masterfully used by anti-democratic forces to denounce democracy.
- Electronic databases should be established to make literature on democracy available online.

Finally, the workshop participants shared experiences in successful translation work (such as Idea Access), and urged greater information sharing and cooperation.

Global Forum for Media Development

Moderator:
Eric Johnson – *U.S.*

Rapporteur:
Daoud Kuttab – *Jordan*

The Global Forum for Media Development (GFMD) is one of the newest initiatives to emerge within the World Movement for Democracy and has been in process for the past two years. Most of the participants were new to or unfamiliar with the purpose and nature of the GFMD. The workshop moderator, Eric Johnson, Program Director of Internews and a member of the GFMD steering committee, therefore explained that the GFMD was created to bring together both the world's media development groups and media NGOs. From the biggest organizations, such as Internews, IREX, and BBC World Service Trust, to national organizations working for free and independent media, the GFMD first gathered in Amman, Jordan, in October 2005. More than 425 delegates—implementers and donors—attended the meeting to discuss their common concerns.

One of the original main premises for the GFMD was the recognition that media development is not given much weight by donors, or is at least not appreciated as a sector and concern separate from the broader issues of, for example, human rights, democracy, and governance. Following the meeting in Amman, the Knight Foundation commissioned a study to determine how much funding is actually allocated for media development annually and globally, and the figure came to around $1 billion per year, almost entirely from Europe and North America. Related to this, it was suggested that one of the barriers to convincing donors to take a more serious look at media development is the absence of any solid methodology for evaluating the impact of media development programs.

Ultimately, there were four key rationales for creating the GFMD:

- Promoting media assistance among donors;
- Studying and improving the monitoring and evaluation systems for media development;
- Professionalizing the media development/media NGO field;
- Encouraging exchanges of best practices, research, lobbying, bridging resources, etc.

An 18-person steering committee spearheaded the first GFMD meeting in Jordan, but from the beginning it was conscious of pitfalls and issues that needed to be resolved. There was the matter of the committee being "self-appointed" and composed mostly of bigger organizations. According to Mr. Johnson, the effort from the start was to make the committee more representative, but smaller organizations with fewer resources tended to fail to participate even when resources for attending meetings were offered. Nonetheless, the GFMD meeting took place in Amman with wide participation and deep interest, and the delegates discussed common problems in the implementation and funding of media programs: How do we demonstrate that what we're doing is really useful? How do we measure our impact? What is an effective intervention? What works? What doesn't? Etc.

Following the Amman meeting, delegates asked themselves if it is viable to institutionalize the GFMD as

an organization since they and even steering committee members were conscious that the GFMD might end up competing with its own members. There was also the question of resources, since a new organization would need its own. There was much discussion, therefore, but no consensus on how to move forward. On the other hand, there was consensus on the sentiment that "we just know we need to work together."

At this workshop, participants raised concerns based on their impressions of the GFMD. Some were confused about its mandate. A participant from China asked if the GFMD could help to network individual journalists in China or anywhere else such networks do not yet exist. Mr. Johnson explained that this is not GFMD's intended mandate; rather, its aim is to network existing groups, match needs with capacities, and facilitate collective discussion of common issues. He emphasized, however, that the individual groups that comprise the GFMD do have their own resources, sets of skills, and mandates to respond to such calls for network building. The value of the GFMD is its ability to highlight the ways different organizations can contribute to improving work in the media field. In the meantime, the GFMD is keeping its focus on the need to promote the entire sector in the eyes of donors.

A participant from Jordan expressed his concern that there is a conceptual problem with the GFMD because its founders are more worried about keeping its member organizations healthy than serving the actual needs of media constituents on the national and community levels. The GFMD, he said, has yet to clarify how it can strike a balance between the funding interests of the big organizations leading the network, and smaller groups' resources and interests. He also raised the issue again of why small organizations are not represented on the steering committee, and Mr. Johnson reiterated that this would be possible if the smaller organizations in fact found it practicable to be more active in the GFMD process; it's no less interesting for smaller organizations to be involved than for larger ones, he said. The only reason the big organizations are leading the network is because they are the only ones who have the resources to bring the global sector together. Striking a balance remains a constant challenge and process for the GFMD.

The Jordanian participant also asked if the GFMD would have any ideological bias toward either for-profit or nonprofit media development. Mr. Johnson responded that there is no such intrinsic bias either way. Moreover, an instructive consensus that emerged from the Amman meeting was that in principle media assistance should be about strengthening the practice of journalism, not strengthening media.

A Pakistani participant questioned the need to create a whole new organization such as the GFMD. If the intention is merely to promote the media development agenda among donors, there is no need for an organization. It may be possible to simply form a delegation and send them out to educate donors. Mr. Johnson replied that the GFMD process is not simply about raising funds, and referred to the four rationales listed above. He also emphasized that the GFMD as a process is precisely about getting some consensus on issues that confront media and media development organizations aside from funding concerns. In this light, he noted that there are regional initiatives and models for figuring out how the GFMD, as a process, can continue to move forward. He said that regional forums are being organized for Africa and Eurasia. Those in Latin America have yet to map out the options there, and those in Asia are waiting for an organization to take the lead.

International Women's Democracy Network

Moderator:
Anne Mugisha – *Uganda*

Rapporteur:
Juliet Ume-Ezeoke – *Nigeria*

The International Women's Democracy Network was established at the World Movement's Third Assembly in Durban, South Africa, in 2004 to support and enhance women's roles and agency in the development of democratic practices and institutions at the community, national, and international levels. These purposes are intended to be realized through

- exchanging experiences and best practices;
- providing training in democracy work;
- developing and supporting advocacy campaigns initiated by members at the local, national, and international levels;
- building solidarity and support for individuals and organizations engaged in democracy activism; and
- increasing interaction and communication among and between various transnational networks, including those working on women's rights, human rights, peace, and environmental issues.

The Women's Learning Partnership for Rights, Development and Peace (WLP) was asked to serve as the Secretariat and to coordinate the activities of the network. Since the World Movement's Third Assembly, the WLP has initiated several informal consultations and discussions at various international gatherings 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. In addition, WLP worked closely with the World Movement Secretariat staff to initiate a Web site for the network **(http://www.wmd.org/women/womensdemocracy.html)**, and WLP launched an e-mail listserv for the network based on a list of all female individuals invited to attend the Fourth Assembly in Istanbul. The listserv had some 78 members at the time of the Assembly, and was used by participants to identify presenters for various Assembly workshops and to exchange information among activists from different regions. The listserv has great potential if fully utilized by participants to achieve the network's goals.

The workshop participants focused on the next steps to realize the network's potential by addressing the challenges that civil society organizations face in promoting women's involvement in democratic development in their regions, the strategies that member organizations were taking to overcome those challenges, and recommendations on how the network itself can respond to those challenges.

Challenges:

- Enkhtuya Oidov of Mongolia discussed the challenges faced by her organization following a democratic revolution. The organization worked in an environment with no democratic institutions and no experience. While Mongolian women have had a high literacy level, they did not have resources and had been living in a closed society. The government resisted the entry of women into politics and was hostile toward their struggle for emancipation.
- Rose Shomali spoke about a Palestinian women's coalition. Palestinian women face traditional barriers that exist alongside a patriarchal culture. They need to understand that they can overcome the stereotypes that prevent them from participating, and men need to be enlightened and become involved in promoting women's participation in decision making. Cultural norms and laws often prevent women from acquiring decision-making positions, and quota systems for women's participation is often resisted by men. The media is also not supportive nor gender sensitive.
- Sindi Medar-Gould discussed the challenges faced by women in Nigeria, which include patriarchal domination in the private and public spheres and a shrinking space where women and men compete for only a few positions. She added that society does not recognize the importance of women participating in politics and decision making because traditional cultures tend to inhibit such participation.
- Malena de Montis discussed the challenges in Nicaragua and the Latin America region more generally, in which the patriarchal system inhibits women from participating in the public sphere. According to Ms. de Montis, there is a lack of consistency and unity, and women's groups are always splintering. The challenge is to achieve unity in diversity and to move beyond the tiny spaces in which such groups operate in order to break away from a history of suppression. Another problem is that resources are not available to women who are impoverished and struggling to feed their families. Cultural laws, economic disempowerment, and a lack of skills and social services conspire to deny women their opportunities to participate in politics. She pointed to the need to build trust among networks.
- Olexander Rudneva discussed the challenges faced by women in Ukraine, and said her organization was struggling to develop policies concerning women in an environment in which they are perceived as unimportant. She also stated that there is under-representation of women in Parliament.

Recommendations:

The following strategies and recommendations were made for moving the network forward:

- Learn from the experiences of countries within regions by establishing regional offices for the network. Several individuals volunteered their organizations to take up this responsibility within their regions.
- Work with other international organizations and social justice movements.
- Strengthen leadership skills and develop members' self-reliance.
- Establish regional networks and ask them to train women candidates.
- Identify and train potential women leaders.
- Support women leaders through solidarity networking and international pressure to create awareness of the threat faced by democrats.
- Train media representatives on women's and democracy issues as part of advocacy and lobbying, and raise community awareness more generally of such issues.
- Conduct studies of the challenges to and potential for women's leadership in democratic development.
- Provide resources and information on best practices.
- Raise awareness of the women's agenda in democracy meetings.
- Change women's perception of stereotypes in leadership.
- Empower women and provide opportunities for their work through training and information sharing.
- Train men and women on how to collaborate.
- Provide mentoring for young women.

- Coordinate with other World Movement regional and functional networks at the local, national, and international levels.
- Share power, skills, and experiences for success.
- Keep the agenda of the Women's Network on the agendas of relevant movements, such as the Youth Movement for Democracy.
- Develop a neutral forum that admits different shades of opinion for discussing women's issues related to political participation.
- Enhance communication through seminars with women journalists.
- Conduct research to define the problems to be addressed and ways to address them.
- Develop programs for legislative reform, and raise issues of equality on political agendas.
- Train young women in leadership skills and connect them to the women's and democracy movements.
- Create an online resource center to provide information and knowledge on priority areas of the network.
- Through a participatory process, develop, circulate, and finalize a draft vision statement and plan of action to define the character and structure of the network.

Global Network on Local Governance

Moderator:
George Mathew – *India*

Rapporteur:
Sadun Emrealp – *Turkey*

Presenters:
Ash Narain Roy – *India*
Rama Naidu – *South Africa*

The workshop on the Global Network on Local Governance (GNLG) included 17 participants from 10 different countries, including Colombia, Ecuador, India, Liberia, Morocco, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Sweden, and Turkey. Following presentations providing the background and basic framework of the GNLG, the discussion among the participants reflected a consensus on the necessity of the network. It was emphasized that the GNLG is not intended to be a network on local government, but a network on local governance, bringing together those who are concerned with the local government system and democratic decentralization. As part of the background presentations, progress of the network to date was summarized, including:

- Establishment of a Web site **(www.gnlg.com)**.
- Establishment of a Secretariat under the umbrella of the Institute of Social Sciences (ISS) in New Delhi, India.
- Establishment of two committees, an Executive Committee (with nine members from a variety of countries) and a Fundraising Committee.

Dr. Ash Narain Roy of the Institute of Social Sciences (ISS) shared his views on the context giving rise to the GNLG. He drew attention to the "globalization of democracy" based on the acceptance of democracy as a universally applicable system. He emphasized that through democratic decentralization democracy can become deep-rooted and sustainable. Besides, full participatory democracy is only possible at the local level. He focused, in particular, on the model of India's democratic decentralization, which includes quotas for women, those in the lower castes, and indigenous people in political life; as a result, women have been empowered and have become "new stakeholders" in Indian politics. He thus emphasized the importance of the less-recognized "revolution of decentralization" that India has been undergoing alongside its "economic revolution." A primary lesson learned from India's experience, he said, is that to empower local communities, the central government must devolve its powers rather than merely "delegate" them.

Returning to the history of the GNLG, Dr. Roy explained how the idea of the network emerged at the World Movement's Second Assembly in São Paulo, Brazil, in late 2000, and developed further as a result of discussions in a workshop at the Third Assembly in Durban, South Africa, in 2004, co-organized by the ISS and the Democracy Development Program (DDP) in South Africa. More recently, the GNLG Steering Committee met in Delhi in February 2006, at which time the focus and work of the GNLG was defined.

In his presentation, Mr. Rama Naidu of the DDP reiterated the framework of the GNLG and its history, and described how what he called the "Durban sprit" at the Third Assembly motivated those involved and enabled them to proceed with the establishment of the network.

As a result of synopses presented by participants of the relevant experiences in their countries, the expectations of the GNLG were discussed. Among the leading ideas to emerge were the following:

- The GNLG should serve its constituents by "opening up new horizons" with relevant examples of local governance from around the world, both good and bad. There is also a need for a monitoring mechanism.

- The network can be of particular value and relevance for sharing ideas, experiences, and good practices. Participants therefore urged the creation of some means to profile "success stories."
- By efficiently utilizing new information and communication technologies (ICTs), the GNLG can provide innovative ways of exchanging information and experiences rather than through the organization of international meetings, which are very costly.
- The network should promote and contribute to the inclusion of the "excluded" in different countries, in particular by including networks of indigenous people.
- The GNLG should help develop the essential capacity of local people, particularly in facilitating the process of decentralization.
- The GNLG can be instrumental in "demystifying" government by serving as a clearinghouse for information related to decentralization and democratic local governance.
- The network should help develop global solidarity around the importance of local governance.

At the conclusion of the workshop, Mr. Naidu summarized a number of suggestions voiced by the participants for taking the GNLG forward:

- The GNLG Web site should include profiles of people working successfully in local government institutions.
- Information on local governance systems in different countries should be provided on the Web site.
- Members of the network should be able to pose practical questions for response by experts via the Web site. For this purpose, the network should devise a plan for accessing experts around the world.
- Fundraising for the GNLG should include raising funds for conducting "research" in pertinent areas of work.
- The Web site should acknowledge "the champions" by identifying "local heroes" and sharing their stories so members will become aware that they are not alone.
- Regional local governance networks should become more operational.
- Advocacy should become an integral aspect of the network's activities.

International Movement of Parliamentarians for Democracy

Moderator:
David Lowe – *U.S.*

Rapporteur:
Michael Allen – *U.K.*

Presenters:
Urban Ahlin, MP – *Sweden*
Michael Danby, MP – *Australia*
Nadezhda Mikhailova, MP – *Bulgaria*

The participants in this workshop agreed that a revived international network of parliamentarians would share experience with new democracies, respond to attacks on civil society, and organize solidarity with beleaguered democracy activists. Recognizing the need to avoid duplicating the work of existing parliamentary networks, the participants nonetheless held that if the Inter-Parliamentary Union, for instance, recognized such false parliamentarians as those in China, and other networks focused on geographical regions such as Africa, there is indeed a space—and a need—for a rigorous network that would give parliamentarians access to the resources and expertise of the World Movement itself as a "network of networks."

Describing himself as a "democratic fundamentalist," Swedish MP Urban Ahlin, who chairs his Parliament's foreign affairs committee, argued the case for parliamentarians to coordinate opinion/editorial articles in response to ill-informed and partisan coverage of democracy promotion. Former Bulgarian foreign minister, Nadezhda Milhaylova, drew on her family's experience of repression under communism to highlight the dangers of populist, anti-democratic ideologies.

A network of parliamentarians can perform a particularly useful role for the civil society-oriented World Movement for Democracy, Australian MP Michael Danby said, because politicians understand the practical limitations of voluntarism and the intricacies of electoral systems, have hands-on experience confronting corruption, and understand the importance of a vibrant political opposition. Concurring with the need to stress practical considerations for busy politicians, Ivan Doherty of Ireland highlighted the importance of engaging regional legislative networks around the likes of the OAS and SADCC.

Jesper Olsen drew attention to the facilities that could be made available through the innovative E-parliament initiative that is producing a database of 25,000 parliamentarians. He indicated that E-parliament will gladly circulate IMPD statements to its current list of 4,000, and that it may be possible to convene an e-parliament limited to democratically-elected politicians. E-parliament could also facilitate the network's rapid action alerts. Participants discussed the possibility of creating a sec-

retariat for the parliamentarians network, with several European forums suggested as possible sites.

Many parliamentarians lack essential information on, for example, the democratic credentials and credibility of certain groups and movements, said Jana Hyboskova, a Czech member of the European Parliament. A research-based information service and a database of best practices on such issues as political party financing would be valuable. She indicated that she would raise the network within the European People's Party.

The participants agreed that a plan of action for the network should identify priority needs and issues, at least including an action alerts facility to assist democrats (especially parliamentarians or aspiring parliamentarians whose human rights are being violated). The network would also benefit from having a specific concrete focus, such as combating the current international backlash against democracy assistance.

Promoting Human Rights and Democracy: Supporting the Role of the Democracy Caucus in UN Reform

Organizers:
Democracy Coalition Project – *U.S.*
Freedom House – *U.S.*
Transnational Radical Party – *Italy*

Moderator:
Ted Piccone – *U.S.*

Rapporteur:
Dokhi Fassihian – *U.S.*

Presenters:
Debbie Stothard – *Malaysia*
Ayesha Imam – *Nigeria*
Oumar Makalou – *Mali*

This functional workshop focused on the role of the UN Democracy Caucus in UN reform, specifically in strengthening the new UN Human Rights Council. Participants discussed efforts to date to create a UN Democracy Caucus, composed of those governments invited to participate in the Community of Democracies, to serve as a focal point on human rights and democracy issues within the UN's long-established regional bloc system. Differences between the new Human Rights Council and the old Commission on Human Rights were discussed, including new requirements that Council members uphold the highest standards of human rights, cooperate with the body, make pledges and commitments as candidates, and be elected by an individual and direct vote of an absolute majority of the UN General Assembly. Participants agreed that the Democracy Caucus should play a more serious role in the UN human rights system.

Participants described the role of the old UN Commission on Human Rights as "formidable," even in cases where little change was visible within a country as a result of the Commission's actions. Governments took such actions seriously, participants said, which is precisely why the Commission had become so politicized and concerted efforts were made by governments to avoid scrutiny and censure. Participants also said that resolutions on human rights violations served as important symbols and tools for human rights defenders working to expose abuses within a country, at the regional level, and in other international bodies. The Commission also served as an important forum for affording international protection to human rights defenders.

Human rights defenders in the workshop, from Asia, Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, and Western countries, shared advocacy strategies successfully used at the Commission and in specific regional bodies, such as the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights, to expose human rights violations and exclude abusive countries from leadership positions. The activists also discussed ideas for civil society strategies to strengthen the new UN Human Rights Council through the UN Democracy Caucus, particularly with regard to the election of the 47 members to the new Council who will play critical roles in determining the rules and regulations of the new body.

Recommendations:

- Civil society campaign strategies should be international and regional, and should focus on the Democracy Caucus' commitment to support countries for election to the Council that have good records on human rights protection and promotion. Participants discussed various criteria in determining the human rights credentials of countries, including voting records at the UN on human rights resolutions, available assessments of countries' human rights records, openness and accessibility of delegations to human rights organizations, countries' positions on NGO participation at the Council, cooperation with UN special mechanisms, and ratification of human rights treaties.
- Smaller countries with good records that have been sidelined by powerful neighbors should be encouraged and supported for election to the Council. Participants said that it was important for countries with poor records to not be completely excluded from the human rights system, since that would make it harder to influence their governments.
- Civil society should launch an international advoca-

cy campaign to rotate meetings of the Human Rights Council to "southern" countries and regions outside the Western world to provide opportunities for southern human rights defenders to attend sessions and to blunt claims by abusive governments that the UN human rights system is promoting and imposing the values, concepts, and interests of Western (or "northern") countries. Sessions held in Geneva or elsewhere in the north should make Web casting available for participants in the south who cannot attend sessions physically.

- NGOs should seek increased participation and access to the Human Rights Council by urging the UN Democracy Caucus to support their full and equal participation (i.e., NGOs should sit at the table with governments), as demonstrated by the Community of Democracies itself at its ministerial meeting in Chile.
- The UN Democracy Caucus should meet formally and in a public framework as often as possible with human rights and democracy organizations from around the world to give defenders international recognition by the Caucus, which can serve as protection for groups and activists at home.
- As much as possible, NGOs should work together, adopt common positions, strategies, and tactics, and share resources, accreditation, credit, and time available at sessions of the Human Rights Council to address pressing human rights concerns effectively.
- Human rights groups should first lobby governments in capitals and respective regional forums as the first place where policies are made, and then lobby delegations in New York and Geneva where they largely carry out instructions from their home governments. Participants said that actions by governments at the UN are important and symbolic, but actions by local citizens and NGOs at home and in regional institutions are taken seriously by governments and are thus more effective in getting abusive countries censured and shamed at the regional level.
- Intensive training programs should be carried out to educate governments, as well as nongovernmental actors, on how democracy and human rights issues can be better addressed through international organizations.
- Civil society campaigns should encourage the Human Rights Council to promote all human rights equally, including political, civil, economic, social, and cultural rights.

Creating a Higher Education Network for Democracy

Organizer:
Europeaeum

Moderator:
João Carlos Espada – *Portugal*

Rapporteur:
Uri Dromi – *Israel*

Presenters:
Paul Flather – *U.K.*
Serdar Degirmencioglu – Turkey
Michael Pinto-Duschinsky – *U.K.*
Uri Dromi – *Israel*

The moderator introduced the participants to the goal of this workshop: To explore the possibilities of establishing a network of higher-learning institutions to promote democracy together.

Paul Flather of Europeaeum (an association of European universities), who initiated the idea, began by expressing his belief that universities should be engaged in democracy-promotion, have an international commitment, act as homes for free ideas, and disseminate good and reliable information. He advocated the creation of a network open to all, with a database shared by all participants to include information on how each participating university or think tank promotes democracy, as well as lists of experts who are available and willing to contribute to the network's goals. The activities of the network would include a virtual "global seminar room" on teaching democracy, short exchange visits of experts on democracy, graduate civic education programs, support for suppressed universities, and improving university management as a tool both to promote democracy in the universities themselves and to persuade them to join the network.

Michael Pinto-Duschinsky stated that he fully supported the idea of the network, and pointed to the fact that politicians who decide about our lives lack the skills required for fulfilling their missions; educating them to do so can only be accomplished through universities. He proposed a model for the network that would be based partly on communication via the Internet, but he emphasized that this should be supplemental to, not a substitute for, face-to-face interaction. His proposed model would feature three phases:

- A two-week course on democracy, but not in commonly thought of places, such as Oxford or Stanford Universities, etc.;
- Six months of follow-up education via the Internet, with an evaluation process to determine whether the graduates fulfilled the expectations of the program;

• A one-month seminar together with other graduates of the program, to be held in a participating university with an option of receiving a diploma.

He also said that he believed funding for this model was feasible.

In his presentation, Uri Dromi said that while he embraces the idea of the network, he believed that it should include not just universities, but think tanks as well, because universities often find it difficult to respond to such an initiative while individual professors who are also fellows at democracy-promotion think tanks would be more ready to contribute. He offered the case of his own think tank (Israel Democracy Institute) as an example: There are six senior fellows, each of whom is a leading professor in his or her field, who have decided to step out of the "ivory tower" and engage in promoting democracy. These six professors and their 40 research assistants are part of a broader team that for four years worked on a draft constitution for Israel. Apart from their scholarly contributions, they were also involved in an extensive educational program, called "The Education System Writes a Constitution," in which some 100 high schools in Israel ran simulated constitutional assemblies with the professors serving as mentors and their assistants actually running those assemblies. Based on this experience, he suggested that the proposed network should include think tanks, preferably members of the World Movement's Network of Democracy Research Institutes (NDRI), because they already mobilize professors interested in promoting democracy and because they serve as information centers and have logistical resources.

Serdar Degirmencioglu supported the idea of a network in his presentation, but cautioned against a too "Western" approach that might lead to ignorance about "peripheral areas" of democracy promotion. He expressed his hope that the network would address the following issues: private universities, many of which have become "degree factories" and are uninterested in the community; the question of elitism, which motivates university graduates to drift away from the real concerns of the community; awards to professors who distinguish themselves in promoting democracy seminars for undergraduate students, not only for graduate students; and the need to emphasize the needs of students, not just faculty.

Other participants in the workshop responded to these proposed ideas and concerns. One participant expressed doubts about the proposed plan because universities have other missions and challenges. Other participants disagreed, pointing out that there already are courses on democracy at various universities, and one university, the University of Warrick, has a Democratization Center that cooperates with FRIDES (associated with the Club of Madrid), and the students are very enthusiastic about going out into the community and implementing what they have studied, thus already comprising a mini-network.

Yitzhak Galnoor from Israel shared information about a project begun some years ago at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in which professors from the political science department undertook to teach democracy to civics teachers with the idea that each of them influences some 30 students every year. But Alicia Derkowska of Poland argued that the proposed network not be restricted to civics teachers only, and shared her personal experience as a math teacher.

One participant from Germany expressed interest in engaging not only university students, but high-school students as well, and a participant from Zambia cautioned against a "northern" kind of network in which Africans and Southeast Asians, for instance, would play only secondary roles.

New Tactics in Human Rights Network

Organizers:
Center for Victims of Torture – *U.S.*
Helsinki Citizens Assembly, Turkey

Moderator:
Emel Kurma – *Turkey*

Rapporteur:
Tolekan Ismailova – *Kyrgyzstan*

Nancy Pearson from the Center for Victims of Torture (CVT) reminded the participants of how the New Tactics in Human Rights Network was created. More than 600 well-known human rights activists participated in the New Tactics in Human Rights Symposium in Ankara, Turkey, in 2004. The New Tactics Project was created to promote methods of tactical innovation, strategic thinking, and collaboration among diverse rights advocates worldwide, thus enabling them to be more effective in addressing a broad range of human rights issues. As a result of the achievements to date, as well as new opportunities and lessons learned from project partners and participants, the focus in 2006 was to connect practitioners with each other and to inform them about enhanced methods of communication; to develop, translate, and distribute project products and materials; to increase program and technical support to local NGO initiatives; to conduct additional country-specific and regional work-

shops; and to consult and collaborate with project partners and continue online discussions. (Information about the New Tactics in Human Rights Network can be found at **www.newtactics.org**.)

The main topic of the discussion was the unchanging status quo of the human rights situation (for example, regarding torture) despite all the efforts of human rights defenders at the local and international levels. The executive director of the Center for Victims of Torture, Douglas Johnson, provided a picture of the situation concerning torture. He said that torture cases are increasing year by year, but there are not enough new tactics and strategies for changing the situation. Previously, the human rights movement used only three types of tactics: developing international norms and a system of conventions, agreements, and standards; monitoring compliance with those norms; and criticizing state action or inaction regarding violations.

With time these tactics demanded new approaches and solutions, the development of infrastructure, the use of new technology, and professional staff. For example, in the case of Amnesty International, when it launched its third campaign against torture, it concluded that the issue of torture was as important and relevant as it was in 1974 when the first global campaign against torture was launched. This was confirmed by a human rights defender from Azerbaijan who provided some facts about torture and said international organizations do not pay enough attention to post-election human rights violations and the use of torture by officials. She emphasized the necessity of having the support of a network of human rights organizations in such situations.

A human rights defender from Uzbekistan suggested that efforts of human rights defenders be unified to change legislation on torture prevention. She suggested network efforts to lobby for changes in legislation in post-Soviet countries so that, for instance, a medical conclusion of a doctor can be taken as evidence of torture. Currently, the courts do not accept such medical conclusions. Tortured convicts are not transferred to prisons, but are kept in detention centers until signs of torture become invisible. She therefore suggested the use of New Tactics in post-Soviet countries through a network for the prevention of torture.

Participants from Turkey emphasized the importance of having an effective network by establishing criteria for mutual cooperation and support, and one participant offered the principles of the Centers for Pluralism network in Central and Eastern Europe for such criteria: openness, pluralism, non-imposition, and informal (i.e., no formal organization). A participant from Kyrgyzstan supported these principles because, she said, networks established by donors often create problems, conflicts, barriers, and divisions. She emphasized that a local network can choose to adapt new effective instruments from the New Tactics project for its work, and it is possible to use New Tactics effectively without allocating any money to do so.

Finally, a Colombian human rights activist provided some examples of innovative approaches his organization used in their work following the New Tactics Symposium in Ankara in 2004.

Participants

Nearly 600 participants came together at the World Movement's Fourth Assembly to show their commitment to democracy promotion. These democracy activists, practitioners, and scholars from approximately 120 countries in every region of the world, 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**.

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Amourlaye Toure
Mouvement Ivoirien des Droits Humains

Democractic Republic of Congo

Kitenge Dismas
Group Lotus

David Kwibe
Congolese League Against Corruption

Ernest Mpararo
Comite d'Action pur le Developement Integral

Ethiopia

Eyessus Zafu
Addis Ababa Chamber of Commerce

Gambia

Hannah Forster
African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies

Ghana

Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi
Ghana Center for Democratic Development

Guinea

Thierno Sow
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Guinea-Bissau

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Liberia

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Malawi

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Mali

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Erdoğan: "Hiç kimsenin demokrasiden vazgeçme lüksü yok"

Naha Mint Mukness ile AKP'li Murat Mercan, İslamda demokrasiyi tartıştı. ■ Fotoğraf: OZAN GÜZELCE

İslamda demokrasi tartışması

ŞÜKRAN PAKKAN İstanbul

Utanıyorum

Demokrasi ödülleri

Erdoğan to address meeting of democracy activists in Istanbul

Erdoğan warns cultural conflict nourishes terror

ANKARA – Turkish Daily News

In today's world it is easier to talk about the concept of "globalization of terror" than to speak about the concept of global peace, Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan said while warning about the existence of a cultural conflict based on poverty, injustice and violence around the world.

Delivering a speech at the opening session of a four-day gathering of democracy activists late on Sunday, Erdoğan centered his speech on whether the international ... unprepared for actual globalization." Today, it is not about the globalization of peace, whereas "it's as though the globalization of terror is preceding the process of the globalization of peace," Erdoğan asserted. "We need to check ourselves at this point."

Bringing to mind Turkey's role in the U.N.-backed Alliance of Civilizations initiative, the prime minister explained that Turkey's European Union membership drive should be perceived as a sign of importance attributed by ...

Medeniyetler beşiği İstanbul'da 'demokrasi rüzgârı'

Demokrasi konuşuldu tartışmalar bitmedi!

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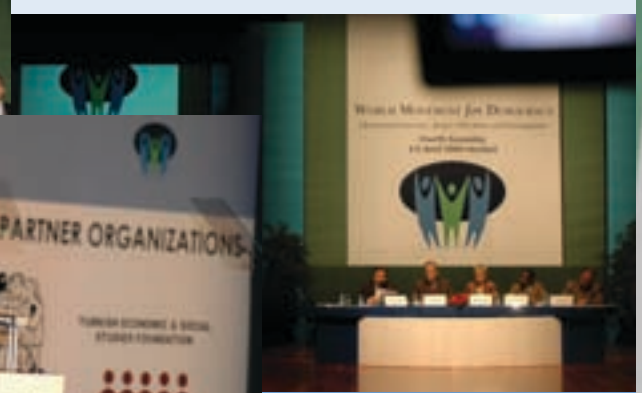
World Movement *for* Democracy

Advancing Democracy: Justice, Pluralism, and Participation



"... the time has come for democrats throughout the world to develop new forms of cooperation to promote the development of democracy. Such cooperation is needed to strengthen democracy where it is weak, to reform and invigorate democracy even where it is longstanding, and to bolster pro-democracy groups in countries that have not yet entered into a process of democratic transition."

— from the Founding Statement of the
World Movement for Democracy