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Confronting the Challenges to Democracy in the 21st Century

Message from the Steering Committee

Democrats from 93 countries gathered in São Paulo, Brazil, on November 12–15, 2000, for the Second Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy. The Assembly brought together a richly diverse group of participants representing every region of the world to continue the work begun at the Inaugural Assembly in New Delhi, India, in February 1999. Despite their differences in background and culture, they came together in the spirit of shared democratic values, and with a recognition of the importance of building a worldwide network committed to mutual support, exchange, and cooperation.

The World Movement for Democracy has emerged as an important initiative to strengthen democratic interaction by fostering new linkages, support networks, and voluntary collaboration among like-minded democrats, while emphasizing concrete initiatives and activities. In addition to facilitating common action within global regions, it provides a forum for exchange and collaboration among democrats working in distinct but complementary areas of advancing democracy: leaders of political parties and civil society organizations, trade unionists and members of business associations, human rights activists and journalists, academics and civic educators, parliamentarians and anti-corruption specialists, and practitioners supporting local government and encouraging greater civic participation.

Since the World Movement first met in 1999, important breakthroughs have occurred that demonstrate the continuing momentum of the global democratic struggle. Nonetheless, the obstacles to further democratic progress and the potential for reversals are still great. The theme of the Second Assembly in São Paulo, "Confronting the Challenges to Democracy in the 21st Century," was thus intended to reflect both the difficulties that lie ahead and the determination to overcome them.

The technological and communications revolution offers the exciting possibility that previously disadvantaged and excluded groups can develop new techniques of advocacy and political networking. Indeed, such empowerment is a principal goal of the World Movement for Democracy. By adapting our strategy and work to new global conditions, we hope to make it possible for all people to benefit from economic development, to participate in shaping their political future, and to preserve their cultural and religious identities.
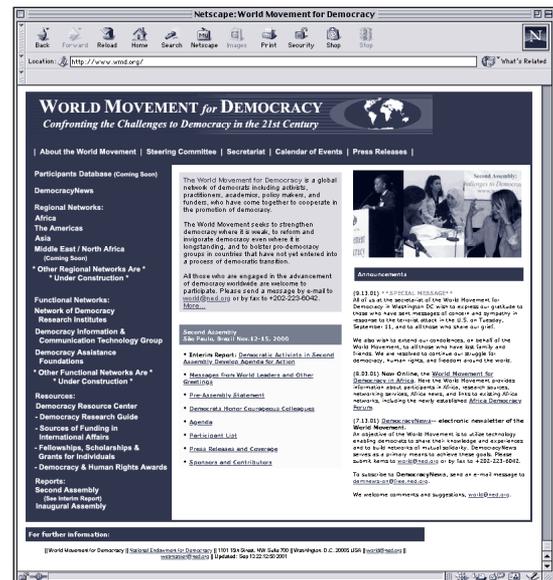
But new technology alone is insufficient, particularly in those areas where access remains a distant, if promising, means to advance democratic goals. The biennial assemblies of the World Movement are thus indispensable for building solidarity

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among World Movement participants and for sharing their knowledge, information, and experiences.

The Inaugural Assembly of the World Movement was intended to test the proposition that sufficient need and interest exist in the global pro-democracy community for the establishment of an informal, but effective "network of networks" around the world focused on the advancement of democracy. The result was reflected in the Founding Statement adopted by consensus at the conclusion of that Assembly:

> *. . . 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.*

The statement further described the new World Movement as a "proactive network of democrats that will meet not less than every two years to exchange ideas and experiences and to foster collaboration among democratic forces around the world." The New Delhi Assembly thus served to inaugurate the World Movement and to set the parameters of its work. In so doing, it answered the proposition placed before it—whether sufficient interest and need exist for such a global network—with a resounding "yes."

The primary purpose of the Second Assembly in November 2000, the basis for this report, was to lay the foundation for the creation of the various functional and regional networks that would work toward the goals stipulated in the Founding Statement. As a result, through the nearly 40 workshops organized at the Assembly in São Paulo and the networking undertaken since, the World Movement has brought a multiplicity of individuals and organizations into the fold, and many more activists, practitioners, and thinkers are now participating in the World Movement. Over the next two years, those engaged in democracy work will solidify their ties with each other through their Web sites and e-mail communications, and through their collaborative projects, looking ahead to the next assembly in 2003.

This report records the observations, recommendations, and proposed initiatives resulting from the topical, regional, and functional workshops of the Second Assembly. It also contains a list of the more than 400 participants who took part. The workshop reports contained herein are also available on the World Movement Web site (www.wmd.org), along with regularly updated links and other information on follow-up work related to the various recommendations and initiatives. The Web site also contains links to a number of regional and functional networks undertaking activities to advance democracy. We encourage you to visit the Web site for these and other resources.

We wish to thank all of our Brazilian friends for helping to make the Second Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy a reality. Our thanks go especially to President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, a great friend of democracy; to Fábio Magalhães, Director-President, Latin American Memorial; Deputy Ney Lopes, the Vice-President of the Latin American Parliament; and to our fellow Committee member, Bolivar Lamounier, and Ms. Cristina de Miranda Costa, the Local Coordinator, both of whom worked tirelessly behind the scenes. Most of all, however, we want to thank the many activists from all over the world who traveled great distances to join us, and to express our solidarity with those who were prevented from attending.

The success of the World Movement for Democracy will be measured not only by the number of concrete initiatives to enhance democratic cooperation, but also by the extent to which it grows into a self-sustained means for democracy activists, scholars, and practitioners to draw upon each other's strengths. Through this work, the World Movement will truly emerge as the global democracy network envisioned at its inception.

Keynote Address

by Fernando Henrique Cardoso, President, Brazil

EXCERPTS

Democracy as a Starting Point

It is a very special pleasure for me to welcome the participants in the Second Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy. Those who are gathered here today are working for a common ideal: the ideal of a political system rooted in the imperatives of freedom and equality, in the values of pluralism and solidarity, and in dialogue as a mechanism for overcoming differences.

The country that is your host today bears in its recent political memory the marks of its struggle to regain its democracy after some 20 years of authoritarian rule. This was a process through which political freedoms and citizenship rights were restored. It was also a process through which society became organized and gained its own voice, which created the conditions of legitimacy necessary for the country to be able to meet its historic tasks in the areas of development, social justice, and the reduction of inequality.

Revitalizing Political Institutions

We are engaged in improving the performance of our democracy at the institutional level. The idea of political reform aimed at consolidating the mechanisms of representation, strengthening political parties, and eliminating distortions is high on the national agenda. This is an inherently difficult task, but we will accomplish it through dialogue, persuasion, and above all, through a search for what is best for Brazilian democracy.

It is said that the revitalization of institutions of political expression and representation constitutes one of the most serious challenges facing the contemporary world. The goal is to use the Internet and other new technologies to strengthen democratic values, transparency, and communication between the government and its citizens. With "electronic government," citizens will have access to an extraordinary amount of information and public services on-line. This will not only reduce bureaucracy, but will make it possible for society to improve its oversight of the government and the services that government provides.

Yet making all these services available would be useless if the government did not, at the same time, try to promote access to the Internet. Here in the state of São Paulo, for example, we are placing computers in public schools, along with teachers to instruct people in how to use computers and how to connect to the Web.

The Growing Consensus About Democracy

If we consider what is happening not only in Brazil, but throughout the world, we are pleased to see that today democracy has a worldwide reach that probably has not been equaled at any other moment in the history of mankind.

Today in Latin America, the principles of democracy and the rule of law widely prevail. Yet there are still problems that must be overcome, and it is imperative that we keep on improving. There can be no going back. That is why, at the South American presidents' meeting that took place in Brasilia not long ago, we adopted a "democracy clause." Its message is clear: In our region, there is no room for authoritarian adventures or for disruptions of the rule of law. The South American countries showed their readiness to act together in solidarity in order

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to preserve and consolidate democracy.

It is important that the promotion of democracy should be pursued without arrogance or an attempt to impose one's own will. Democracy should not be confused with the political system of any particular country. It does not have a pre-established model, a recipe to be copied by all nations. Yet democracy does have a set of values that are fundamental and which may not be negotiated away. And it is appropriate that those fundamental values should allow each people to follow, in complete freedom, their own history according to their own decisions, learning from their own mistakes, bringing to maturity and perfecting their institutions and strengthening the various forms of expression of citizenship.

It is important that there is now widespread agreement as to the need for a minimum set of guarantees and rights without which the idea of democracy loses all meaning. This includes concepts such as periodic and clean elections, without fraud and within the framework of a secure legal system; concepts such as individual rights and freedom of expression, association, and participation, as well as equality before the law and the rule of law. This entails pluralism of opinions and beliefs, as well as the protection of minorities.

At the same time, we know that democracy is not limited to this formal framework, but must continually open itself up to effective citizen participation, to the expression of social demands, and to the vibrant presence of an active civil society, mobilized and organized to oversee the government and to claim its rights at every moment.

Justice, Equality, and Democracy

It is absolutely essential to understand that democracy is not the finish line, but rather a starting point. Securing democratic freedoms does not guarantee an immediate solution to the problems that afflict the population, such as poverty, disease, and social inequalities. Democracy does not put an end to injustice, but it does establish the conditions that allow us to aspire to achieve effective justice as a value present in the everyday life of citizens. Thanks to transparency, a free press, and widespread participation, democracy gives voice and power to majorities. In a democracy, injustice will not prevail. That is why the existence of a free press is so important for democratic values.

At the same time, we cannot lose sight of the negative effect that extreme inequalities and rigid social stratification have on the performance of free institutions. Democracy is rooted in equality and, for it to be fully realized, it is essential that each citizen be able to identify the possibilities for improving his situation and that of his family.

Toward Global Citizenship

Today civil society is undergoing a great transformation, and as a result the boundary between the state and society is becoming more fluid. Just take a look at the weight of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in the decision-making process, both in this country and elsewhere, and consider the development of organizations, such as the ones assembled here, that transcend national borders.

Therefore we must consider that we are living on the threshold of a new era, in which democracy is even stronger because it is imbued not only with classic values but with new values that go beyond the limits of the nation-state. Today democracy embraces global citizenship as well as general and universal values. It is important for us to know how to use the tools of democracy to guarantee that the public dimension be precisely that: res publica, something that is not subject to private appropriation. That is the reason why reform of the state is so important for the progress of our democracy.

The Brazilian Experience

This year Brazil is celebrating the 500th anniversary of its discovery. During these five centuries, we have consolidated a tradition of different races and social groups. We have learned that this diversity is an element that enriches our experience as a people and a nation. For this reason, it seems to me very fitting that Brazil is hosting this meeting of democrats from the entire world.

Inspired by the name of the entity that is assembling here—the World Movement for Democracy—I would like to conclude by saying that if the twentieth century was marked by wars and episodes of serious human rights violations, we have the opportunity to contribute to making the twenty-first century the century of democracy. Brazil will do its part.

Full text available in the January 2000 issue of the *Journal of Democracy*.

Greetings from Around the World

Tony Blair
Prime Minister, United Kingdom

The World Movement for Democracy is an initiative that truly meets the challenges of the new Millennium... By bringing together scholars and activists, along with parliamentarians and government officials, the Movement underlines the popular participation in governance that lies at the heart of true democracy.

Vaclav Havel
President, Czech Republic

I am glad that democracy and democratic values have become the most important elements of this global twentieth century, and I believe that they will also become an inseparable part of the century to come... It is our common responsibility to engage in strengthening democracy everywhere there is the need.

Chen Shui-bian
President, Taiwan

As we cherish the fruits of our nation's political accomplishments, we must also affirm our commitment to the promotion of human rights and democracy around the world. Therefore, I would also like to take this unique opportunity to announce my intention to found a democracy support foundation in Taiwan. This is out of recognition of the significance of all the international democracy activists and institutions that have extended unwavering support to Taiwan's democratic movement over the years.

Ricardo Lagos
President, Chile

You are reuniting in São Paulo at a special time for democracy in this region. Dictatorships and authoritarian processes are left behind. We are winning democracy, we have presidents and democratically elected governments. But, without question, there is still much to be realized: how to strengthen political parties, how to provide space for non governmental organizations, how to achieve the participation of civil society.

Bill Clinton
Former President, United States

Many of you have come from nations that have felt the pain of conflict and economic distress. Yet you, too, have never stopped working for accountable government. You teach us that democracy is not a luxury we can afford only when times are good, but a necessity we must cherish especially when times are hard.

John Winston Howard
Prime Minister, Australia

In considering measures to meet the challenges to democracy in the 21st Century, those of you gathered in São Paulo are undertaking an invaluable task. Your discussion recognizes that a transition to democracy is much more than an overnight phenomenon and that democracy should never be taken for granted.

Miguel Angel Rodríguez Echeverria
President, Costa Rica

Nothing strengthens the democratic system more than a single individual committing him- or herself to making democracy an absolute, indispensable, and natural part of the daily life of a community.

His Holiness the Dalai Lama
Tibet

Modern democracy is based on the principle, that all human beings are essentially equal, that each of us has an equal right to life, liberty, and happiness. Irrespective of the superficial differences between us, each of us is just a human being like everyone else... Let us take steps now to ensure that this century will be characterized by non-violence and dialogue, the preconditions of peaceful coexistence.

Kim Dae-Jung
President, Republic of Korea

Democracy is a universal value that cannot be compared with anything else... There are still people in many countries without basic human rights, political freedom, access to information, and freedom of expression... We need to continue helping developing countries until they are able to take part in the era of technology and information.

Olusegun Obasanjo
President, Nigeria

In order to consolidate nascent democracies such as ours, much effort is still required to develop democratic awareness at the grassroots level. It is this awareness that will ultimately protect the society against any tendency towards bad governance.

Jan Weijers
Secretary General, Liberal International

Democracy is a universal, inalienable right. There is no excuse not to grant people their political and civil rights. Neither desire for economic development nor for stability can be an excuse for oppression.

Rt. Hon. William Hague
Chairman, International Democrat Union

In our countries, political activists play an important role in civil society... Our activists bring civic pride and a sense of responsibility. They want their institutions to be open and responsive. They are one of the key ingredients for a successful and stable state.

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Democracy Courage Tributes

The World Movement for Democracy honored five groups who have shown exceptional courage in their work for freedom and democracy at a program held during the Second Assembly. The more than 400 participants sent a message of solidarity and support to their fellow democrats who often struggle in near anonymity and isolation against some of the most difficult challenges to democracy and human rights around the world. "Democracy Courage Tributes" were presented to the following groups by leading figures in the World Movement during a moving and often emotional ceremony held at the American Chamber of Commerce, São Paulo.

■ The **Colombian Democratic Mayors** have demonstrated not only a high level of commitment to democracy but also extraordinary courage under the cruelest of conditions. Colombia's mayors have paid the ultimate price to govern and defend democracy in their towns and cities. Over the past three years, 32 mayors have been assassinated, including 20 candidates for the mayoral elections held October 2000. Their unwavering commitment to keep the demo-cratic hope alive, in the face of threats both to themselves and their families, has been an inspiration not only to their constituents but also to people throughout the region and the world.

■ **The Civil Society Movement of the Democratic Republic of Congo,** composed of thousands of faith-based organizations, human rights groups, and members of the independent press, continues to be a beacon of hope in a country enmeshed in one of the world's largest and most destructive wars. After struggling valiantly during the early 1990s to move the country from dictatorship to democracy, the Civil Society Movement continues to represent the non-violent option for change in the Congo, as it advocates for an end to the current war, respect for human rights, and greater dialogue among all Congolese in defining the political future of the country.

■ **Iran's Pro-Democracy Student Movement** has spearheaded the Iranian people's struggle for basic freedoms, including the rights of free assembly and freedom of expression. Despite the fact that the movement has followed a peaceful course, voicing the

Colombian mayors accept their Democracy Courage Tribute.

Steering Committee Member Irena Lasota looks on as Zulekikhan Bagalova accepts the Democracy Courage Tribute for the Chechen NGO, LAM.

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Steering Committee Member Ayo Obe (at podium) applauds leaders of the Civil Society Movement of the Democratic Republic of Congo.

Steering Committee Member Mahnaz Afkhami accepts the tribute on behalf of Iran's Pro-Democracy Student Movement.

Steering Committee Member Xiao Qiang accepts the tribute on behalf of the Tiananmen Mothers.

people's grievances within the framework of the rules imposed by the authorities, they have been routinely subjected to governmental abuse, including unreasonable search and seizure, flogging, incarceration, denial of legal representation, excessive prison terms, and torture.

■ **LAM,** a Chechen NGO, was founded in 1996 to promote education and human values. With the outbreak of the second war in September 1999, LAM ("mountain") broadened that role to assist refugees, provide information to relief organizations, disseminate bulletins about rights abuses to the outside world and bring Chechens from across the political spectrum together to develop plans for ending the war and for post-war reconstruction. Despite the brutal conditions under which it operates, LAM continues to organize democratic education programs in schools and in refugee camps.

■ **The Tiananmen Mothers Network** has played a crucial role in advancing the idea of accountability for human rights abuses in China. Founded in the aftermath of the June 4, 1989 massacre in Beijing, the network has made extraordinary efforts to establish a true picture of what happened by documenting the cases of people who were killed or wounded. It has provided moral support for the victims' families, and pursued unprecedented legal action. The network's founder, Ding Zilin, the mother of a victim of the massacre, has suffered enormous persecution for her insistence on speaking the truth and calling for an end to impunity.

We wish to thank the American Chamber of Commerce, São Paulo, Brazil, for generously hosting this important event.

Workshop Reports

To help ensure that it would be as focused as possible on the practical ways that democrats around the world can advance their work and mutually support each other, the Second Assembly was composed almost entirely of smaller topical, regional, and functional workshops to maximize opportunities for participation. Naturally, the success of the Second Assembly will be measured by the effectiveness of the various initiatives and activities resulting from those workshop discussions. The following reports, which appear in the order in which the workshops took place, thus form the action agenda that emerged from the Assembly.

The workshop reports were initially presented in plenary sessions during the Assembly and generally contain the participants' observations on the challenges to democracy as well as their recommendations on how best to address them. In some cases, the workshops resulted in wide-ranging policy recommendations to the international community; in other cases, they resulted in practical recommendations to nongovernmental organizations; and in still other cases, they resulted in recommendations to the World Movement for Democracy itself.

These workshop reports are also posted on the World Movement Web site (www.wmd.org) along with updated information on follow-up activities. If you wish to submit information on your work for posting, please send it to the World Movement for Democracy secretariat by e-mail (world@ned.org) or fax (+202-223-6042).

What Can be Done to Assist Democrats in Closed Societies?

Organizer:
Human Rights in China (Hong Kong/U.S.)

Rapporteurs:
Mahnaz Afkhami (Iran/U.S.-based)
Women's Learning Partnership for Rights, Development, and Peace

Louisa Coan Greve (U.S.)
National Endowment for Democracy

Moderators:
Mab Huang (Taiwan)
Soochow University

Xiao Qiang (China/U.S.-based)
Human Rights in China

Presenters:
Mahnaz Afkhami (Iran/U.S.-based)

Zbigniew Romaszewski (Poland)
Human Rights and Rule of Law Committee, Polish Senate

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

General Recommendations:

• Pressure governments to make business and financial agreements conditional on improvements in human rights and ratification of UN conventions, and monitor implementation.

• Pressure governments to avoid legitimization of the governments of closed societies by visits and exchanges that glamorize authoritarian regimes.

• Maintain close communication with democrats and activists inside closed societies, both to help strengthen their efforts and to accumulate information.

• Organize conferences and seminars as a means of educating international public opinion and showcasing oppressive measures.

• Break down boundaries between democrats by strengthening trans-regional and regional solidarity networks to expand contact that allows democrats to support one another and to provide protection for those working within closed societies.

• Keep the memory of dictatorships alive in newly liberated countries, both to safeguard those new democracies and to bolster the struggle to liberate closed societies.

• Encourage democracy foundations and other donor agencies to help build capacity for democracy NGOs, including access to information and communication technologies.

• Support workers' rights, especially rights of association, through international trade and financial institutions such as WTO and the World Bank.

• Coordinate advocacy activities at UN bodies to ensure a stronger presence on behalf of democratic forces in closed societies.

Recommendations to World Movement for Democracy:

• The World Movement should take up campaigns on behalf of key democracy struggles around the world, intervening in the name of the World Movement.

• The World Movement should circulate or post information, perhaps on its Web site, that can be used to assist democrats. Such information would include:

■ information about solidarity campaigns

■ a list of techniques for promoting democracy in closed societies

■ a list of links to training opportunities for activists

■ full-text library materials or links to documents on democratic values and on the experiences of countries that have completed successful democratic transitions

■ a kind of "yellow pages" or directory of activists working on democracy.

The World Movement should facilitate a kind of match-making function to enable activists working on closed societies to find partners in open societies who can lobby their own governments and who can provide concrete assistance, such as traveling inside the country to meet isolated dissidents.

The World Movement Web site features a searchable, online Database of World Movement Participants to help facilitate collaborative activities.

Barriers to Participation:
The Informal Sector in Emerging Democracies

Organizer:
Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE, U.S.)

Rapporteur:
Catherine Kuchta-Helbling (U.S.)
Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE, U.S.)

Moderators:
Laszlo Kallay (Hungary)
Institute for Small Business Development

John Sullivan (U.S.)
Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE, U.S.)

Presenters:
Lee K. Benham (U.S.)
Washington University

Roberto Cavalho (Brazil)
Instituto Atlantico

Chris Darroll (South Africa)
Small Business Project

Petar Ivanovic (Montenegro)
Center for Entrepreneurship

Ozdem Sanberk (Turkey)
Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation

The recent trend toward democratization and market-based systems has improved the lives of millions worldwide. Many countries have increased political participation, achieved macro-economic stabilization and restored growth. Despite these achievements, millions of people in emerging democracies are excluded from the political and economic system and live in poverty. A glaring symptom of this exclusion is the growing number of entrepreneurs who are engaged in low-income, low-growth business activities outside the formal sector. These entrepreneurs, referred to as the "informal sector," produce legitimate products without proper permits or legal status because they lack the resources to comply with burdensome and excessive rules and regulations, which is necessary to become part of the formal economy. Hence, they operate outside of it.

The underlying reason why many citizens in emerging democratic, market-based systems do not participate in the formal political and economic system is that the institutional structures or "rules of the game" are badly designed and decision making to create them is undemocratic. This contributes to prohibitively expensive costs of doing business and erects barriers to participation that exist despite democratic elections for public offices. Holding free and fair elections is the first essential step towards a participatory political system. The next step is to remove the obstacles that prevent citizens from routinely participating in national and local decision making. Such obstacles foster unresponsive policies, such as exorbitantly high costs of doing business, and politically and economically disenfranchise citizens, jeopardize the consolidation of political and economic reform, and threaten exclusion from global markets. What is needed is a well designed, clearly delineated, and stable set of political and economic institutions that fosters democracy and market-based economic activity that levels the playing field for all citizens.

Policy Recommendations:
• The degree of public participation and transparency in the policy-making and legislative processes should be increased by instituting transparent, inclusive decision-making procedures and by providing regular opportunities for the public to comment on existing and proposed laws and regulations.

• Legal and regulatory codes should be clarified and streamlined by eliminating duplicative, superfluous laws that increase the cost of doing business and that invite corruption.

• Private property rights should be accessible to all citizens, clearly defined, and strongly enforced.

• Requirements to obtain business permits and licenses should be simplified and made inexpensive so that becoming "formal" is within reach of the entrepreneur of modest means.

• Taxation systems should be reformed so that they are easy to comply with and encourage profitable economic activity.

• Labor laws should be reformed to allow for more flexibility.

• Concerted efforts should be made to reform economic systems to create open markets in place of crony capitalist systems through improved corporate governance legislation. Such reform should institute internationally accepted accounting principles, standards of disclosure, anti-conflict-of-interest laws, anti-trust laws, prohibition of insider trading, and sensible bankruptcy laws.

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• Excessively bureaucratic government agencies should be reformed in order to strengthen their administrative and enforcement capacities so that laws and regulations are administered and enforced efficiently, effectively, and inexpensively.

• It is essential that relevant business-related information and training, such as how to obtain a license or permit; how to start a business; how to form commercial entities, such as joint ventures and incorporated companies; and how to run a business, are readily available to all citizens.

• High-quality, efficient, and cost-effective infrastructure (such as telecommunications and transportation systems) is essential for a democratic, market-based system and should be provided so that entrepreneurs can benefit from becoming formal.

Recommended Initiatives:

• Members of business associations and reform-oriented think tanks should develop a national business agenda that uniformly articulates the concerns of entrepreneurs, and disseminate this agenda to the public, policy makers, and legislators. This will contribute to informed, responsive policy making, thereby strengthening democracy and creating efficient laws and regulations for market-based activity.

• A revised version of the CIPE workshop background paper should be translated into different languages and posted on the CIPE Web site in a section devoted to the informal sector and the cost of doing business. The paper should be used as an advocacy tool to raise awareness about the informal sector and to devise strategies to reduce barriers to political and economic participation. The Web site section should contain useful examples of CIPE-sponsored projects that have been instrumental in lowering the costs of doing business in the formal sector, relevant articles and case studies; it should also provide an opportunity for entrepreneurs to share information and best practices proven to reduce the cost of doing business, and should have links to Web sites of other associations, think tanks, and concerned institutions involved in reducing barriers to formality.

The CIPE Web site (www.cipe.org) includes a section on the "Informal Sector."

• Labor and other NGOs should work to increase the supply of micro-credit and business consulting services to the informal sector.

• CIPE and other organizations should work with informal sector experts and with members of CIPE's business association networks to develop a "transaction costs index" that can be used to measure the costs of doing business in different countries. The index would be used to identify sources of high transaction costs and to develop projects that will reduce them.

Improving Governance through Federalism: Decentralization, Devolution, and other Approaches

Organizers:
Foundation for Administrative Development (Brazil)
Forum of Federations (Canada)

Rapporteur:
Isawa Elaigwu (Nigeria)
Institute of Governance and Social Research

Moderator:
Pedro Luiz Silva (Brazil)
Foundation for Administrative Development (Brazil)

Presenter:
Christina Murray (South Africa)
University of Cape Town

Through its pyramidical structure, federalism provides for decentralization, especially devolution of powers, to sub-national units. Decentralization in a federal context can be constitutional and/or administrative concerning techniques of governance, which does not include groups. A federal system provides more of an opportunity than does a unitary system for more participation at sub-national levels, both state (provincial) and local. A federal government like Germany's, for example, provides for an integrated form of decentralization, while one like Canada's provides for a more compartmentalized form. In these contexts, sub-national autonomy becomes very important as it provides for more participation by the people and oppor-

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tunities for controlling their own destiny.

While there may be variants of decentralization and federations, therefore, the quality of governance can be improved greatly through the opportunities that decentralization and federalism provide for participation and autonomy. However, there are problems in adopting federal models. It must be borne in mind that a federal government presupposes greater complexity, a heightened need for coordination, and higher expense.

Challenges:

• Federalism is financially expensive, with structures at each tier of government that must be financed.

• Federalism is institutionally complex and may demand greater administrative bureaucratic capacity at each level than is available at any point in time. Capacity at each level has serious implications for the formulation and execution of social policies and, ultimately, good governance.

• Federalism demands a relatively high level of cooperation and active intergovernmental relations.

Recommendations:

• Federalism, with all its complexity, should provide autonomy for each level of government in a democratic context to enable local people to set priorities and use resources to achieve them.

• Federal systems must extract greater resources for effective financing of the structures of governance at each level of autonomy.

• Greater capacity at each institutional level of government must be developed to enhance efficiency in the delivery of services to the people; this enhances good governance.

• To make a federal government more responsive to the people, a network of intergovernmental relations should be established. These can be formal and/or informal, constitutional and/or statutory, and/or ad hoc. A network of intergovernmental institutions helps in coordinating the activities and policies of the various levels of government and facilitates greater cooperation among the tiers.

• The pattern of fiscal federalism should take into consideration the functions of each level of government and its corresponding tax powers. The demands of fiscal equalization, to give all units of the federation a sense of participation, cannot be over emphasized.

• In the context of a changing global situation and demands for greater autonomy of federative units, there should be a shift from federal control functions to federal interventionist functions. A federal government should seek to intervene to correct inadequacies at the sub-national levels, rather than seek to control them.

• Democratic institutional arrangements and processes are important to strengthening federations and enhancing good governance.

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Conflict Resolution, Pluralism, and Democracy: The Promise and the Challenge

Organizer:
Center for the Research of Societal Problems (Turkey)
Goals for Americans Foundation (U.S.)

Rapporteur:
Steve McDonald (U.S.)
Goals for Americans Foundation

Moderator:
Mohammed Abu-Nimer (Israel/Palestine, U.S.-based)
American University

Presenters:
Katherine Clerides (Cyprus)
Member of Parliament

Doğu Ergil (Turkey)
Center for the Research of Societal Problems

Mari Fitzduff (UK)
INCORE

Jerome Sachane (South Africa)
ACCORD

Conflict resolution and peace building are and should be an integral part of the democratization process. Transitions to democracy go through three phases: transactional (negotiation, mediation, etc.); structural (capacity building and civil society building, including media, NGOs, rule-of-law institutions, human rights, etc.); and transformational (dialogue, confidence building, rapprochement, reconciliation, and peace education). Conflict resolution is critical to each of these phases and at all levels of society. Specifically, conflict resolution projects, particularly those involving marginalized groups in society, such as women, youth, children, and ethnic or religious minorities, contribute to sustaining a culture of democracy. Democracy in today's changing world means pluralism; identity and geography are no longer synonymous, and "majority rule" must give way to power sharing in societies with a multiplicity of ethnic, religious, racial, and socio-economic groups. Conflict resolution addresses the needs of pluralism; it can be a slow process, but it helps ensure equal rights, a fundamental principle of democracy.

General Recommendations:

• Ensure inclusiveness in peace making and democratization. To be successful, a transition to democracy requires local civil society actors who are involved in both conflict resolution and the democratic transition. Local history, culture, relationships among key players, etc. must be understood, and the principle of inclusiveness underlies both conflict resolution and democratization; it must therefore extend to obvious civil society actors, as well as to political parties and militaries. Women, in particular, must be brought into the decision-making process and should not be viewed only as victims.

• The international community, including business interests that often support the status quo and aid donors, must understand the need for fair and equitable conflict resolutions that help ensure democratic transitions. The international community should support both peace processes and democratic transitions, but external influences must be balanced by local control. International involvement, whether through aid or political intervention, should seek to right social injustices in a society in order to promote a democratic outcome. A country's selective involvement or non-involvement often mirrors its national interests and can thus exacerbate local conflicts.

• Addressing the root causes of conflict must be inherent in the conflict-resolution process. When the causes of a conflict are not addressed, the potential of its reemergence is great. A culture of tolerance, respect for diversity, inclusiveness, and reconciliation must therefore be paired with an understanding of the points of disagreement that spur the conflict, such as disputes over resources, land, ethnic identity, gender, and religion.

• Justice and accountability must both be pursued in the resolution process. Issues of justice, lack of accountability, and immunity to punishment are very real to the victims of conflict.

• International and local actors, at all levels, must understand that peace building and democracy should proceed hand in hand. Humanitarian action is not a substitute for political action. Citizen diplomacy or building communal bridges, both of which are conflict resolution activities, are integral to formal transactional ("Track I") activities. In fact, they often precede, and always support and help sustain, negotiated settlements. Conflict resolution and peace building are the "glue" of political settlement. Conflict resolution rests on the principle of non-violence, but protagonists often believe that a stable order, even a democratic one, can be obtained through violent means; more often, they simply

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reject non-violent approaches out of hand.

• Conflict resolution and democracy activists must commit themselves to the long-term investment in changing perceptions and stereotypes, teaching tolerance, and establishing the principle of inclusiveness. Civil society and international community pressures must work to generate a commitment on the part of militaries, recalcitrant governments, or armed factional leaders to that goal. Conflict resolution adherents are often seen as traitors, agitators, or sell-outs to the other side, and are thus excluded from the process or victimized. Only in a democracy is violence ruled out as a legitimate means of governance or control.

• The media should be a pillar of democracy and report equitably, completely, and without bias. Media coverage often undermines conflict resolution and democracy through "hate" reporting that fans the flames of conflict, selective coverage that omits certain conflicts, or coverage that is incomplete or biased.

Recommendations to World Movement for Democracy:
• Integrate into the World Movement's informational network an exchange of experiences in conflict res-

olution and how the peace process has helped democratic transitions.

• Identify commercial and government media activities that exacerbate or escalate conflicts through inequitable and incomplete coverage or by actual "hate" reporting. This can be accomplished by highlighting Web sites and publications that demonstrate particularly destructive reporting and by reporting on conflicts not receiving international media attention.

• Create an index of tools and resources, both human and financial, which can be accessed by democracy advocates facing challenges of conflict resolution. The index should include resumes of trainers and experts, their contact information, available training courses, and funding sources for support of conflict resolution and peace building.

• Include references to, or modules on, conflict resolution and peace building in all World Movement materials on democracy building, support activities, and future conferences and workshops.

• Since women are integral to conflict resolution, peace building, and democratization, the World Movement should strengthen their role in its decision-making processes.

Corruption in Party Financing and Election Campaigns: What Can Civil Society Do Against it?

Organizers:
Ethos Institute (Brazil)
Transparency International

Rapporteur:
Paul Flather (U.K.)
Europaeum

Moderators:
Miklos Marschall (Hungary)
Transparency International

Michael Pinto-Duschinsky (U.K.)
Brunel University

Presenters:
Tunku Abdul Aziz (Malaysia)
Transparency International Malaysia

Christian Gruenberg (Argentina)
Poder Ciudadano

Kumbirayi Hodzi (Zimbabwe)
Transparency International Zimbabwe

Marcin Walecki (Poland)
National Democratic Institute/Transparency International

The key question taken up by participants in this workshop was: How can civil society, and NGOs in particular, combat corruption in the financing of political parties in democratic systems? Following presentations on Argentina, Central Europe, Zimbabwe, and Thailand, the participants discussed the issues at the heart of creating good laws and how

best to enforce them—which is not always appropriate in single-party dominant states, since they are open to abuse against opposition parties—instilling value commitments, publicizing data, and creating disincentives to help keep parties and companies from engaging in corrupt practices.

Recommendations:

• Set up a network of participants on this topic and devote a section of the World Movement Web site to . . .

■ serve as an information source by linking members and giving them a space to post their ideas and information about their experiences in this area of work;

■ provide a monthly bulletin, to be produced by Transparency International, and research reports and information circulated by the Corruption Working Group of the International Political Science Association;

■ allow subgroups to develop, for instance, scholars engaged in research and data collection in the field or activists helping each other with their work, drawing on other support mechanisms and resources.

• Develop the tools needed by activists to fight party corruption, including:

■ a database of "best practices" on the development of party and finance laws and enforcement;

■ information drawn from the source books of Transparency International; and

■ information on successful experiments and experiences in monitoring party financing and the behavior of party officials and parliamentarians.

• Campaign for, or at least consider supporting, the following general international reforms:

■ provide appropriate forms of public funding of parties in those countries where this does not already exist;

■ offer free access to the media, particularly to TV (a necessity today for high quality democratic functioning), in countries where this is not already done;

■ support an international convention condemning corruption in party financing, in particular the current campaign of Transparency International to extend the OECD convention against corruption to include specific measures outlawing contributions to party officers and officials.

Using the Internet and Other Media to Promote Democracy

Organizer:
Democracy Resource Center, National Endowment for Democracy (U.S.)
Institute for Technology and Governance (U.S.)
Aymen Khalifa (Egypt)

Rapporteur:
Jonna Chen (Taiwan)
Independent Consultant on Civil Society

Moderator:
Nina Hachigian (U.S.)
Institute for Technology and Governance

Presenters:
Steven Gan (Malaysia)
Malaysiakini.com

Orlando Gutiérrez-Boronat (Cuba, U.S.-based)
Cuban Revolutionary Democratic Directorate

Sasa Mirkovic (Serbia)
Association of Independent Electronic Media/B-92

Workshop participants discussed the use of technology in promoting democracy, with presentations on experiences in Malaysia, Cuba, and Serbia. Democrats from every global region participated in the conversation.

Observations:

• Information flow within government, between citizens and government, and also among citizens and civil society is critical to a healthy democracy.

• Democrats have used whatever media has been at

their disposal that is effective at communicating their message: music, graffiti, posters, bicycle race campaigns, radio, telephones, fax, video, TV and, most recently, the Internet. They have often used very creative combinations of media, such as in Sudan, where individuals obtain information on the Internet and then photocopy it for distribution, or, as in Serbia, where sound files were transmitted via the Internet to European countries so that reports could be broadcast back into the country by radio. Many found that the Internet can be effective in avoiding government media controls. As one partic-

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ipant put it, "with the Internet, governments cannot lie." At the same time, participants noted that all technologies, including the Internet, are just tools, and cannot on their own change a political system.

• Democrats have used technology for a wide variety of purposes, including:

■ to communicate news about events inside and outside a country to people inside;

■ to communicate about events inside a country to people outside;

■ to alert the population to the goals of an opposition movement;

■ to encourage and support a persecuted population;

■ to build support communities among the diasporas; and

■ to communicate with the government.

Challenges:

• Access. The cost of technology, especially the Internet, is prohibitive for most people in the world. Adequate telecommunications infrastructure is lacking in most countries, especially in rural areas.

• Government controls. Many governments attempt to control the Internet by limiting access (Cuba, Syria, Saudi Arabia); blocking access to specific Web sites (Cuba, China); keeping track of users (or appearing to); or promoting self-censorship and non-competitive telecommunications policy. However, some governments wish to encourage the Internet for economic purposes and do not censor it (Malaysia, Ukraine). The Estonian government has embraced technology, making many laws and policies available online.

• Lack of NGO resources and training. Many NGOs do not have adequate technology resources. Even NGOs that have Internet access and a Web site do not have the resources or training to make the best use of them.

• Content and languages. There is a serious lack of content on the Web in languages other than English. Similarly, content geared toward poorer communities is inadequate.

Recommendations:

• Begin an e-mail "listserv" so participants can advise each other on how to solve problems, and to share experiences, software, technology, and technology talent.

• Promote technology training for NGOs and work with the private sector to direct technology resources to NGOs.

• Create and maintain a database of technology resources available to NGOs.

• Support democrats working under government restrictions on use of the Internet.

• Develop or locate a record of countries whose governments restrict access to the Internet.

• Work with other international groups to pressure governments to develop better telecommunications infrastructure and Internet policies.

• Develop, through the World Movement for Democracy, software or electronic education materials for NGOs that can be tailored to individual countries.

As a result of this workshop, a Democracy Information and Communication Technology (ICT) Group has been established, including an e-mail listserv, and the World Movement Secretariat has helped establish a Web site for the Group located at: http://www.wmd.org/dict/index.html.

The Serbian ITAG will consider holding Internet conferences on the issues of this workshop.

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Strengthening Democratic Institutions: Generating and Sharing Innovative Solutions to Problems of Transition

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

Rapporteurs:
Ann Colville Murphy (U.S.)
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

Heba El Shazli (Egypt)
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (Lebanon office)

Moderators:
Les Campbell (U.S.)
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

Elizabeth Spiro Clark (U.S.)
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

Presenters:
Fernando Carrillo-Florez (Colombia)
Inter-American Development Bank

Grace Coleman (Ghana)
Member of Parliament

Mohammad Mohsin (Nepal)
National Assembly

Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada (Bolivia)
Former President of Bolivia

Nezha Skalli (Morocco)
Democratic Association of Moroccan Women

Two sections of this workshop were held and participants agreed that it was useful to participate in meetings like the World Movement Assembly in order to share strategies. Democratization cannot and will not take place in a vacuum. Influence can be obtained when nongovernmental organizations from a variety of transitional democracies can come together to share their information, experiences, and achievements.

Challenges and Recommendations:

Challenge: How to support new democratic institutions? Are they working? How can we overcome obstacles to making them effective?

Recommendations to the International Community:

• The international community should sustain its attention to democratic transitions, recognizing that a transition to democracy is not linear and that supposedly established democracies can quickly fall backward.

• Donors should not pull out of countries once an initial election is undertaken. The international community should be present well before and well after elections, and should utilize monitors from countries with similar cultures and systems.

• Regional-level groups should be utilized more consistently on elections questions.

• International development banks should contribute in a more active way to the entrenchment of democratic institutions and should be encouraged to develop standards for assessing democratic as well as economic progress.

• Given the importance of outside attention, a democracy/social audit process, based on a set of criteria and standards on which to judge democratic behavior, should be developed.

• With respect to debt relief, the international community should avoid actions that help to sustain corrupt power holders, and special attention should be given to the effectiveness of democracy assistance.

• Social development programs of international financial institutions should encourage extensive participatory processes.

Challenge: How to make governments more accountable?

Recommendations to Emerging, Transitional, and Less-Established Democracies:

• Consider laws to strengthen transparency of political parties.

• Institute codes of conduct for parliamentarians and civil servants.

• Use trained domestic election monitors for new tasks to promote transparency, such as monitoring parliaments.

Challenge: How to strengthen political parties?

Recommendation to International Community:

• Following elections, international organizations should stay on to support and strengthen political parties and NGOs.

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Challenge: How to increase broad-based participation in the political process?

Recommendations:

• Institute new measures to promote women's participation, including electoral system reform and more support for women in government.

• Emphasize the electoral process; the strength of democracy lies in how elections are conducted, how clear, free, and fair the process is.

• Mobilize illiterate populations and recognize that they too can provide a pool of effective leadership.

• Inculcate democratic values in the broad population; utilize civil society through such programs as

practical law courses for secondary schools and the general population and legal clinics within law schools to represent poor clients.

• Local power holders should be elected, and democratic decision-making methods should be better integrated into local and community traditions; support grass-roots mobilization of power.

• Integrate NGOs into government decision-making processes; create permanent civil society liaisons throughout the executive branch, thereby establishing a partnership between government and civil society based on good communications, transparency, and trust.

• Organize.

Transitional Justice: Overcoming the Obstacles to Information Collection and the Documentation of Human Rights Abuses

Organizer:
Central and Eastern European Law Initiative (U.S.)

Rapporteur:
Kathleen McGowan (U.S.)
Central and Eastern European Law Initiative (formerly)

Moderator:
Scott Carlson (U.S.)
Central and Eastern European Law Initiative

Presenters:
Wendy Betts (U.S.)
Central and Eastern European Law Initiative

Randy Clarke (U.S.)
Central and Eastern European Law Initiative

Kassie Neou (Cambodia)
Cambodian Institute of Human Rights (CIHR)

Representatives of organizations working on human rights issues in Burma, Cambodia, Kosovo, Lebanon, and Somalia participated in this workshop and discussed collaboration and the use of technology in documenting human rights abuses. Among the observations made in the workshop is that collaboration among nongovernmental organizations in collecting information on human rights abuses increases the amount of data collected, which in turn allows for a greater depth of analysis. In addition, technology can assist NGOs in both collecting and analyzing information.

Workshop participants discussed the difficulties they have encountered in trying to collaborate with other NGOs, and identified possible solutions.

Challenges:
• It is sometimes difficult to create a climate of openness and trust among like-minded organizations.

• Physical and conceptual barriers (such as closed borders, security issues, and fear) sometimes limit documentation of human rights violations.

• The policies of funding organizations sometimes have the unintended effect of discouraging collaboration among NGOs.

Recommendations:
• NGOs should engage each other in dialogue, even informally, and make sincere commitments to each other early in the collaborative process.

• NGOs should educate other NGOs, local governments, and international forces (such as UN peacekeepers) about their potential roles in creating a safe and receptive environment for reporting human rights violations.

• NGOs should educate funding organizations (and other NGOs) about the benefits of collaboration and encourage them to incorporate collaboration into their policies.

• NGOs should focus on the following issues over the next two years to advance the application of technology in collaborative projects:

■ technology should be used to spread information to stimulate human rights advocacy both

locally and internationally;

■ before technology is used to document human rights abuses, concerns about the security of the data should be addressed, and a needs assessment focusing on training and infrastructure should be conducted;

■ minimum standards on human rights reporting should be developed.

Critical Breakthrough Elections as Opportunities for Democracy Promotion: What are the Best Strategies?

Organizer:
International Republican Institute (U.S.)

Rapporteur:
Jiri Pehe (Czech Republic)
New York University–Prague

Moderator:
John Anelli (U.S.)
International Republican Institute

Presenters:
Slobodan Homen (Serbia)
Otpor

Martin Lengyel (Slovakia)
TA3 Television

The workshop heard from democracy activists from Slovakia, Serbia, and Croatia, where breakthrough elections recently took place, as well as from activists from Zimbabwe, where the democratic opposition came close to defeating the Mugabe regime but did not succeed. Participants agreed both on some basic pre-election strategies for changing an authoritarian regime to a democratic one and on some post-election strategies to help ensure the irreversibility of those transitions.

Recommendations of Pre-Election Strategies:
• Unite all opposition forces into a coalition that not only fights for replacing authoritarian rule, but also has an issue-oriented, positive program.

• Get a voice in the media.

• Establish a broad front of civic organizations (NGOs) that mobilizes the public against the regime and promotes voter participation.

• Put in place an effective election monitoring system and an independent vote count.

Recommendations on Post-Election Strategies:
• Build viable political parties and help sustain civic organizations.

• Actively engage the international community and regional neighbors in sustaining democratic gains.

• Sustain the coalitions that were created before the elections to oppose the authoritarian regime.

• With the help of NGOs, keep popular expectations in perspective about the pace of progress.

• Achieve acceptance by the public of the legitimacy of electoral reforms.

General Recommendations to NGOs:
• Foster inter-regional participation of NGOs in monitoring democratic gains.

• Facilitate exchanges among election-monitoring organizations, including sharing experiences in opposing non-democratic regimes and in voter education.

• Initiate means, perhaps using the Internet, to share the stories of successful transitions to democracy.

• NGOs in new democracies should support awareness of democratic movements in authoritarian countries.

• NGOs in new democracies should lobby their own

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governments to demonstrate solidarity with democratic forces elsewhere.

Recommendations to the World Movement for Democracy:

• The World Movement participants should be vocal in opposition to authoritarian regimes and politicians long before break-through elections. This advocacy should include clearly identifying authoritarian politicians, in effect, producing a "most-wanted list" of authoritarian rulers.

• The World Movement should consider creating mobile advisory groups that would visit authoritarian countries, sharing with local activists their own transition-to-democracy experiences.

• The World Movement (and other organizations and forums) should continue to support civic organizations and democratic political parties after victorious breakthrough elections.

Workers, Democracy, and Markets in a Globalizing Economy: The Role of Non-Market Institutions

Organizer:
American Center for International Labor Solidarity (U.S.)

Rapporteur:
Marc Bayard (U.S.)
American Center for International Labor Solidarity

Moderator:
Harry Kamberis (U.S.)
American Center for International Labor Solidarity

Presenters:
Saadia Benejama (Morocco)
Union Morocian du Travail

Jeff Faux (U.S.)
Economic Policy Institute

John Fernandes (Belgium)
ICFTU

Kjeld Jakobsen (Brazil)
CUT

Sergio Mendonça (Brazil)
DIEESE

David Smith (U.S.)
AFL-CIO

Observations:

• Millions of workers and their families have benefited from globalization, yet millions more have been marginalized in an ever increasingly integrated world. In many emerging democracies, income disparities and unemployment are on the rise.

• As developing countries implement the economic and political reforms necessary for them to compete effectively in the global marketplace, the changes they have initiated have created new problems, including weakened social safety nets and a growing informal sector. If left unchecked, these conditions can lead to political instability and threaten the nascent and fragile democratic structures that are beginning to develop. In a growing number of emerging democracies, there has been some "backsliding" in response to domestic pressures from citizens who have either not benefited from globalization or for whom living and working conditions have worsened.

• Economic development and democratic governance are mutually reinforcing. The enforcement of International Labor Organization (ILO) standards, including the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively, encourages more rapid and equitable economic growth. Equitable growth, in turn, underpins and reinforces respect for democratic norms and practices. Trade unions support democratic economic development, and economic democracy is essential to the development and sustainability of a democratic society.

• The number of multinational corporations with enormous economic clout has increased and they operate in a largely unregulated global economy. Many governments in emerging market economies hesitate to enforce their own labor codes as they compete for investments from foreign capital markets and multinational corporations. At the same time, unregulated capitol flows have created cyclical economic crises in which workers bear the

brunt of retrenchments and declining living and working conditions.

• The ILO, a tripartite body of labor, business, and government, has stated that labor rights are human rights. The principles embodied in its 1998 Declaration on Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work include:

■ freedom of association and the effective recognition of the right to collective bargaining;

■ the elimination of all forms of forced or compulsory labor;

■ the effective abolition of child labor;

■ the elimination of discrimination in employment and occupation.

• Workshop participants recognized that effectively enforcing the ILO's core labor rights principles in all countries would address many of the major concerns voiced by workers in developed and emerging market economies and would contribute to sustainable economic growth. Adherence also contributes to strengthening democratic practices and the rule of law in nascent democracies and emerging market economies.

• While governments are ultimately responsible for their public policies, international financial institutions (IFIs) also play an important role because they influence government policies that in some cases undermine democratic norms and practices.

Recommendations of Best Practices, Strategies, and Initiatives:

• In cooperation with other civil society organizations, trade unions should promote the principle that labor rights are human rights and are fundamental to a sustainable market economy and democratic governance. There is thus a need to strengthen the relationships among unions, NGOs, and civil society organizations, since workers are citizens of the global economy, and an injury to any worker is an injury to democracy.

• There should be greater publicity of sweatshops and child labor to expose the general public to worker abuses and to increase the pressure on bad actors.

• Trade unions and their civil society partners should initiate a global challenge to the legal theory that nations can create and impose standards regarding the products they import, but cannot impose standards on how they are made.

• Trade unions should facilitate a dialogue between north and south to create a global compromise on labor rights and trade. (Nations in the south, or the developing world, need access to capital and northern markets while nations in the north seek protection from the erosion of worker rights and living standards.)

• Export processing zones are an important economic development strategy in many countries, but the laws that regulate them should be based on international ILO labor rights standards and national laws. If not properly regulated, these zones can undermine democratic norms and create double standards within countries.

• Ultimately, governments are accountable for creating the global architecture and enforcing democratic rights and practices. Trade unions and their civil society partners must seek effective ways in which to participate with their governments in public policy making.

• Given the fact that over 50 percent of the world's workers are women, all trade union organizations and their civil society partners should review their gender policies in the context of the Beijing Conference, and take pro-active measures to increase the number of women in leadership positions in their organizations. Trade unions should also advocate more forcefully for equal pay for equal work for women workers.

• Trade unions and their civil society partners should advocate for the inclusion of ILO core labor standards in international trade agreements.

• Because of the influence of international financial institutions (IFIs) on national policies, civil society should be more involved in overseeing IFI policies and activities at both the national and international levels.

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Countering the Corrosive Effects of Narcotics Trafficking and Organized Crime on Democratic Development: How Broader Civil Society Forces Can Help

Organizer:
Colombian Federation of Municipalities (Colombia)

Rapporteur:
Efren Hernández Díaz (Colombia)
Mayor, Yopal Casanare

Moderator:
Christopher Sabatini (U.S.)
National Endowment for Democracy

Presenters:
Juan Gomez (Colombia)
Mayor, Medellín

Alexandra Houston Benham (U.S.)
Ronald Coase Institute

Jorge Salazar (Peru)
Press and Society Institute

Gilberto Toro (Colombia)
Colombian Federation of Municipalities

Observations:

There are different types of illegal conduct that directly threaten democracies, and narco-trafficking is one of them. It mostly affects democracy through blackmail, corruption, and the use of violence, and it works against the institutions of the state, by undermining public authorities and agencies, and also against the electoral process. Its intimidating effects gravely influence those in different sectors of civil society, especially journalists who investigate the problem. To the degree that narco-trafficking spreads to different countries, the growth of corruption and violence around the world threatens to debilitate the spread and growth of democracy. Big profit margins resulting from the process of drug production and distribution are invested in arms to meet the demands of terrorists, organized crime, or armed groups that seek to seize power through violence.

Recommendations:

• Establish a network to enable civil society organizations and government offices fighting narco-trafficking to exchange information on their work.

• Political parties in countries suffering the effects of narco-trafficking, especially those that produce drugs, should be strengthened to prevent the infiltration of the traffickers into decision-making and especially into the electoral process. Accounts of electoral expenditures should be made transparent, especially to identify the origins of contributions.

• Every country should have an office that investigates corruption undermining democracy, and particularly the electoral process. These offices should have databases of information to which journalists and nongovernmental organizations should have access. The experience of investigative journalism in Peru can serve as a model for this purpose.

• Civil society should assume a more deliberate role in the fight against narco-trafficking and its negative effects, bringing together different organizations that seek to mitigate the harmful effects of drugs, especially on children and youth. Among other efforts, nongovernmental organizations representing mothers should be constituted and professional associations should denounce their corrupt colleagues.

• Develop new economic alternatives to illegal drug cultivation, which provides profits at least equal to legal cultivations and thus tends to undermine the process of bringing the business of narco-trafficking to justice.

• Summon international democratic solidarity in support of judicial processes that investigate important cases of narco-trafficking corruption to stop its intimidating effects. This solidarity must be massive to be effective against narco-traffickers and their agents, and should be reflected both in civil society and investigative journalism.

• Present serious cases of narco-trafficking corruption, abuses of human rights, and other attempts to undermine democracy to the international courts, not only when such activity affects a particular country but also when it affects international relations and democratic agreements among different countries.

• Create a permanent group within the World Movement for Democracy to coordinate and evaluate activities to counter the efforts of narco-traffickers to violate the exercise of democratic rights in different countries. In this way, the solidarity of different sectors of civil society can be summoned to work together in strategic and effective ways.

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Ethnic Conflict Management: Federalism and Alternative Models for the Regulation of Conflict

Organizer:
Forum of Federations (Canada)

Rapporteur:
Christina Murray (South Africa)
University of Cape Town

Moderator:
George Mathew (India)
Institute of Social Sciences

Presenters:
Isawa Elaigwu (Nigeria)
Institute for Social Research and Governance

Anand Singh (Fiji)
Fiji Trade Union Congress

This workshop responded to an increasing international tendency to look to forms of regionalism or federalism in response to ethnic conflict. Individuals from more than 15 countries (with particularly strong representation from Nigeria) participated in the workshop, which focused on possible responses to ethnic conflict in countries as diverse as Sudan, Burma, Fiji and India. Proposed models ranged from secession to a rights-based, rather than a territorially-based, approach to ethnic conflict.

Observations:
Despite the wide range of problems raised by the examples discussed in the workshop, and despite the very specific limitations and possibilities that each different social, economic, and political context creates, there were three main points of agreement:

• Federalism or "regionalization" is not a solution to all ethnic conflicts. Rather, federal models provide a medium that may allow for the management of some conflicts.

• A fair and effective distribution of resources is essential to effective decentralization.

• A federal solution to ethnic conflict is highly unlikely to be successful if the people of a country are not themselves involved in developing or

adopting the model of decentralization. Negotiation and reform making cannot be left to political elites.

• This, of course, is the democratic point, and the participants stressed the need for democracy both in crafting constitutional structures to address problems and in implementing regionalism. Devolution of power is not acceptable if that power is exercised in an undemocratic way by the regions to which power is devolved.

• Disagreement in the workshop emerged on the degree of autonomy, or "democracy and recognition," as some participants described it, to which ethnic groups are entitled. While there seemed to be relatively broad agreement that some situations might demand secession, many participants would generally demand a balance between the rights of the central government and those of the sub-national units.

Recommendation:
• Workshops like this one should continue to be held with two related goals:

■ to provide opportunities for the exchange of ideas; and

■ to ensure that federal or regional approaches to ethnic conflict do not lose sight of democracy as the proper basis for any system of government.

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From Laws to Reality: Diminishing the Gap between Human Rights Laws and their Implementation

Organizers:
Citizenship, Studies, Information, Action (CEPIA, Brazil)
Civil Liberties Organisation (Nigeria)

Rapporteur:
Ayo Obe (Nigeria)
Civil Liberties Organisation

Moderator:
Jacqueline Pitanguy (Brazil)
Citizenship, Studies, Information, Action

Presenters:
Mahnaz Afkhami (Iran, U.S.-based)
Women's Learning Partnership for Rights, Development, and Peace

Leila Linhares Barsted (Brazil)
Citizenship, Studies, Information, Action

Hedio Silva, Jr. (Brazil)
Relações de Trabalho e Desigualdades

Recommendations:

• Ratify international human rights treaties. Democrats should identify those countries that have and have not ratified international human rights treaties; in addition, they should also distinguish those countries that have ratified such treaties but clearly fail to honor their provisions, such as countries that have ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) but deny women their basic rights. Reservations to international human rights treaties should also be identified, particularly where such reservations make near nonsense of any "ratification."

• Incorporate international human rights treaties into local legislation and harmonize local laws and practices. In cases in which countries *have* ratified those treaties, democrats should ensure that they are enacted into local legislation since it is clear that officials in many countries ratify treaties without much thought, without consultation, and without any necessary follow-up. For example, many developing countries have ratified treaties like the WTO without consulting their business communities; similar situations arise with respect to international human rights treaties. Democrats should also examine existing local laws to ensure their conformity with international human rights treaties, and where necessary propose amendments to bring them into line with such standards.

• Use the international courts. It is particularly important for countries to ratify treaties giving access to international courts, and democrats should press to ensure that any country's reservations limiting such access be removed and necessary legislation enacted.

• Demystify the law. Once laws are enacted they should be available and easily accessible to all; this means that lawyers should avoid jargon that complicates citizens' understanding of legislation that protects and upholds their human rights.

• Create awareness of international human rights treaties among lawyers, activists, and those in law enforcement. Democrats should use all methods available, including citation of such treaties, when presenting arguments in court.

• Implement special methods of law enforcement, where necessary or appropriate, to ensure that citizens are able to enjoy their rights under the laws in their countries. For example, "all-women" police stations can be created for victims of domestic violence or abuse who seek assistance, protection, and redress.

• Provide educational programs for judges on international human rights treaties. Judges should also be encouraged to refer to such treaties when writing judgments and rulings.

• As an institution, the media should play a crucial role in the dissemination of knowledge and awareness of human rights legislation.

• Build solidarity across disciplines. When pressing for the actualization of human rights legislation lawyers should not act only with other lawyers, and when examining the effects of such legislation political and social scientists should not work only with each other. Rather, those in as many disciplines as may be relevant should interact with each other to draw on their respective strengths.

• Similarly, tackling human rights issues should not be confined within national boundaries. Rather, assistance should be actively sought from democrats in other countries within and across regions.

• Social and economic rights must be the basis for civil and political rights. There must be some answer

to the argument that people "cannot eat democracy," which is partly the result of recognizing that social and economic rights are as important as civil and political ones and that the "democracy dividend" must be a specific goal for democrats.

• Examine proposed budgets. Democrats should use available legislation and access to help ensure that budgetary proposals reflect internationally recommended percentages for expenditures in such areas as education, healthcare, or defense, and, if not, they should lobby for changes.

Recommendations to the World Movement:
• The World Movement Web site should provide links to Web sites that describe international human rights treaties and that list country ratifications and reservations.

• The World Movement Web site should also facilitate the sharing of resources and information on human rights and some mechanism, such as a chat room, where those with knowledge can provide updated information to others.

Strategies for Civil Society, NGOs, Parties, and Other Actors to Promote Democracy in Semi-Authoritarian Countries

Organizers:
Caucasian Institute for Peace, Democracy, and Development (Georgia)
Samuel Kofi Woods (Liberia)
Leiden University

Rapporteur:
E. Gyimah-Boadi (Ghana)
Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)

Moderators:
Maina Kiai (Kenya, UK-based)
Amnesty International

Ghia Nodia (Georgia)
Caucasian Institute for Peace, Democracy, and Development

Presenters:
Balghis Badri (Sudan)
Babiker Badri Scientific Association for Women's Studies

Sasa Mirkovic (Serbia)
Association of Independent Electronic Media/B-92

Alexei Siminov (Russia)
Glasnost Defense Foundation

Margaret Dongo (Zimbabwe)
Zimbabwe Union of Democrats

In Vuthy (Cambodia)
Cambodian Human Rights Task Force

Observations:
• Semi-authoritarian countries have the following features in common:

  ■ formal democratic structures, but authoritarian political culture and practices;

  ■ elections, but with severe flaws;

  ■ residual authoritarian laws, even when there is a new democratic constitution;

  ■ executive dominance or presidentialism.

Challenges:
• Limitations on the constitutional, legal, and political space for civil society, NGOs, and opposition political party activism.

• Serious resource constraints.

• Donor and international community ambiguity towards semi-authoritarian governments and domestic oppositions, civil society, and NGOs.

• Executive arrogance and impunity.

Recommended Strategies:
Recognizing that appropriate strategies depend on local contexts (for instance, whether the case is a mild or harsh version of semi-authoritarianism and whether the country is moving from democracy to semi-authoritarianism or from semi-authoritarianism to democracy), the following strategies were recommended for promoting democracy in semi-authoritarian countries:

• Engage constructively with the semi-authoritarian government, or at least branches of the government

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and constitutional bodies, through a combination of pressure (for instance, street demonstrations) and persuasion (collaboration and cooperation).

• Establish linkages and collaboration between civil society, NGOs, and political parties, on the one hand, and the media, especially independent media, on the other.

• Build alliances between NGOs and civil society, on the one hand, and artists, writers, and popular figures and society icons, on the other.

• Work to expand the constitutional, legal, and political space for democratic activism and development.

• Work on concrete institutional reforms (for example, establishing or strengthening an independent electoral commission).

• Engage in public interest litigation to promote respect for human rights, official accountability, and other democratic goals.

• Pursue networking among pro-democratic NGOs, civil society groups, and political parties, while insisting on shared values as the basis for cooperation and collaboration.

• Develop linkages between leading NGOs and civil society organizations, on the one hand, and grass-roots, informal sector, and weaker counterparts, on the other.

• Build networks and coalitions at the local, regional, and international levels.

• Make networks independent and open to make them stronger and more resistant to infiltration and cooptation by government.

• International democratic activists should visit local semi-authoritarian situations to gather factual evidence and provide solidarity with beleaguered NGOs, civil society, and opposition groups.

• Target multi-national corporations and other external economic interests (such as oil companies and mining firms) that benefit from authoritarian rule.

• Pressure government to comply with international commitments and obligations to democracy and relevant international conventions.

• Use the tools of the Internet for advocacy and information sharing.

How Can NGOs help Overcome Obstacles and Reduce Human Costs in Difficult Transitions?

Organizer:
Panorama Center (Palestine)

Rapporteur:
Heba F. El-Shazli (Egypt)
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (Lebanon office)

Moderator:
Riad Malki (Palestine)
Panorama Center

Presenter:
Slobodan Djinovic (Serbia)
Otpor

This workshop focused on four case studies: Serbia, Algeria, Palestine, and Romania.

General Recommendations:
• Establish the credibility of NGOs through the dissemination of accurate information.

• Create a large (popular) public movement that is inclusive, but with a parallel hidden structure as a form of protection from the tyranny of non-democratic forces (as in the case of Serbia).

• Organize public media campaigns with innovative slogans, messages, and symbols; be creative, even by using humor.

• Coordinate with political parties whenever possible.

• Focus on increasing membership by organizing citizens at the grassroots, including all ethnic and minority groups; make it an inclusive movement.

• Conduct training and education workshops to teach the nation the concepts and issues of the campaign.

• Be prepared for action and respond to attacks on NGOs and their members using non-violent means; expose the violent behavior to public opinion both internally and externally.

• Use information technology to spread the message, to inform, to report election results, and to take opinion polls.

• Be a watchdog over politicians' actions.

• Create a new generation of politicians through education, training, and contact with NGOs.

• Provide humanitarian relief and assistance; "NGOs can be successful when the government gives up."

• Create a true partnership between civil society/NGOs and the government, which requires transparency, good communication skills, and trust.

• NGOs should train government officials and politicians in "good life skills," which are important to have in public work. Such skills include:

  ■ good communication

  ■ strategic planning

  ■ goal-oriented planning and action

  ■ conflict resolution

• NGOs should play an important crisis prevention role. Since they work in the field and at the grassroots level, they can feel the pulse of the people and detect problems before they simmer and explode. However, there has to be political will to take action.

• NGOs should play a role in networking to help solve problems across borders, within regions, and internationally.

• NGOs should contribute to the policy-making process by providing research reports and by undertaking public opinion polls and analysis.

• NGOs in difficult transition periods can make a difference! They must base their activities on reality to achieve results. To implement a well-developed public campaign, they should use information technology and the media to make their work transparent and credible. The goal is to voice the real needs of the people.

Democracy Education in Challenging Political and Cultural Environments

Organizer:
Foundation for Education for Democracy (Poland)
CIVITAS

Rapporteur:
Joseph Davis (U.S.)
American Federation of Teachers

Moderator:
Krzysztof Stanowski (Poland)
Foundation for Education for Democracy

Presenters:
Joseph Davis (U.S.)
American Federation of Teachers

Mubarak Tashpulatova (Uzbekistan)
Tashkent Public Education Center

Nimi Walson-Jack (Nigeria)
Centre for Responsive Politics

Recommendations:
Participants suggested creating a group on civic education within the World Movement for Democracy to pursue the following recommendations:

• Establish a special fund to support civic education initiatives and projects.

• Develop and share information on funding sources for democracy education.

• Create an international forum for civic educators to share strategies, teaching methods, materials and information.

• Collect and share information on unique and creative approaches to democracy education, including the use of music, theater, and art as media for teaching democracy.

• Establish an international school and regional centers for democracy training using trainers drawn from World Movement participants as faculty.

• Work with national and international media and broadcasting networks to provide education about democracy.

• Support the development of formal civic education curricula for schools.

• Provide conferences and seminars for training young democrats.

• Develop a clearinghouse on democracy education "case studies" for World Movement participants.

• Organize regional meetings of civic education institutions for exchanging experiences and information.

• Create a group of democracy education experts that can be drawn on as consultants.

• Protect, defend, and support democracy educators facing persecution and other dangers.

Political Reform and Economic Development: The Role of Political and Civil Society Organizations

Organizers:
International IDEA (Sweden)
State and Civil Society Division, Inter-American Development Bank (IDB)

Rapporteur:
Ivo Hernandez (Germany)
University of Heidelberg

Moderator:
Fernando Carrillo-Florez (Colombia)
State and Civil Society Division, IDB

Presenters:
Rolando Franco (Chile)
Economic Commission for Latin America

Horacio Serpa Uribe (Colombia)
Partido Liberal Colombiano

Commentators:
Mercedes de Freitas (Venezuela)
Fundación Momento de la Gente

Daniel Zovatto (Costa Rica)
International IDEA

Challenge:
• What kind of specific actions can be exerted by public entities and civil societies in active support of democracy?

Recommendations:
• The state is necessary. Emphasizing the political factor within the state implies clear objectives that help it function, so that it acknowledges the most important common problems and effectively acts upon them. Several speakers and participants who made this point focused on the need for an arbiter between the power of the market and civil society.

• Politics is a comparative exercise between ideas and policy programs. Political parties should be promoted so that they represent not only themselves and patterns of isolated ideological interests, but also diverse sectors of the civil society.

• Multiparty administration helps ensure good governance and the fight against corruption. Some participants agreed that an electoral system that guarantees pluralist participation would also most likely help "porosity" between society and the governmental machine.

• The regular occurrence of elections does not per

se imply the good health of a democratic system. Attention must be paid to periodic examinations of institutional and political systems.

• Without democracy and real democratic participation promoted by representative parties there is no guarantee of stability, rule of law, and civic participation.

• Civil society and political parties should be complementary concepts that lead towards effective and tangible social results.

• Development should always be **sustainable** development, not only on environmental or economic grounds, but also on social and political grounds. The mistake of the economic reforms of the 1980s and the institutional improvements of the 1990s may have been to forget this point.

• Without clear accountability, social balance, and a fair distribution of wealth, people may tend to undervalue the usefulness of democracy.

• Politicians and political parties should look forward to diminishing the gap between electoral promises and reality.

• Development depends on the quality of institutions, the quality of services, and thus on the quality of politics.

• Anti-political and anti-party discourse leads to authoritarianism in society.

• The pattern of relations between civil society and political parties should be redefined so the latter may be better able to articulate the demands and aspirations of civil society organizations.

• Maintain the important boundaries between public and private (or corporate) interests.

• Provide opportunities for political participation to those who will be affected by public policies.

• In the relationship between state and civil society, the dominant perspective has inclined to consider the state as the only actor promoting development. It is thus necessary to sharpen the political picture of organized civil society.

• Emerging or formerly excluded social sectors should be helped to organize themselves either as civil society working groups or as political parties.

• Techniques should be developed to strengthen the mechanisms of accountability at all levels of power.

• A new and active concept of citizenry should be developed that considers people not only as electors, but also as citizens who go beyond electoral formalities and engage in participative and real representative democracy, including the protection of social and economic rights.

• Employment should be generated to integrate large majorities into productive economies.

• Democracy is a necessary condition for development, and the political factor plays a key role in fostering economic growth, a better distribution of wealth, and real results in the battle against economic inequality and poverty.

Strengthening Democracy at the Grassroots: Local Government and Civil Society

Organizers:
Institute of Social Sciences (India)
Celina Souza (University of Bahia, Brazil)

Rapporteur:
Steve Utterwulghe (Belgium , Angola-based)
Centre for Common Ground

Moderator:
George Mathew (India)
Institute of Social Sciences

Presenter:
Celina Souza (Brazil)
University of Bahia

Challenges:
• What to do when local government officials are inaccessible or unapproachable?

• What to do when local government officials are corrupt?

• How to strengthen local civil society, which is usually weak?

• How to address the lack of resources for local bodies?

• When local communities, councils, or communes have been created by citizens, how do you bring the issues raised at this social level to the political level?

• How to achieve effective decentralization in an authoritarian country?

• How to address the quality of service delivery at the local level?

• How to increase the awareness of democratic values at the local level?

• If media is important in denouncing bad practices at the local government level, how can that be done when there are no independent media?

Recommendations:
• Distribute fiscal resources equally for effective decentralization.

• International groups and NGOs should support local civil society.

• The admonition that "democracy requires democrats" should be complemented by the admonition that "democracy requires citizens." Citizens need the

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necessary skills and training to create democracy.

• In the absence of independent media, programs should be broadcast that raise issues in a non-adversarial way.

• Experiences with local government in established democracies should be shared.

• Decentralization should not be an end in itself but a means to achieve improvement.

• Local communities should be included in local decision-making processes.

• Public spaces at the local level should be created where grassroots organizations can meet with local business leaders and local authorities.

• Using local languages at the local level can be a key factor in decentralization.

• Civil society can help in the election of "good" local political candidates who respect strict democratic principles.

• Local bodies can help in addressing corruption.

• Opportunities should be given to local citizens to assess the efficiency of local governments and the quality of their service delivery.

Recommendation to the World Movement for Democracy:
• Create a forum to enable the exchange of experiences on the decentralization process.

Note: See functional workshop report on "Building a Global Network on Local Government" beginning on page 52.

Building Conditions to Eliminate Discrimination and/or Racism

Organizers:
INSPIR (Brazil)
Christopher Landsberg (South Africa)
University of the Witwatersrand

Rapporteur:
Francis Kornegay (South Africa)
University of the Witwatersrand

Moderator:
Christopher Landsberg (South Africa)
University of the Witwatersrand

Presenters:
Neide Fonseca (Brazil)
INSPIR

Clayton Lillenfeldt (South Africa)
Mediation and Transformation Practice

Observations:
• There is a tendency for racial tensions to persist in transitions to democracy where a political or legislative transition to racial equality is not accompanied by an economic transition that benefits formerly oppressed and disadvantaged racial groups.

• A closely related concern is the persistence of racial tensions where de jure/legal remedies, be they constitutional or legislative, are not accompanied by more substantive strategies of redress to create a level playing field between formerly advantaged and disadvantaged racial groups.

• From the standpoint of formerly disadvantaged racial groups, there is also the tendency for the issue of race and racism to be swept aside or ignored, or for an encoded discourse about race to develop that reinforces stalemate and misunderstanding. There is thus a very profound psychological dimension to the

issue of racism that must be confronted in fashioning a conversation about eliminating racism.

• An assertion was made during the workshop that racism should be approached from an individualistic perspective that focuses on "equal opportunity" rather than from a perspective of "an equality of outcomes." This generated lively debate, with an opposing observation voiced that race and racism are associated with historically-grounded collective identities and experiences.

• The "racial equation" within multiracial societies tends to expose the limits of formal democracy, the quality of which is contingent on the balance of power within a given society, a situation that is dynamic and subject to change. Thus, in the case of the U.S. during post-Reconstruction, political tyranny based on race could still exist within an otherwise democratic system.

• Similarly, in the case of Brazil, former slaves became marginalized after slavery was abolished in 1888 as the government and political and intellectual elites set in train a process to transform Brazil into a "white" country. This was followed by a process of forming the national identity around the notion of "racial democracy" that belied the fact of a black population that continued to be marginalized and where poverty coincided with those of African origin. In this regard, three societies — Brazil, South Africa, and the U.S. — can be seen to share in the common coincidence of race, poverty, and marginalization.

• Important references were made to other cases of group discrimination and oppression based on culture, religion, and ethnicity, as well as race. In one Persian Gulf country, for example, various forms of discrimination and persecution have been allowed because the government, under the cover of not allowing discrimination of any kind, has failed to gather social statistics that might be useful in monitoring discrimination. Cases of black-on-black racial and/or ethnic oppression and discrimination were discussed in the cases of the Sudan and Fiji.

Recommendations:

• The World Movement should explore structuring an ongoing international forum on race and racism, the purpose of which would be to advance a constructively critical discourse on race and to facilitate monitoring of racial tensions and conflicts on a global basis.

• The issue of discrimination in countries that have a policy of not keeping social statistics based on the rationale that there is no race discrimination and that the government opposes it should be addressed.

• The international community should respond to racial persecution and exclusion on Fiji in the same way that it did in the case of South Africa.

• The World Movement should explore the feasibility and means of supporting the development of racial conflict resolution methodologies and strategies aimed at promoting racial justice and interracial reconciliation (which could include examining South African experiences in monitoring the impact of legislation and racial conflict management).

• Governments should be made accountable for implementing the International Labor Organization (ILO) convention on combating racism.

Elections and the International Community: Do's and Don'ts

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

Rapporteurs:
Ann Colville (U.S.)
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

Suzana Jasic (Croatia)
Citizens Organized to Monitor Elections (GONG)

Moderator:
Patrick Merloe (U.S.)
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

Presenters:
Jamal Adimi (Yemen)
Forum for Civil Society

Margaret Dongo (Zimbabwe)
Zimbabwe Union of Democrats

Eduardo Fernandez (Venezuela)
Fundación Popular Iberoamericana

Patricio Gajardo (U.S.)
International Foundation for Election Systems

Maina Kiai (Kenya, UK-based)
Amnesty International

Robin Ludwig (U.S.)
United Nations Electoral Assistance Bureau

Elizabeth Spehar (Canada)
Organization of American States

The first portion of the workshop focused on the role of international elections observers — when they should arrive and depart the country, what they should observe, how they should observe, and the relationships that can and should be established with government entities, domestic and other international observer groups, and local nongovernmental organizations. Particular consideration was given to the perspective of political party leaders on how the international community supports election

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monitoring. The second portion of the workshop focused more on the role of domestic observers, the function of impartial nongovernmental organizations, and the relationship between these actors and international observers.

Challenges and Recommendations:

Challenge: International observers often arrive too late and depart too soon (immediately after election day and often before election results are official); issuing an objective and accurate statement on an election requires observation of all aspects of the electoral process and its political environment.

Recommendation: Elections cannot be divorced from the broader political processes that are central to a country's democratic development. Genuine elections are a fundamental human right, and to realize them requires the free exercise of a number of other civil and political rights. International observers should therefore observe the entire election process from the beginning through the resolution of complaints and the legitimate winners take office.

There are three different moments in elections: the pre-election period, election day, and the post-election period. Observers should focus on election legislation, voter lists, ballot access, media access and coverage, intimidation and bribery of voters, freedom of the parties to campaign, misuse of government resources for electoral advantage, sources and uses of campaign financing, the entire election day, including the process of counting and tabulation of votes. Observers should closely monitor the entire period between election day and the announcement of official results, being receptive to complaints and allegations, and they should observe the transition process of the elected government. International observers should also monitor how governments conduct post-election "lessons learned" activities and implement needed political and electoral reforms.

Challenge: International observers often lack relevant knowledge of the observed country and its election process. This can cause them to make statements that have unintended consequences, which can legitimize an improper process.

Recommendation: International observers should agree to standard methodologies, including a code of conduct. Given their great responsibility and potential impact on the election process, the observers should be objective and professional. They should educate themselves about the election law and the situation in the country.

Challenge: What is an adequate international pres-

ence for observing elections?

Recommendation: The answer depends on the political situation in the country. For example, if there is a threat of violence and an international presence could mitigate the threat without placing observers at too great a risk, there should be a large number of international observers. In situations where electoral violence is a strong possibility, the mobility of international observers can be particularly important. In another example, if there are significant numbers of political party poll watchers and/or independent domestic NGO observers, but they are not well established or are operating under threats, a relatively smaller number of international observers may be able to give them support and amplify observation findings, both domestically and internationally. International observers should advocate forcefully for the accreditation of domestic observers, should coordinate activities with domestic observers, and should ensure to the highest degree possible that the issuing of statements by international delegations does not overshadow reports of domestic observers.

Challenge: Should the international community apply the same standards for elections to all countries?

Recommendation: The same standards should be applied to all countries. At the same time, the elections should be considered within each country's historical, cultural, and political context. It is also important to determine whether a country is making progress on the path towards democracy or whether it has stalled or is moving backwards.

Challenge: Should international observers be impartial?

Recommendation: As observers they should be impartial, but they should seek to influence electoral legislation and make other recommendations to ensure that democratic values and standards are met. International observers should follow up periodically to determine whether their recommendations have been acted upon and whether effective electoral reform or improvements are being implemented. Decision makers at international organizations and multilateral financing organizations should consider the state of democratic election processes as criteria for their assistance.

Additional Recommendations:

International observers should not supplant domestic observers and the international community should provide domestic observers with technical and financial support. It should also provide technical and

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financial support to political parties (so that they can protect the integrity of the election process by deploying poll watchers and using legal complaint mechanisms) and encourage domestic groups within the same region to share experiences.

Given the competition that often exists among international observer groups, serious efforts should be made to encourage cooperation to ensure coordination. There should also be cooperation and open communication between international and domestic observer groups.

International observation groups should keep the

international community informed about the situations in those countries in which elections are to be observed and should demonstrate support for advancing democracy in those countries. With the increase in globalization, the role of global public opinion also increases and international election observation can be key to forming that public opinion.

The most important thing is that the international community should be involved in the long-term processes of political, economic, and social development, and observers should witness several election cycles.

Cross-Border Democracy Assistance: What Is the Role of New Democracies and NGOs in their Regions?

Organizer:
Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe (Poland/U.S.)

Rapporteur:
Eric Chenoweth (U.S.)
Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe

Moderator:
Irena Lasota (U.S.)
Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe

Presenters:
Heba El-Shazli (Egypt)
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (Lebanon office)

Ivlian Khaindrava (Georgia)
Center for Development and Cooperation

Malgorzata Naimska (Poland)
Institute for Democracy in Eastern Europe

Alexander Podrabinek (Russia)
Express Chronicle

This workshop was a microcosm of the whole Second Assembly. Fifty people from 21 countries attended, representing diverse religions, nations, ethnicities, and political circumstances. The president of IDEE, Irena Lasota, noted that one of the main reasons for organizing the workshop—and at the heart of IDEE's objectives as an organization—was to demonstrate the falseness of Samuel Huntington's now-famous thesis that there is today a clash of civilizations. The only clash that exists, she argued, is that between democratic and non-democratic systems, between dictatorial and free countries, between authoritarian and liberal societies. That democracy is a universal value crossing civilizations has been demonstrated time and again in the last decades and can be shown by the cross-border and even trans-regional activities of the organizations represented in the workshop—and by the enormous desire for organizing such activities.

Observations:
A number of examples of, and proposals for, cross-border assistance, cooperation, and activity were offered by members of the Centers for Pluralism,

which are organized in over 20 countries in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

• Ivlian Haindrava, Malgorzata Naimska, and Alexander Podrabinek pointed to the dynamic interaction among NGOs from different countries as a means of promoting democracy, disseminating information, defending human rights, broadening understanding of democratic values, and building civic society and democratic institutions. Each noted especially the benefits of cross-border assistance among the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, which have seen greater democratic development than those of the former Soviet Union, where democracy has taken a much weaker hold.

• Heba El-Shazli, presented the great benefits of trans-regional cooperation in programs she has organized in the Middle East and North Africa using Eastern European colleagues as trainers. She noted that following one workshop with Solidarity representatives, the participants created a completely new women's trade union program in Algeria that

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immediately improved women's trade union organization in the country.

• Participants from Somalia, Romania, Iraq, Burma, South Korea, Egypt, Azerbaijan, Malaysia, Taiwan, Cuba, and Belarus, among others, pointed to the importance of building or expanding regional and trans-regional assistance programs.

Recommendations:
• Look for commonality among countries in transition to democracy that are trying to overcome similar systems of dictatorship, and among countries that have reached stages of transition and those still struggling against similar systems of dictatorship. For example, it is important to note the often forgotten commonalities among post-communist countries in Eastern Europe and those in the Horn of Africa, as well as among other countries formerly dominated by the Soviet Union or that had adopted a system of communist dictatorship.

• In transitional regimes, civil society and democratic activists should insist on investigations into human rights violations and the establishment of accountability for crimes committed under dictatorship. That information should then be shared across borders among democrats in countries in similar situations. This insistence on accountability and the sharing of information will allow for a smoother transition to democracy by establishing human rights as its first principle.

• Strengthen democratic civic education programs among the Kurdish people, who live in a variety of countries, including Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria, most of which are non-democracies. This will help take advantage of the great potential of the Kurdish people to serve as a bridge for, and a carrier of, democratic values in the region.

• Organize international campaigns against "emergency laws and regulations" of dictatorial regimes, since they pose extreme burdens on democracy activists.

• Pressure governments not to put obstacles in the way of democrats who seek to assist their colleagues in dictatorships (for example, by preventing meetings outside the borders of a dictatorship, as Chinese and South Korean authorities have done concerning attempted meetings with North Korean refugees in China).

• Exempt democracy-promotion programs from the vicissitudes of political, diplomatic, or other pressures and ensure that a buffer exists between governments and publicly funded agencies promoting democracy.

• Support cross-border and trans-regional training of democratic activists in dictatorships, including through third-country workshops, internships, exchanges, study tours, and other means. Organize teams of cross-border and trans-regional election observers of elections held in dictatorships and emerging democracies, as well as teams of trainers for use in general democracy and civil society promotion.

• Establish a directory of resources on democracy promotion for new democratic organizations.

• Given the often greater effectiveness of new and emerging democracies in assisting democracy movements in dictatorships, donors from the established, wealthy democracies should cooperate with and support NGOs in new democracies that organize cross-border assistance to those movements.

• Under no circumstances should donors impose their programs on democracy movements; rather, they should respond to the needs of democracy activists — as the activists themselves express those needs — in challenging repressive regimes. Donors should also listen to the advice of democracy activists in new democracies who have had recent experience in removing dictatorships.

Recommendations to the World Movement for Democracy:
• Build an effective and immediate international solidarity network among members of the World Movement to alert people to cases requiring urgent action. For example, Marcos Lorenzo Torres, a Cuban democracy activist, was imprisoned a few days prior to the Second Assembly in part for being invited to participate in it; such a network might be effective in pressuring the Cuban authorities to release him.

• The World Movement should consider establishing a press agency reporting on human rights abuses under dictatorships and on democratic developments in countries in transition from dictatorship.

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How Can Parliaments Strengthen Accountability in the Fight against Corruption?

Organizer:
Parliamentary Centre (Canada)
World Bank Institute (Multinational)

Rapporteurs:
Jeannie Wynne-Edwards (Canada)
Erin Davidge (Canada)
Parliamentary Centre

Moderator:
Rick Stapenhurst (U.S.)
World Bank

Presenters:
Son Chhay (Cambodia)
Member of Parliament

Augustine Ruzindana (Uganda)
Member of Parliament

Anand Singh (Fiji)
Fiji Trade Union Congress

Ignacio Walker (Chile)
Camara de Diputados

John Williams (Canada)
Member of Parliament

This workshop brought together parliamentarians, representatives of civil society, and global organizations from various regions of the world. It was designed to identify the issues and priorities associated with strengthening parliamentary systems of accountability to fight corruption, and to propose practical actions that should be undertaken by parliaments and parliamentarians.

John Williams, MP, via video presentation, introduced the broad principles and mechanisms of accountability in the congressional and Westminster systems. His recommendations included:

• Public accounts committees of parliaments should publish timely and accurate reviews of auditor general reports that can be understood by parliamentarians and the public. This helps parliaments to ensure transparency, accountability, and government responsiveness to citizens.

• The rule of law should be respected. Codes of conduct for government should be applied and independence of the judiciary ensured.

• Parliamentarians should determine how they can improve themselves and their understanding of accountability and transparency. In short, parliamentarians must be driven to serve society rather than themselves.

Son Chhay, MP, focused on the importance of the opposition party in promoting accountability in government. Among his observations and recommendations were:

• Opposition parties provide legitimacy to parliaments since they help ensure that parliaments hold governments to account.

• The international community should support opposition parties since they are often weak.

• The experience of Cambodia, where national revenue is concentrated on aid and loans, demonstrates that the most effective method of pressuring governments to be accountable is through the international community.

• International organizations, such as the World Bank and regional development banks, should consider the issue of corruption in parliament and the important role of opposition parties before approving loans to governments.

Ignacio Walker, MP, spoke about the Chilean experience. He highlighted some of the important legislation passed in Chile aimed at increasing parliamentary accountability and curbing corruption:

• In April 1994, the National Commission of Public Ethics consulted the highest authorities of both state and civil society and issued a report detailing proactive steps to deal with corruption. This led to a law on administrative transparency established in December 1999.

• The Inter-American Convention on Corruption was ratified in1999 to prevent and punish acts of corruption.

• The Law on the Freedom of the Press was passed in Chile after five years of discussion; it strengthened the legal status of press freedom and removed the obstacles to it.

Augustin Ruzindana, MP, provided an account of the Ugandan experience in addressing corruption, and identified several constructive ways in which the Parliament of Uganda is reacting to corruption and working towards increased accountability:

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• Legislation was passed stipulating that the appointment of high-level public servants and ministers must be approved by the Parliament, which can remove them if they act in an inappropriate manner against the interests of the public. In fact, over the past four years, four ministers have been removed in this manner.

• The Auditor General reports to the Parliament annually. The reports are reviewed and scrutinized by the Public Accounts Committee, thereby allowing the Parliament to oversee government spending.

• The Ugandan Parliament has seventeen different committees to focus on important issue areas. They bring together members of the government and opposition.

• The use of "motions" to request that the Parliament debate particular issues of public concern promotes accountability and good governance. They can often be used to amend or terminate government policies. Uganda has also emplaced an official anti-corruption act.

Anand Singh provided a brief political history of Fiji, focusing primarily on the legal accomplishments of the Fijian government to combat corruption. He detailed several constitutional amendments to increase the accountability of government. Among them:

• A code of conduct was initiated in Parliament, stipulating that parliamentarians declare all their assets prior to an election, and again following their terms in office, as well as all gifts.

• Judicial mechanisms were created to hold the judiciary to account.

General Recommendations:
• International organizations should recognize the importance of parliaments in curbing corruption, and their capacity-building programs should focus on parliaments, rather than on the executive as they currently do.

• Members of parliament need support since legislators and committees without sufficient competent staff are at the mercy of the executive.

• Oversight functions of parliament should be strengthened. Public accounts committees should carefully scrutinize all Auditor general reports and hold executives to account for discrepancies. Public accounts committees should also make these reports accessible to all parliamentarians, members of civil society, and the media. Auditors general

should be independent from the executive.

• Parliamentarians should reform their image. In most countries, they are perceived as being inherently corrupt, which affects their legitimacy as corruption fighters and undermines parliaments' ability to curb corruption. As institutions, parliaments are respected, but members of parliament often are not. Parliamentarians should educate constituents about their legitimate roles.

• Oppositions should be strengthened since they play important roles in promoting good governance by ensuring that governments are accountable to the population and transparent in their actions.

• Codes of conduct are important. They should be established or strengthened as mechanisms for monitoring and regulating the conduct of members of parliament and the executive.

• Corrupt activities must have legal consequences. A Hungarian MP noted the importance of parliamentarians taking the lead in developing these codes. Open and transparent application of codes of conduct not only clearly establish guidelines for parliamentarians and the executive, but also educate constituents on the responsibilities of their representatives.

• Freedom of information is essential to hold government to account. Free media is key to making any misspending or corrupt activity public knowledge. New information technology provides more efficient ways to increase access to information and "e-governance" would permit government decisions and activities to be documented instantaneously on the Internet.

• The electoral process has become a major area of corruption. Regulations of campaign finance should be seriously reviewed and revised, therefore, to maintain the integrity of the electoral process and to provide balance in electoral races.

• International financial institutions (IFIs) should create a set of international standards to help curb corruption. In most cases, acts of corruption by the government are not taken into consideration when IFIs approve loans. This can be attributed largely to the idea that IFI's are captive of their shareholders, the governments of the loan recipient countries. Generally, IFIs focus on the government in question when providing support, not on the concerns of the opposition party, for instance, which represents a sizeable portion of society. Certain IFIs are now adopting loan practices to include anti-corruption strategies. A new convention on international banking transparency is also needed to regulate govern-

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ment transfers of public funds to private, foreign bank accounts.

• Members of parliament need to work together. Participants agreed that a Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC) should be established. GOPAC would aim to build an inter-

national network of parliamentarians, organized on a regional basis, to fight corruption and promote good governance.

The Role of Ombudsmen in Securing Transitional Justice

Organizer:
Forum of Federations (Canada)

Rapporteur:
Shane Levesque (Canada)
Forum of Federations

Moderator:
Celine Auclair (Canada)
Forum of Federations

Presenters:
Shin Dae-kyun (South Korea)
Citizens' Coalition for Better Government

Sergei A. Kovalev (Russia)
State Duma of Russia

Observations:

The term "ombudsman" originated in Scandinavia. It described a man who held special status in the community with the capacity to serve as a citizen's rights advocate for those members of society whose rights were infringed upon by the community's leaders.

Today, the traditional, or narrow, interpretation of ombudsmanship adheres very closely to this original concept. The ombudsman's authority is strictly a function of the moral authority of his or her office, which is inherent in his or her status in the community; this is determined, in turn, by the decisions and recommendations the ombudsman makes.

A broader definition of ombudsmanship also exists, in which the authority of the ombudsman is mandated by law. In this case, the decisions and recommendations of the ombudsman can carry the weight of law, in addition to having a certain moral authority. This point is important because it is not sufficient for an ombudsman to be supported only by the rule of law in the technical sense; even under the broader definition, an ombudsman must be strengthened and supported by the righteousness of his or her office.

The workshop did not seek to make recommendations endorsing either one of these models of ombudsmanship as the most legitimate or appropriate. Like most other matters of democratic governance, only the citizens, within the context of their unique political situation, can decide the ideal form of ombudsmanship for their polity. The objective of

the workshop was to discuss the important role that ombudsmen can play in the specific context of transitional states. It is sometimes the case that the mainstream mechanisms of the judiciary are either ineffective or nonexistent, due either to corruption or to the collapse of democratic processes as the result of conflict. The workshop participants discussed the potential role of an ombudsman as a quasi-judicial authority who can play an important role in securing transitional justice.

Recommendations:

• Civil society ought to play a greater role in bringing pressure to bear on governments and sectoral organizations to allow for and encourage the establishment of ombudsmen. The active participation of civil society in this effort would help to ensure that the protection of civil and human rights remains the focus of the ombudsmen's work, thereby enhancing the moral authority underpinning his or her office.

• Citizen and human rights groups should work diligently to ensure that ombudsmen offices are established autonomously, owing no allegiance to any other organizations or authorities than citizenries. Furthermore, ombudsmen offices should be established in non-profit or charity-based contexts that allow them to be financially self-sustaining. An ombudsman can only represent the people in a genuinely autonomous manner if he or she owes nothing to the government or any societal sector that he

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or she is intended to monitor.

• Citizen and human rights groups should work to ensure that nominations of ombudsmen are not achieved through political compromise since this would undermine their autonomy.

• Efforts should be made to ensure that ombudsmen are established at all levels of government and society. This is particularly applicable in diverse societies and decentralized political systems, and will enhance citizens' ability to ensure that their rights are protected against unfair government policies and decisions. The establishment of ombudsmen at all levels of society means sector-specific ombudsmen, such as those in labor unions, education, and law enforcement, among others.

• Prior to passing legislation creating an ombudsman office, it is necessary to define its specific functions and competencies relative to those of officers of the mainstream judiciary.

• Civil society at large, and ombudsmen in particular, should work to establish an association of ombudsmen within each country where they exist. This would facilitate the sharing of best practices pertaining to the unique character of their work. Domestic and international networks of ombudsmen associations should also be established to facilitate the sharing of best practices on a much broader scale.

Recommendation to World Movement for Democracy:

• The World Movement should establish a committee to assist civil society organizations in their efforts to promote and strengthen the "ombudsmanship movement" as an important means of securing justice in transitional states.

Asia

Organizer:
Alliance for Reform and Democracy in Asia (ARDA)

Rapporteur:
Debbie Stothard (Malaysia, Thailand-based)
Alternative ASEAN Network on Burma

Moderators:
Sam Rainsy (Cambodia)
Member of Parliament

Chee Soon Juan (Singapore)
Open Singapore Centre

Presenter:
Nurul Izzah Anwar (Malaysia)
Institute for Policy Research

Nearly 60 people attended this workshop and about half of them spoke from the floor. The participants came from Bhutan, Burma, Cambodia, China, Fiji, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Mongolia, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Tibet, United Kingdom, United States, and Vietnam.

Observations:
When the financial crisis hit Asia in 1997, many countries had been enjoying unprecedented economic growth; there was enough wealth to support corrupt institutions and keep the middle class happy. Like the ocean tide going out and exposing all the rubbish on the beach, when the financial crisis hit the tide of money was pulled back to reveal a weak and unjust system supported by corrupt and oppressive practices.

While the human impacts of the crisis were (and continue to be) disastrous, the upheaval provided opportunities for democrats to campaign for reform. Some of the closed economic systems were less affected by the crisis, although it exposed some of the fundamental weaknesses within them. Some pro-reform leaders have triumphed (for example, in Indonesia and Taiwan), while others have been persecuted (for example, Anwar Ibrahim in Malaysia and Aung San Suu Kyi in Burma). Regardless of the situation of these and other democrats, the region remains in a critical situation of flux and/or transition.

Three elements contributed to the lack of regional efforts to advance reform processes:

- the assertion of "Asian Values," with the implication that Asians are less deserving or less desirous of protection of their human rights.
- the policy of "non-interference" that allows unjust situations to deteriorate and spread.
- the tendency to be governed by the rule *by* law instead of *by* the rule *of* law.

Recommendations:
- Establish an Asian center for democracy resources.

The Asia-Pacific Affairs Forum (Taiwan) and the Alliance for Reform and Democracy in Asia (ARDA) agreed to work together on the creation of such a resource center.

- Share conflict resolution strategies within the region.

- Establish networks, such as the Alliance for Reform and Democracy in Asia, that help democrats in the region to organize themselves.

The Secretariat of the World Movement has assisted in the re-design of the ARDA Web site (www.asiademocracy.org), and has provided links on the World Movement Web site (www.wmd.org) to a variety of networks in Asia, organizations participating in the World Movement in the region, as well as information on potential funding sources and research.

- Launch programs to encourage young democrats and true democrats (those who maintain support for their democratic colleagues after they gain power).

- Create an Asian forum to engage and educate the business community about democratic values.

- Engage in confidence building to encourage leaders to allow reforms.

- Provide technical assistance for governments to implement or comply with international human rights treaties.

- Coordinate preparation to allow democrats' input at key UN and other international meetings on democracy and related issues.

- Create educational programs in all sectors to broaden understanding of democracy and human

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rights within the context of people's daily lives and work (that is, within school systems, the civil service, law enforcement, and the judiciary).

• Pressure governments and international organizations to promote democratic values, human rights, and people-to-people relationships through their international aid programs.

• Help protect refugee and exiled democrats; employ an "urgent response" mechanism for democrats who are persecuted; and use delegations and fact-finding teams to monitor and report on situations

where democrats are under threat.

• Give priority to the work of communities at the grass-roots level (for example, women, the disabled, and indigenous groups) who tend to use resources very effectively and whose work can be used as examples of best practices.

• Work to abolish national security laws.

• "Adopt" one country at a time to focus efforts of all democrats. (Interestingly, a Cambodian MP proposed Burma, while a Burmese participant proposed China).

Latin America and the Caribbean

Organizer:
Citizens Network for Democracy in the Americas

Rapporteur:
Elisabeth Ungar (Colombia)
Universidad de Los Andes

Moderator:
Bolívar Lamounier (Brazil)
Institute for Economic, Political and Social Studies of São Paulo (IDESP)

Presenters:
Sergio Aguayo (Mexico)
FUNDAR

Genaro Arriagada (Chile)
Former Ambassador of Chile to the U.S.

Fernando Carrillo-Florez (Colombia)
State and Civil Society Division, Inter-American Development Bank

Observations:
This is a very paradoxical time for Latin America, disturbing and interesting, positive and negative, all at once. While in some countries in the region it is evident that advances have been made in the consolidation of democratic institutions and practices, in others there are indications of offensives that pose serious threats to democratic regimes. Among the latter, the countries of the Andean region stand out. Even within those countries, there are areas in which there have been significant advances, such as improvements in the quality of electoral systems, respect for human rights, and the emergence of independent, solid, and rigorous judicial systems. However, in the most fragile democracies there are reasons for concern: weak civil control over the military; a growing centralization of power in the executive branch and a consequent weakening of the other branches of power; human rights violations; concentration of the media in the hands of the few; weak political institutions; disintegration of civil society; and alarming increases in poverty and economic inequality. This has all taken place in the

presence of armed actors and other forces, such as narcotraffickers, who have demonstrated their strong destabilizing impact.

The participants agreed that the inability of democratic institutions to respond effectively and efficiently to the social, economic, and political demands of citizens has been the determining factor presently troubling the region. The problem is primarily **political**. As a result, the strengthening of institutions, mechanisms of participation and political representation, systems of checks and balances among the branches of public power, as well as the generation of a democratic political culture (to include the redefinition of civil-military relations), are a priority.

Challenges and Recommendations:
Recognizing the specific conditions, characteristics, and complexities of each of the diverse countries in the region, as well as the different visions of how to contribute to and construct and consolidate true democratic processes in Latin America, the participants identified a number of common challenges and recommendations, as follows.

Challenge: The strengthening of political parties is an indispensable condition for the survival and consolidation of democracy in Latin America.

Recommendations:
- Overcome the obstacles that have impeded the appropriate political representation of the elected.

- Adapt organizational structures (both internal and international) to new and changing social and economic conditions.

- Promote internal democracy in decision-making and the choice of candidates, and improve the definition of programs.

- Convert parties into efficient channels of political participation.

- Strengthen mechanisms for interaction between the state and civil society organizations.

- Develop parties that are more open, that are of the people, and that are as little bureaucratic and clientilistic as possible.

Challenge: Civil society should be a central actor in construction and reconstruction processes and in the strengthening of democratic systems. However, civil society organizations cannot act alone or in isolation from the larger political context, as often occurs in many countries in the region. In spite of new initiatives each day to achieve a more democratic politics, they remain limited by the difficulty of transforming them into political decisions.

Recommendations:
- One way to overcome the crisis of representation that affects some Latin American countries and weakens the exercise of democracy is to establish new areas of communication between civil society groups and political parties.

- Encouraging communication between civil society groups and political parties, referred to above, should be viewed within a broader objective, the recuperation and "dignification" of politics and the public sphere. This must go hand-in-hand with a new conception of citizenship and political activity based on the principles of accountability and public ethics.

Challenge: The search for better representation, more effective mechanisms for citizen control, and greater civic participation that will not put good governance at risk remains a challenge.

Recommendation:
- Unlike those who raise the flags of "anti-politics," participants in the workshop recommended strong

parties and movements and efficient and effective collegiate bodies and parliaments.

Challenge: While it is true that in the last decade there has been no major economic crisis in the region, and that the majority of the countries in the region have gone through a period of stability and macroeconomic growth, poverty and socioeconomic inequality continue to increase.

Recommendation:
- The goals of political democracy and economic democracy cannot be separated.

General Recommendations:
- In light both of the foregoing and the report of the regional meeting in Cuernavaca, Mexico, on October 21, 2000 (in preparation for the World Movement's Second Assembly), a network should be created for political parties, academics, activists, business leaders, media persons, and civil society organizations to meet, discuss, critique, and exchange ideas and proposals. This network should be representative, pluralist, participative, and inclusive. Its mission should be to increase the value citizens and institutions place on democratic politics and to improve its quality.

- Going beyond analysis, the network should focus on the implementation of concrete actions that contribute to the achievement of this objective; disseminate "best practices"; attain a "critical mass" to take decisive and effective actions when democracy in a particular country appears to be threatened; and serve as an interlocutor with other countries and national and international organizations that are interested in promoting democracy in the hemisphere.

- Initially, the network should center on particular themes, such as democratic governance, political education and democratic values, relations between political parties and civil society, electoral systems and campaign finances, vigilance in accountability regarding public policies and resources, and transparency in the production and dissemination of information.

All of these themes should incorporate challenges specifically faced by women.

- To advance the network, a Steering Committee was chosen composed of the following individuals: Sergio Aguayo (Mexico), Genaro Arriagada (Chile), Mercedes de Freitas (Venezuela), Orlando Gutiérrez (Cuba, U.S.-based), Bolívar Lamounier (Brazil), Christopher Sabatini (U.S.), Elizabeth Spehar

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(Canada); Elisabeth Ungar (Colombia); and Daniel Zovatto (Argentina). The committee was charged with the mandate of launching the network, giving it structure, and establishing a work plan that allows for the effective and efficient attainment of its objectives.

With assistance from the World Movement for Democracy Secretariat, the Citizens Network for Democracy in the Americas (www.wmd.org/lan) was launched in March 2001 with a Web site organized around nearly 20 themes. It provides information about organizations participating in the network, funding sources focused on the region, citations of recent research, sources of "best practices," and a forum for sharing information and building collaborative strategies. It also includes the report on the preparatory meeting held in Cuernavaca, Mexico, in October 2000.

Middle East and North Africa

Organizer:
Panorama Center (Palestine)

Rapporteur:
Heba El-Shazli (Egypt)
National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (Lebanon office)

Moderator:
Riad Malki (Palestine)
Panorama Center

Presenter:
Antoine Nasri Messarra (Lebanon)
Lebanese Foundation for Permanent Civil Peace

The workshop participants discussed at length the crisis in the Middle East and the implications of the Palestinian struggle for the entire region. They also acknowledged the difficulties of democratization in the region, but also the great inspiration they have received from the remarkable determination and sacrifices of the region's democrats to see democracy grow and flourish.

Observations:
• Palestinian NGOs have to carry on their democracy projects under severe conditions, including constant closures and curfews; restrictions on movement; lack of normal services, such as schools, hospitals, etc.; and often as victims of collective punishment measures and economic embargoes.

• The workshop participants urged fellow democrats to join the Palestinian voices calling for the right of self-determination, independence, and international protection.

• Forward movement towards democratization in the Middle East/North Africa region is strongly impeded by the non-resolution of the Palestine issue. The workshop participants discussed the following items with a view to better cooperation and networking among NGOs to promote democracy in the region:

■ the proceedings of the pre-Assembly preparatory meeting held in Istanbul, Turkey, in September 2000.

■ the development of a comprehensive background paper on the process of democratization in the region, the general context of this process, the elements of democracy, and the priorities for the next two to three years in the region.

Recommendation to the World Movement for Democracy:
• The participants recommended, and agreed to establish, an informal network to promote democracy, including the following:

■ a database of civil society organizations in the region and available human resources and expertise;

■ a clear mission statement with which to reach out to other NGOs committed to democracy in the region;

■ various activities to improve cooperation among NGOs to address the central issues in the region;

■ an Internet Web site to activate the network.

• A committee was chosen, including Riad Malki (Palestine), Heba El Shazli (Egypt), and Antoine Messarra (Lebanon), to guide the network.

The World Movement has established a section of its Web site (www.wmd.org) for the Middle East/North Africa that includes participating organizations and networks, information about democracy projects in the region, and other resources.

Other Recommendations:
• NGOs should grow, flourish, and work in every neighborhood, village, town, city, and country, and they should develop better advocacy skills.

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• Promote freedom of speech, religion, and association (a space for universities, journalists, trade unions, women's organizations, etc.).

• Press for regular elections and electoral processes that are free and fair as a source of legitimate rule in every country in the region.

• Promote civic education, democratic culture, and gender perspective training with an emphasis on human rights.

• Promote tolerance among religious and ethnic groups.

• Promote equality among men and women.

Africa

Organizer:
Africa Democracy Forum

Rapporteur:
Hannah Forster (The Gambia)
African Center for Democracy and Human Rights Studies

Moderator:
Ayo Obe (Nigeria)
Civil Liberties Organisation

Presenters:
Zainab Bangura (Sierra Leone)
Campaign for Good Governance

Immaculee Birhaheka (Democratic Republic of Congo)
Promotion et Appui aux Initiatives Feminines

Lucie Coulibaly (Ivory Coast)
Ligue Ivoirien des Droits de l'Homme

Suah S. Deddeh (Liberia)
Press Union of Liberia

Steven Friedman (South Africa)
Centre for Policy Studies

Emmanuel Gyimah-Boadi (Ghana)
Ghana Center for Democratic Development

Livingstone Sewanyana (Uganda)
Foundation for Human Rights Initiative

Over 60 participants from more than 25 countries in Africa south of the Sahara attended this regional workshop. Prior to the Assembly, the Africa Democracy Forum held a preparatory meeting on October 3-4, 2000, organized by the Civil Liberties Organisation (CLO) in collaboration with Human Rights Law Service (HURILAWS). The resolutions from that meeting were circulated to all present at the workshop for consideration.

Observations:
• Elections are conflict prone and continue to divide communities, particularly in Sierra Leone. More emphasis should be placed on addressing the conflicts rather than on their consequences, as is usually the case.

• Women are continually marginalized, especially in the peace process. Participants emphasized the need for civil society to ensure women's participation in the democratic and human rights agenda, particularly in conflict resolution and management. Successful experiences in Burundi and Somalia testify to the role women can play.

• Participants recognized the diversity of democratic experiences in the Africa region, and the need to take the special features of individual situations into account when addressing democracy in Africa.

• The emergence of dictators and coup makers in the least expected countries has continued to plague the continent, the latest example being the Ivory Coast. These people are enemies of democracy and should be treated as such.

• Military leaders should be restricted to military roles and should not occupy civilian positions.

• While globalization has some adverse consequences, such as, among others, eroding national sovereignty and increasing the technological divide, there are also positive aspects that cannot be ignored, such as greater respect for human rights and gender equality. Its economic consequences, however, also need to be reviewed.

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Recommendation to World Movement for Democracy:

• The Africa-wide network, Africa Democracy Forum, launched in Abuja, Nigeria, in October 2000, should be strengthened. Networking is necessary for the consolidation of democracy and as a means for bridging the gap between the grassroots and the elite. A strong, viable network in Africa is thus crucial. A regional democracy network of African civil society organizations within the World Movement for Democracy, with the main objective of promoting and protecting democracy in Africa, will provide opportunities for democrats to speak with one voice as well as a platform for mutual support and the sharing of resources. Fostering collaboration and solidarity among democratic groups, the network would be focused in particular on countries at various points of transition to democracy. The need to work with governments and intergovernmental institutions was also emphasized. Sharing information and documenting experiences in various countries can be useful in bringing pressure to bear on repressive regimes.

Proposed activities of the Africa Democracy Forum should include:

■ monitoring democracy

■ working to protect democrats

■ providing support for the development of information technology in Africa

■ sharing advocacy skills

■ training network members

■ establishing and maintaining dialogue with state leaders and empowering people at the grass-roots.

■ Civil society in countries of conflict should use the Africa Democracy Forum to seek support, especially in repressive regimes.

A committee to consult widely and to guide the Africa Democracy Forum was chosen, as follows:

■ Carine Bapita-Buyangandu (Democratic Republic of Congo)

■ Helder de Barros (São Tome)

■ Margaret Dongo (Zimbabwe)

■ Ayesha Imam (Nigeria)

■ Livingstone Sewanyana (Uganda)

■ Agostinho Zacarias (Mozambique)

These committee members will work closely with the African members of the World Movement Steering Committee, Ayo Obe (Nigeria) and Christopher Landsberg (South Africa), to coordinate strategies for promoting democracy on the conti-

nent, and to organize regional meetings.

Other Recommendations:

• Dictators and coup makers should be isolated and the regional and international communities should support local efforts to achieve this objective.

• Concerning globalization and democracy, emphasis should be given to activities that encourage the accountability of local and national governments, which should be compelled to carry out only genuine mandates derived through democratic processes.

• There is a need to engage trade unions in the review of economic policies, concentrating more on domestic fronts and highlighting those global policies that exploit national values.

• Globalization is impeding democratic progress, particularly in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The international community should therefore assist in the reconstruction process in that country to enable it to evolve into a democratic society.

• The "culture of impunity," which curtails speech and press freedoms and the right to one's opinions, is incompatible with democratic principles. Therefore, all perpetrators should be held accountable for the violations they commit.

• The international community should support and assist in the establishment of truth commissions, criminal courts and/or tribunals to dispense justice.

• Civil society should empower people with respect to their rights and should urge the international community to support efforts to bring rights violators to justice.

• Since resisting oppression and the desire to bring about change has resulted in many conflicts, the international community should support the empowerment of civil society groups to enable them to confront the challenges of empowering and organizing citizens at the grassroots.

• Given that all levels of society should be involved in creating a democratic environment in any given country, the press, judiciary, political parties, and NGOs should be empowered to work together continually to maintain the checks and balances necessary in a democracy.

• The participants proposed that the World Movement for Democracy hold its next Assembly in Africa.

The Steering Committee of the World Movement has announced that the next Assembly will take place in Durban, South Africa, in 2003.

Central and Eastern Europe

Organizer:
National Endowment for Democracy (U.S.)

Rapporteur:
Thomas W. Skladony (U.S.)
*International Forum for Democratic Studies,
National Endowment for Democracy*

Moderators:
Paul McCarthy (U.S.)
National Endowment for Democracy

Rodger Potocki (U.S.)
National Endowment for Democracy

Presenters:
Slobodan Djinovic (Serbia)
Otpor

Tin Gazivoda (Croatia)
Croatian Helsinki Committee

Slobodan Homen (Serbia)
Otpor

Suzana Jasic (Croatia)
Citizens Organized to Monitor Elections (GONG)

Marek Kapusta (Slovakia)
Nadacia pre Obciansku Spolocnost

Alexandra-Luminita Petrescu (Romania)
Advisor to former President Emil Constantinescu

This workshop addressed two key challenges of particular importance to the post-communist world and elsewhere.

Challenge: What must civil society NGOs do in the pre-election period to win a breakthrough election?

Recommendations:

• Organize, organize, organize. NGOs must coordinate activities of a large number of diverse organizations. They must work with political parties, trade unions, and others, but they must also maintain official nonpartisanship and independence. The participants pointed to an important lesson based on experiences in Serbia, Slovakia, and, to a lesser extent, Croatia: When foreign donors coordinate their activities, it helps local NGOs to do likewise.

• Develop affiliates with local leadership and representatives; it is better to have many little-known leaders than a single well-known, but irreplaceable, one.

• Develop a common theme and logo that all member groups can use and incorporate into their own campaigns.

• Keep the message simple, repeat it often, and use as many methods as possible to communicate it to voters.

• Be flexible and creative. Use humor and a light-hearted approach where you can. Always be ready to respond to what your opponents are doing.

• Several participants also recommended that NGOs and other democrats develop concrete plans for what they would do *after* the election, but others

who had recently been through the process said that this would have been impossible; during the campaign, all energy is spent on winning.

Challenge: What must NGOs do in the post-election period to develop and sustain democracy and to prevent a "backsliding" election?

Recommendations:

• Get over the euphoria and get down to work.

• Switch from a "search-and-destroy" to a "build-and-improve" mode of thinking.

• Learn to appreciate the important differences between NGOs and government. NGO leaders are moralistic and idealistic; government officials are more pragmatic and willing to compromise ("In politics, it is immoral to lose!"). Participants pointed to the following lessons based on experience:

  ▪ NGO leaders who go into government are often disappointed or even repulsed by what goes on there.

  ▪ Government leaders, for their part, are disappointed when their former allies who helped elect them are now critical of their government work.

  ▪ Both the NGO community and the government should appreciate the distinct role that each plays in a democratic society.

• NGOs need to organize and coordinate their efforts as much *after* a breakthrough election as before. The need for foreign donors to maintain their support also remains as great.

• NGOs have a major responsibility *after* the breakthrough election to educate citizens about the true

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conditions of the country and the realistic prospects for reform.

• NGOs will always have a role in promoting the values of a civil society, in working to consolidate democratic gains, and in serving as a watchdog.

Recommendations to the World Movement for Democracy:

• The workshop revealed that while some breakthrough election experiences are unique to the region, or to post-communist transitions, other experiences are more universal. The World Movement should therefore develop mechanisms to promote the sharing of these experiences with NGO activists and other democrats facing similar challenges, both before and after a breakthrough election.

• The World Movement should work with donors to develop long-term strategies that continue *after* breakthrough elections. In this connection, the participants also strongly recommended that donors should not reduce or withdraw funding immediately after a democratic breakthrough.

The World Movement Secretariat has created a section of its Web site (www.wmd.org) to provide information on organizations working to promote democracy in this region, as well as on research and funding sources.

New Independent States

Organizer:
National Endowment for Democracy (U.S.)

Rapporteur:
Ghia Nodia (Georgia)
Caucasian Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development

Moderator:
Nadia Diuk (U.S.)
National Endowment for Democracy

Presenters:
Andrei Blinushov (Russia)
Ryazan Regional Branch of Memorial Society

Alexei Simonov (Russia)
Glasnost Defense Foundation

Marcin Walecki (Poland)
National Democratic Institute/Transparency International - Poland

Evgeny Zhovtis (Kazakhstan)
Kazakhstan International Bureau for Human Rights and Rule of Law

Observations:

Whether the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union (NIS) may still be considered a single region—and, if so, of what exactly it is composed—was itself an issue at this workshop. For instance, the participants from Belarus and some Georgians chose to attend the Central and East Europe regional workshop. An Azerbaijani participant remarked that his organization preferred to network with southern and central European, rather than Russian, NGOs because they wanted to learn from successful examples, while a Russian participant said bluntly that unifying the NIS countries meant reviving the past. On the other hand, a Mongolian participant attended this workshop saying that she believed that the problems in her country made it more similar to NIS countries than to other Asian countries.

Participants identified one feature that most if not all post-Soviet countries have in common: recent experience of "backsliding" regarding democratic reforms. A Russian participant said that his country had never made a clear choice in favor of democracy anyway, and that this probably applies to other post-Soviet countries as well. In recent years, governments in the NIS region have in fact tended to become more authoritarian, with less free-and-fair elections, infringed media freedoms, and harassment of democratic activists. One explanation that was proposed is President Vladimir Putin's ascension to power in Russia, which rulers of other countries in the region have perceived as a signal to become more authoritarian. Remaining under some degree of Russian influence is another feature that all of these countries have in common.

Participants found it difficult to identify a common denominator concerning the specific challenges civil societies confront. For instance, when a Polish presenter urged NGOs in the region to cooperate closely with political parties, participants from Azerbaijan responded by saying that in their country some parties and NGOs are almost the same, and that they already cooperate closely. An Uzbek participant said that her organization would love to cooper-

ate with parties if any were in existence, while some Russians remarked that NGOs should steer clear of political parties to keep their reputation clean.

Challenges and Recommendations:

Challenge: Building coalitions in the face of authoritarian "backsliding." With some self-criticism, participants said that the efforts of the NGO sector in general are uncoordinated, that organizations do not know about each other's work, and that attempts at coalition building had thus far been unsuccessful. One of the reasons cited is the competition for grants among NGOs struggling for survival.

Recommendations:
• Set up broad but soft coalitions of democracy-promotion NGOs to resist authoritarian backsliding by making assessments of government actions and publicizing them.

• Create more targeted and professional coalitions around very specific tasks and agendas.

• Use the Internet more broadly for facilitating cooperation and networking among NGOs.

The World Movement Secretariat has created a section of its Web site (www.wmd.org) to provide information on organizations working to promote democracy in this region, as well as on research and funding sources.

Challenge: Developing donors' funding patterns to encourage greater nongovernmental coordination.

Recommendations:
Donors should . . .

• coordinate their efforts with each other;

• give preference to cooperative projects;

• give priority to developing the NGO infrastructure rather than to individual projects;

• organize NGO conferences to discuss common problems; and

• discourage networking just for the sake of networking.

Challenge: Developing cooperation between NGOs and political parties. Those who favored such cooperation argued that political parties are a necessary condition of democratic order and that it is in the best interests of NGOs to strengthen them. Under current circumstances, NGOs cannot afford to stay out of politics, and they should therefore actively promote specific legislation and institutional reforms; this is difficult to do without cooperating with political parties.

Recommendations:
NGOs should . . .
• recognize the current weakness of political parties and promote the idea that they are necessary for democracy;

• help political parties with research and (since NGOs can influence party agendas) help them draft program documents;

• serve as an "interface" to promote cooperation between political parties, on the one hand, and trade unions and business organizations, on the other;

• help parties by educating their rank-and-file members;

• encourage women's participation in politics;

• promote reform of laws on political parties in Russia where there is no legal distinction between parties and public associations;

• exploit the interest of parties in NGOs during pre-election periods to promote the NGO agenda; and

• cooperate with political parties on educational projects since education is an objective that both NGOs and parties have in common; such cooperation will thus attract greater attention from political parties to NGOs.

Challenge: Developing ties between NGOs and local business as an additional opportunity for coalition building. Though this subject did not receive a great deal of attention during the workshop, some participants noted that there are prospects for such cooperation in Russia.

Challenge: Strengthening civic education as a priority of the NGO community.

Recommendations:
NGOs should . . .
• concentrate on educating a new generation;

• concentrate on the grass-roots; raise awareness of legislation, human rights, and the tools of civil society activism in small localities;

• concentrate on using the Internet as a tool for building awareness in the population since the mainstream media is, for the most part, owned by political and economic interests; and

• devote efforts to voter education and education against corruption.

Other Recommendations:
• Promote cross-border cooperation among local NGOs.

• Create a list of Internet resources that provide truthful information about situations in NIS countries.

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Building the Network of Democracy Research Institutes

Organizers:
International Forum for Democratic Studies, National Endowment for Democracy (U.S.)
São Paulo Institute of Economic, Social, and Political Studies (Brazil)

Rapporteur:
Lourdes Sola (Brazil)
São Paulo Institute of Economic, Social, and Political Studies

Moderators:
Larry Diamond (U.S.)
International Forum for Democratic Studies, National Endowment for Democracy

Marc Plattner (U.S.)
International Forum for Democratic Studies, National Endowment for Democracy

Presenters:
Srdjan Darmanovic (Montenegro)
Center for Democracy and Human Rights

Helena Hofbauer (Mexico)
FUNDAR

Ghia Nodia (Georgia)
Caucasian Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development

Borwornsak Uwanno (Thailand)
King Prajadhipok's Institute

The workshop focused primarily on the achievements of, as well as the difficulties faced by, democracy research institutes. This served as a basis for making recommendations and for providing guidelines for future work.

Objective:

To consolidate and improve the Network of Democracy Research Institutes, so that it can more effectively serve the needs of its members and promote their work among the wider community of persons with an interest in research on contemporary democracy.

Challenges:

• Many institutions face difficulties in securing adequate financial support for conducting and disseminating their research.

• Many institutions need to improve the interactions among research and academic institutions, civil society activists, and policy makers. At present, important research often does not reach the relevant consumers, while research activities and programs do not benefit from feedback based on the experiences of activists and policy makers.

• Independent research institutions need to improve their relationships with research centers affiliated with political parties, labor unions, and other organizations, while also maintaining the distinctive identities of each type of institution.

• Many institutions produce research focusing on short-term issues or immediate crises and, as a result, their policy prescriptions suffer from a lack of long-term focus.

Recommendations:

• The Network should try to find ways to bridge two related gaps: between research institutions and activists, on the one hand, and between research institutions and policy makers, on the other. The participants recommended improving the interactions and dialogue among these actors through the creation of new channels for sharing their respective experiences on a regular basis.

• The Network should also create incentives to increase focus on the following:

  ■ comparative studies
  ■ longer-term prospects for democracy
  ■ cross-country analysis

• Recognizing the need to improve the sharing of research findings and interaction among research institutions, the participants recommended that the Network of Democracy Research Institutes create or expand the following:

  ■ an electronic newsletter highlighting publications, conferences, and member activities;

  ■ an exchange visitors program among the member institutions;

  ■ regular exchanges not only of publications but of research methods, project ideas, and opportu-

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nities for cross-regional cooperation;

- the use of electronic means to disseminate publications, project information, research opportunities, and project links;

- the translation of selected publications and publication abstracts into the local languages of member institutions.

• The Network of Democracy Research Institutes

will be successful only if member institutions participate actively and share their ideas and research with each other on a regular basis.

A section of the World Movement Web site (www.wmd.org) is now devoted to the Network of Democracy Research Institutes. It contains profiles of member institutions and a calendar for posting events. Additional material is being added on a regular basis.

Strengthening Networks to Increase Women's Participation in Politics

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

Rapporteur:
Ayesha Imam (Nigeria)
BAOBAB for Women's Human Rights

Moderator:
Mahnaz Afkhami (Iran, U.S.-based)
Women's Learning Partnership for Rights, Development and Peace

Presenters:
Ayesha Imam (Nigeria)
BAOBAB for Women's Human Rights

Jacqueline Pitanguy (Brazil)
Citizenship Studies Information Action

Olexandra Rudneva (Ukraine)
Kharkiv Center for Women's Studies

Given that women are the majority of the people in the world, having only 13 percent of decision-making positions is a matter of grave concern for at least two reasons. First, there is the issue of fairness and the lack of representation in decision-making that affects women. Second, decisions regarding democratic, sustainable, and equitable development cannot be made without the full and equal participation of women.

Workshop presentations and discussion reviewed international networks and meetings. For instance, the 1993 Vienna conference recognized, as a result of the international women's rights campaign over the previous two to three years, that women's rights are human rights. This changed the discourse on human rights to reflect not only state violations, but also private violations, namely, domestic violence.

Regional and sectoral network experiences were also discussed, such as the Women Living Under Muslim Laws network, the Asia and Pacific Women's Political Network, and national networks and movements in such diverse countries as Brazil, Nigeria, Burma, Lebanon, Egypt, and Sierra Leone.

Observations
• Networks can be used to build solidarity, attract

aid, facilitate information exchanges, and provide practical support.

• Networks need to be horizontally based so that the loss of one focal point does not mean that others lose contact.

General Recommendations:
• Recognizing that they are of concern not only to women, gender issues should be discussed and taken seriously in all democratic forums by all who claim to be democrats. At the same time, a women's movement of and for women is still necessary.

• The status of women, along with that of all groups or minorities that face discrimination, should be one of the key and crucial indices of any democracy audit, whether of countries, regions, international bodies, or nongovernmental and democracy movements.

• To support women's rights and their ability to contribute to democratic processes, national democratic movements should employ the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against

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Women (CEDAW), as well as its Optional Protocol as an important part of their strategies. The Convention should be ratified, any reservations to it should be removed, and its provisions should be implemented. Democratic movements should also employ the procedure for reporting to the CEDAW committee.

• Women's organizations should be trained in coalition building and advocacy to press for quotas and thus obtain more decision-making positions for women. Funds should be identified to support such training.

• Young women (especially refugees and those who are internally displaced) should be encouraged to become active in movements for women's human rights and democracy through basic education. Such encouragement would help them relate principles of women's and general human rights to their own daily lives.

• Democratic movements should press for means, such as affirmative action or quotas, to enable women to gain access to political power and decision-making positions on the basis of parity with men. These policies, practices, and provisions must go beyond the merely formal, to include structural changes.

• Male leaders (and others) should be educated to see that the issue of rights is not a zero-sum game. That women have a greater capacity to exercise their human rights does not mean that there are fewer human rights for men.

• International solidarity campaigns should be launched in support of women political prisoners and against violations of women's rights in territories under occupation or that are the scenes of armed conflict.

• Like the movement for democracy in general, women's organizations should encourage the development of practices that incorporate the autonomous rights and activities of women and girls in diverse situations (rural, domestic workers, minorities, etc.).

Recommendations to the World Movement for Democracy:

• Undertake a gender analysis of the Second Assembly and use the results to move towards gender parity and democracy for the next assembly. The analysis should examine the numbers of women at all levels, the representation of gender issues in workshop presentations and reports, and the "masculinist" organization of the program.

• Link women's networks to the World Movement Web site.

• Encourage donors to support women's networks with resources.

• Encourage NED's *Journal of Democracy* to increase its attention to gender and democracy issues.

• Encourage and support training for women in the use of information technology as a tool for political participation.

• Provide citations on the World Movement Web site of literature about quotas and other means for protecting and promoting the rights of women and other groups facing discrimination. Provide a forum on the Web site for discussion and assessment of different countries' experiences.

Building a Global Network on Local Government

Organizers:
Institute of Social Sciences (India)
Celina Souza (Brazil)
University of Bahia

Rapporteur:
Celina Souza (Brazil)
University of Bahia

Moderator:
George Mathew (India)
Institute of Social Sciences

Nine countries were represented at this workshop: South Africa, Peru, Brazil, Russia, India, Sri-Lanka, Yemen, and Bahrain. The discussion followed upon an earlier topical workshop on "Strengthening democracy at the grassroots: Local government and civil society."

Recommendations:
The participants committed themselves to creating a Global Network on Local Government in the form of an umbrella organization, as follows:

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• The network should include elected officials, such as mayors and city councilors; researchers and research institutions; concerned citizens; experts and specialists in the field; and NGOs working with local bodies. Efforts should also be made to include several existing networks.

• To join the network, an individual or organization should be engaged in one or more of the following areas of work:
- democracy
- gender equality
- inclusion of excluded communities
- transparent governance
- citizen empowerment
- local self-government

• The network should feature:
- a database and clearinghouse of information, innovative programs, and events
- a professional center
- a program to bring together policy makers
- an exchange visitor program
- a program of meetings and conferences at the international, regional, national, and local levels.

• The language of the network should be English.

• A special fund and an international committee should be established to support and guide the network.

• A publication, translated into several important languages, should be initiated to disseminate network information.

The Institute of Social Sciences, based in India, agreed to be the body in charge of coordination.

Recommendation to the World Movement for Democracy:
• The World Movement should help facilitate the creation of the network.

Democracy Assistance Foundations: Programmatic Challenges

Organizers:
Centre for Democratic Institutions (Australia)
Institute for National Policy Research (Taiwan)
National Endowment for Democracy (U.S.)

Rapporteur:
David Lowe (U.S.)
National Endowment for Democracy

Moderator:
Carl Gershman (U.S.)
National Endowment for Democracy

Presenters:
Barbara Haig (U.S.)
National Endowment for Democracy

Michael Kau (Taiwan)
Taiwan Foundation for Democracy

Axel Queval (France)
Jean Jaures Foundation

Roland Rich (Australia)
Centre for Democratic Institutions

The democracy assistance foundations — defined generally as nongovernmental, publicly supported institutions that provide technical and material support for democratic initiatives–have met several times during the past decade. At the Inaugural Assembly of the World Movement in New Delhi in 1999, a workshop on democracy assistance focused on how to expand this network. In fact, as emphasized during the workshop at the Second Assembly in São Paulo, several new institutions have been established since the New Delhi Assembly. In addition, in a videotaped message to the São Paulo Assembly, Taiwanese President Chen Shui-bian announced the forthcoming creation of a new democracy assistance foundation there.

At the workshop in São Paulo, in keeping with the theme of the Assembly, the focus shifted to the programmatic challenges democracy assistance foundations face. There was an extraordinarily wide range of experience represented at the workshop, including individuals affiliated with an array of democracy-support institutions: some grant-making, others more operational; some oriented toward NGOs, others more party-oriented; some relatively new, others more established. The participants reflected a diversity of cultures and nationalities. Most importantly for

a discussion of this nature, there was a good mixture of grant-makers and recipients. At the workshop in New Delhi in 1999, the point was made that it is not enough for donors to talk among themselves; rather, they must be sensitized to the needs of recipients. This was, in fact, one of the main themes of the workshop in São Paulo.

Programmatic Challenges

• How can democracy assistance foundations more effectively consider the needs of recipients?

• How can foundations avoid "triumphalism" in their work?

• How can foundations insure that the groups they fund are sustainable, that they have local roots, and that they are not entirely dependent on the support of outside foundations?

• How do we insure that those with whom we are working are truly democratic?

• How can foundations increase the total number of democrats?

• How can foundations increase the skills of those who are already committed to democracy?

• How can foundations make effective programmatic choices with limited resources?

• How can foundations help grassroots democrats cope with the twin challenges of poverty and globalization?

• How can foundations develop a sufficient supply of experts who are prepared to provide effective support in the field?

• How do we make the most of our previous success in expanding the network of democracy assistance foundations?

Recommended Strategies

• Develop true partnerships between grant-makers and those receiving assistance.

• Ensure that the work of democracy assistance foundations is totally transparent, including being forthright with grantees about the assistance process.

• Be aware of the fact that there is no single model of democracy. Be sensitive to cultural differences without abandoning the idea that democracy is a universal value; recognize that standards cannot be lowered without patronizing recipients and sending them the wrong message.

• Do not neglect the critical work of political parties. While helping parties build their capabilities, do not isolate them from civil society; their ties to grassroots groups that can strengthen their legitimacy and accountability, for instance, is a necessity. Similarly, civil society depends upon strong political parties, since only parties can channel citizen participation and demands into effective policies.

• Helping NGOs to become self-sufficient should be a priority in providing assistance.

• Do not exclude new donors from the network of assistance foundations that may not conform entirely to the model of nongovernmental, publicly funded organizations.

• Develop training programs for those who can offer technical assistance.

• Develop ways to bring experiences from the developing world into the pool of ideas about how best to offer assistance.

• Apply the model of East-to-East programs developed in Central and Eastern Europe to other regions of the world, such as South-to-South cooperation.

• Share our ideas and information with one another on an ongoing basis by . . .

  ■ organizing the information on our respective Web sites to make it usable for all (for instance, by region);

  ■ developing a compendium of what has and has not worked programmatically and post it on a Web site;

  ■ choosing specific countries, perhaps one in each region, where foundations might cooperate and develop joint programs.

The Secretariat of the World Movement has created a section of its Web site (www.wmd.org) for the Network of Democracy Assistance Foundations.

Establishing a Global Network of Parliamentarians against Corruption

Organizers:
Parliamentary Centre (Canada)
World Bank Institute

Rapporteur:
Erin Davidge (Canada)
Parliamentary Centre

Moderators:
Augustine Ruzindana (Uganda)
Member of Parliament

Rick Stapenhurst (U.S.)
World Bank Institute

Presenters:
Son Chhay (Cambodia)
Member of Parliament

Augustine Ruzindana (Uganda)
Member of Parliament

Rick Stapenhurst (U.S.)
World Bank Institute

John Williams (Canada)—by video
Member of Parliament

The workshop provided a forum for a more in-depth discussion of issues and recommendations emerging from an earlier workshop on "How can parliaments strengthen accountability in the fight against corruption?" The workshop also marked the official launch of the Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC).

Objectives:

• To discuss and examine practical parliamentary actions to curb corruption

• To facilitate and encourage networking among parliamentarians in curbing corruption

Rick Stapenhurst began the discussion by emphasizing the importance of networking among parliamentarians as an important means for fighting corruption. By sharing information and lessons learned on efforts to combat corruption, parliamentarians can draw upon the experience and ideas of neighboring countries and thereby avoid the pitfalls that others had encountered. This is even more important in the context of globalization, where the need to share information and cooperate across borders has increased in many ways. Corruption is no longer a purely national matter.

While governments have long been networking with each other, parliaments are new to the concept, with respect in particular to issue-based networking. Building active, effective, and sustainable networks is a challenge, but the chances of success are increased by having a clear focus, practical approaches, and a high level of leadership. The use of information technology will become an essential tool in sustaining parliamentary networks by facilitating communication and stretching scarce resources.

Augustine Ruzindana provided an introduction to the African Parliamentarians Network against Corruption (APNAC), with a focus on its creation, evolution, and the problems it has encountered. Launched in Uganda in February 1999, APNAC emerged from a regional seminar on "Parliament and Good Governance: Towards a New Agenda for Controlling Corruption in Africa." The 30 African parliamentarians who gathered for the seminar established the network to facilitate communications about corruption both locally and across national borders.

Since its launch, APNAC has recruited new members, produced newsletters, organized national workshops, and participated in various anti-corruption conferences with support from the World Bank Institute and the Parliamentary Centre. Ruzindana also noted that APNAC now has a constitution and a permanent secretariat housed in the Parliament of Uganda.

Ruzindana also identified some of the key problems confronting the network: resources are scarce; there is a high turnover of APNAC members as the result of parliamentary elections (due to which APNAC's constitution was amended to extend membership to former members of parliament); lack of information technology in many of the member countries, which inhibits the ability of the network to communicate.

Ruzindana stressed the importance of cooperating with organizations of civil society, and Miklos Marschall (Transparency International) also stressed the importance of networks being aware of each other, drawing on each other, and sharing resources.

Recommendations:
Participants agreed that the Global Organization of Parliamentarians against Corruption (GOPAC)

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should seek to build an international network of parliamentarians organized, on a regional basis, to fight corruption and promote good governance. GOPAC would serve as a global point of contact, connecting and supporting the work of regional groups of parliamentarians promoting good governance and fighting corruption.

GOPAC activities should include:

• Supporting the establishment and activities of regional networks within GOPAC.

• Information sharing through the development and use of a Web site and e-mail.

• Sponsoring of anti-corruption workshops and a global conference.

• Cooperating with other international organizations with mutual interests.

• Conducting research, monitoring progress, and identifying "best practices."

• Establishing an Interim Coordinating Committee until a formal Board of Directors is elected.

The Parliamentary Centre in Ottawa, Canada, agreed to act as the Interim Secretariat of GOPAC and John Williams (MP, Canada) agreed to serve as Chair of the Interim Coordinating Committee.

Son Chhay and Sam Rainsy (MPs, Cambodia) agreed to lead the GOPAC initiative in Southeast Asia.

N.D. Tiwari, Member of Lok Sabha (India) and Chair of the Public Accounts Committee, agreed through a written statement to work on the establishment of a regional body of GOPAC on the Indian sub-continent.

Michael Gorny (Russia) and Nwe Aung (Burma) agreed to pursue the GOPAC initiative in their respective regions.

Networking Young Democracy Activists

Organizers:
Jordan Branch (U.S.)
Cristina de Miranda Costa (Brazil)
Marek Kapusta (Slovak Republic)

Rapporteurs:
Jordan Branch (U.S.)
National Endowment for Democracy

Fernanda Papa (Brazil)
Friedrich Ebert Stiftung

Moderators:
Jordan Branch (U.S.)

Cristina de Miranda Costa (Brazil)

Sybille Reinke de Buitrago (Germany, U.S.-based)
National Endowment for Democracy

Presenters:
Hakim Addad (Algeria)
Rally for Youth Action

Nurul Izzah Anwar (Malaysia)
Institute for Policy Research

Marek Kapusta (Slovak Republic)
Nadacia pre Obciansku Spolocnost

The workshop brought together more than 35 participants, including both young and more experienced activists. Marek Kapusta, Hakim Addad, and Nurul Izzah Anwar described their experiences in the struggle for democracy in their countries. For instance, Marek Kapusta reviewed innovative ways to "get out the vote"; Hakim Addad detailed his work in youth education; and Nurul Izzah Anwar related her experience in youth activism.

The discussion focused on how youth participation in democracies can be promoted, on examples of young activist involvement in democracy promotion, and on specific activities to follow up the workshop.

The workshop was very productive in developing a better understanding of the different problems young democracy activists face around the world. For example, many of the participants confront an assumption of inexperience in their work due to their youth, and thus also a presumed lack of legitimacy. There are also difficulties in reaching out to others and securing support. Participants exchanged ideas for action and for learning from one another's experiences and ideas.

Recommendations:
• Create a Global Network of Young Democracy

Activists along with regional subcommittees to undertake tasks of importance to young people and young activists.

• Establish contact with youth organizations world-wide and facilitate networking among them.

• Establish a "chat channel" and utilize the Internet in other ways to facilitate networking.

• Exchange resources and announce conferences and events for youth through a regular newsletter.

• Act as a voice for those young activists who were not able to attend the Assembly.

• Draw on the work of the Network of Democracy Assistance Foundations to attract support for young activists.

• Provide information to the public and leaders

around the world about issues of concern to young people and young democracy activists and encourage them to give heightened attention to those issues.

• Launch a program to "adopt" young persons currently persecuted and initiate letter-writing and other campaigns to support them.

• Publish articles and reports on youth issues in journals and encourage journalists to do the same.

• Facilitate and/or conduct training in cross-border assistance as well as in using new information and communication technology in democracy promotion work.

• Facilitate the representation of young activists at international conferences to highlight the needs of youth around the world.

Education for Democracy—Democracy for Education

Organizer:
Civitas International

Rapporteur:
Nimi Walson-Jack (Nigeria)
Centre for Responsive Politics
Member, Steering Committee
Civitas International

Moderator:
Joseph Davis (U.S.)
American Federation of Teachers

Presenters:
Balazs Hidveghi (Hungary)
Civitas International

Krzysztof Stanowski (Poland)
Foundation for Education for Democracy

Muborak Tashpulatova (Uzbekistan)
Tashkent Public Education Center

Nimi Walson-Jack (Nigeria)
Centre for Responsive Politics

Twenty-seven participants from 14 countries attended this workshop, which was conducted by Civitas International, the global network of civic educators with headquarters in France. Participants included civic educators, NGO leaders, government officials, and representatives of funding organizations. They exchanged ideas and experiences on their work teaching democracy.

Observations:
• Civic education is important in both emerging and established democracies.

• Civic education through schools and in the classroom remains the most effective and long-term strategy to building and sustaining democracies

around the world.

• Democracy education is a necessity for both students and adult citizens. It should be made available to politicians, civic leaders, traditional rulers, NGOs, journalists, judicial officials, and individuals at the grassroots.

• Civic education requires long-term commitments and yields long-term effects, but it can also produce immediate benefits, even in crisis situations. Most societies have educational systems that reach into a wide range of communities and involve a large sector of society (students, parents, teachers, and local officials). When education for democracy is introduced into these schools there is great ferment in

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these communities and a sense of cultural change is in the air.

• How democracy education is carried out (i.e., the methodology) is as important as the content of instruction. While it is important that students develop the knowledge, skills, values, attitudes, and disposition to motivate and inspire their citizenship, it is also important that the schools themselves be democratic. Students learn by emulating their teachers and other adults; if their classrooms are not democratic, the students are not likely to become democratic either.

Recommendations:

• Assistance strategists often put off educational initiatives with the argument that economic assistance should take priority, but communities that are not culturally prepared for democracy see this economic aid as either wasted or stolen. Therefore, cultural and economic assistance must proceed side-by-side as a two-track strategy.

• To advance such a two-track strategy, an institutional foundation for addressing the cultural issues and transformation that come with democracy education should be created. Philanthropic and multicultural organizations should be encouraged to invest in this effort in addition to their efforts to address traditional areas of democracy work, such as rule of law, economic reform, building effective democratic institutions, and elections.

• The participants recognized that low pay and poor conditions of work are obstacles to teacher participation in civic education programs, which in some cases impose an extra workload on teachers. Therefore, teachers' work conditions should be improved, but democracy education programs should also incorporate teacher exchange components, both within particular countries and internationally, as an incentive to teachers who would participate in such exchanges and as an attraction to others to join the profession. Moreover, projects and activities that offer the benefit of professional advancement should be made part of democracy education programs.

• A database and Web site for trainers in civic education should be established. In addition to other information and resources it would provide, the Web site could be used to advertise jobs and consultant vacancies available in the area of civic education.

Civitas International has offered its Web site, "CIVNET," (www.civnet.org) for this purpose.

• Educational institutions for the teaching of democracy should be established.

Participants

More than 400 participants from over 80 countries in all regions of the world met at the Second Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy. Working in NGO's, trade unions, research institutes, political parties, civic education organizations, democracy support foundations, parliaments, and governments, they are all actively engaged in the promotion of democracy in their countries, regions, or even globally.

Many of them took great personal risks to attend the Assembly; several cannot even be listed here for that reason. Some activists could not attend at all because their governments did not permit them to leave their countries or because the risk of leaving was simply too great. Moreover, those several hundred who did attend are but a small fraction of the thousands of activists around the world who, by sheer numbers alone, could not be included in this one event; they are, however, as much participants in the World Movement for Democracy as those who attended. We wish to thank them all — both those who were able to attend and those who were not — for their continuing dedication and commitment.

The participants are listed according to region, country, and then alphabetically by last name. A database of all participants will soon be available on the World Movement Web site at www.wmd.org.

AFRICA

Simao Katundu
Grupo Angolano para a Promocao do Cultural de Paz
Angola

Halidou Ouedraogo
Mouvement Burkinabe des Droits de l'Homme et de Peuples
Burkina Faso

Corsino Fortes
Fundacao Amilcar Cabral
Cape Verde

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Confronting the Challenges to Democracy in the 21st Century

panorama brasil

FH: 'Quanto mais incômoda for a imprensa, mais haverá democracia'

Presidente diz que poucos países têm tanta transparência nos gastos públicos

Fernando Henrique participa de Congresso sobre democracia em São Paulo

Agência Brasil

SÃO PAULO - O presidente Fernando Henrique Cardoso permanece em sua residência na capital paulista. Seu único compromisso oficial será a participação na cerimônia de abertura do Segundo Congresso Mundial pela Democracia, hoje à tarde (12/11), no Memorial da América Latina, na Zona Oeste da cidade.

O enfoque do encontro, que se estenderá até a próxima quarta-feira, são os desafios da democracia no século XXI. Serão discutidos 23 temas envolvendo os assuntos políticos e sócio-econômicos ligados às fases de transição e consolidação do processo democrático nos países em desenvolvimento.

Fernando Henrique chegará no

FOLHA DE S.PAULO — BRASIL

SUCESSÃO PRESIDENCIAL *Após revelação de doações não registradas, presidente defende "imprensa livre", apesar de "exageros"*

Democracia incomoda o poder, diz FHC
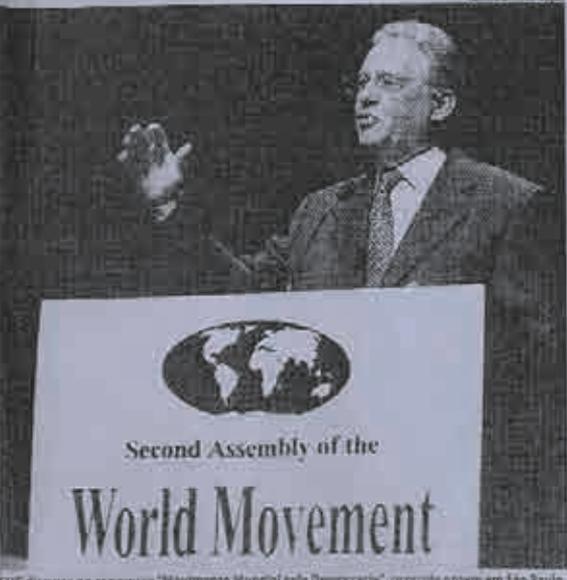
Second Assembly of the World Movement

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FHC diz que seu governo é transparente

São Paulo - O presidente Fernando Henrique Cardoso disse hoje que poucos países têm um sistema tão transparente de informações sobre a aplicação de recursos públicos como o Brasil. "Não há uma só despesa feita pelo governo brasileiro que não esteja registrada nos computadores", afirmou em discurso na solenidade de abertura da segunda assembléia do Movimento Mundial pela Democracia, no Memorial da América Latina, em São Paulo.

O presidente também falou sobre a transparência do Congresso. "Há também um serviço que dá acesso dessas despesas a todos os parlamentares", acrescentou.

Em seu discurso de mais de 30 minutos, FHC defendeu a necessidade da reforma política e elogiou os avanços proporcionados pelas urnas eletrônicas nas eleições. "Em poucas horas após o encerramento da votação já conhecíamos os números finais", observou. "Este é um exemplo vivo de como é possível, através de técnicas modernas, avançar na democracia

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