



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

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The Sixth Assembly

JAKARTA, INDONESIA APRIL 11-14, 2010



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Solidarity Across Cultures: Working Together for Democracy

World Movement for Democracy | THE SIXTH ASSEMBLY | Jakarta, Indonesia April 11-14, 2010

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Director

The World Movement for Democracy is a global network of democrats, including activists, practitioners, scholars, policy makers, and funders, who have come together to cooperate in the promotion of democracy. It is dedicated to strengthening democracy where it is weak, to reforming and invigorating democracy even where it is longstanding, and to bolstering pro-democracy groups in countries that have not yet entered into a process of democratic transition. The Washington, D.C.-based National Endowment for Democracy (NED) serves as the Secretariat.

How We Help to Promote Democracy

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

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

Connecting Democracy Activists Worldwide

- **Networks.** The World Movement Web site (**www.wmd.org**) provides links to various regional and functional networks focused on advancing democracy.
- **DemocracyNews.** As the monthly electronic newsletter of the World Movement, *DemocracyNews* enables participants to share information with their colleagues, announce events and publications, and request assistance or collaboration in their work. To subscribe, visit www.wmd.org/news.
- **World Movement Assemblies.** Global assemblies offer World Movement participants the opportunity to take stock of the accomplishments they have achieved and the challenges they confront, and to build networks of mutual solidarity and support.
- **Project on Defending Civil Society.** Launched in 2007, this project seeks to expose and address the increasingly restrictive environments for civil society work in a growing number of countries around the world. In partnership with the International Center for Not-for-Profit Law (ICNL), the World Movement has produced the *Defending Civil Society* report to identify and promulgate international principles, already rooted in international law, to inform proper government-civil society relations, and to protect NGOs and other civil society groups. The report is available in Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish at www.wmd.org.
- **Project on Assessing Democracy Assistance.** As a result of discussions at the Fifth Assembly, the World Movement is assessing through this project what has been accomplished in the field of democracy assistance over the past two decades and how that work can be made more effective.

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The material in this report was edited by Art Kaufman, Director of the World Movement for Democracy, and produced by the World Movement for Democracy Secretariat staff. Special thanks to Ryota Jonen, Project Manager; Cecilia Andersen and Cate Urban, Assistant Project Managers; and Beth Davis, Project Assistant.



Message from the Steering Committee

A highly diverse and growing movement of activists, practitioners, scholars, donors, and others who are forging strong bonds of democratic solidarity with counterparts all over the world met in Jakarta, Indonesia, for the Sixth Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy. The Steering Committee was especially pleased to welcome the largest number of young activists of any assembly the World Movement has held to date, and we believe they contributed not only innovative thinking for advancing democracy, particularly through the use of new information and communication technologies, but dynamic new energy as well.

The World Movement reached an important milestone in 2009: its Tenth Anniversary. The occasion was marked by a symposium held at the initiative of our colleague George Mathew in New Delhi, the site of the Inaugural Assembly. Since that Assembly, the number of participants has grown through the development of both regional and functional networks, which have strengthened the ties among us. We are now embarking on an exciting new initiative to incorporate “social networking” into a new online database of World Movement participants, part of a newly re-designed Web site (www.wmd.org). The new database, called DemocracyLink, will facilitate individual networking, access to information resources, and ways to exchange knowledge and experiences more efficiently.

During a decade that has witnessed a worldwide democratic “recession,” Indonesia has made significant progress toward establishing itself as an enduring democracy with great promise, not only for its own citizens, but for the wider region and the world. We are very pleased and grateful, therefore, that a large number of civil society groups that are involved in the process of building Indonesian democracy helped us prepare for, and participated in, this Assembly. Several governmental and nongovernmental institutions, local schools, and activist groups also graciously opened their doors to participants for site visits on the final day, the first time at a World Movement gathering. We particularly want to thank our Steering Committee colleague from Indonesia, Bambang Harymurti, editor of Tempo International Media, who served as a local partner on the Assembly, as well as the members of our second partner, the Host Country CSO Consortium, especially its conveners, Abdi (Yenni) Suryaningati (Yappika: Indonesia Civil

Society Alliance for Democracy) and Rafendi Djamin (Human Rights Working Group).

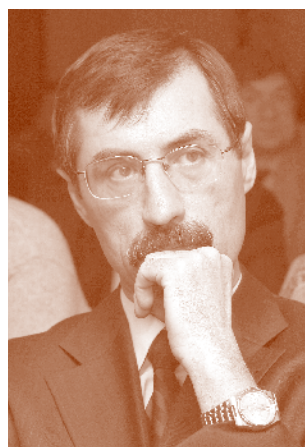
We also wish to thank the many institutions listed at the end of this report that provided generous funding to make the Sixth Assembly possible.

The theme of this Assembly, “Solidarity Across Cultures: Working Together for Democracy,” provided a framework for many of the discussions that took place. As we know so well, democracy takes many forms, but at its core is a set of universal principles that can unite people of different religious, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds. We hope this report captures many of the Assembly participants’ insights and recommendations on ways to build the bridges across cultures, which are greatly needed for addressing the challenges to democracy we confront.

Finally, this message would be incomplete if we did not acknowledge the contributions of the many individuals around the world who work tirelessly for the cause of democracy and human rights, day in and day out, but who were not able to join us in Jakarta. We hope this report serves to share with them the outcomes of the various sessions, lessons that can help inspire their work, and the solidarity of their friends and colleagues around the world.

Steering Committee

World Movement for Democracy



Yevgeniy Zhovtis, member (Kazakhstan), World Movement Steering Committee, was unable to attend the Sixth Assembly due to a prison sentence in 2009, widely recognized as the result of a politically motivated investigation and trial.

Opening Session

Welcoming Remarks

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

Kim Campbell served as the 19th and first female Prime Minister of Canada in 1993 and currently chairs the Steering Committee of the World Movement for Democracy. Prior to serving as Prime Minister, she was the first woman to hold the Justice and Defense portfolios and the first female Minister of Defense of a NATO country. Ms. Campbell served as Canadian Consul General in Los Angeles (1996-2000) and taught at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University (2001-2004). From 2004-2006, she was Secretary General of the Club of Madrid, an organization of former presidents and prime ministers of which she is a founding member.

Excerpts: *I want to welcome you here to the Sixth Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy. We are delighted to be here in the capital of one of the world's newest successful democracies, some 600 strong, from over 110 countries, and representing civil society in all of its rich diversity—from nongovernmental organization representatives to political party leaders, from trade unionists to those working to advance the rights of women, from youth activists to those representing the business community. Our theme is “Solidarity Across Cultures: Working Together for Democracy” because democracy takes many forms but at its core is a set of universal principles that unite people of different religious, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds. . . .*

We must remember that democracy cannot be achieved overnight, just by getting rid of dictators. The first steps must be followed by daily efforts to build democratic societies and democratic institutions to prevent new dictators from emerging. You are here to share experiences, to learn from one another, and to go back home to continue the difficult work that building democracy demands. Some of you come from established democracies; others from countries such as Indonesia, which have recently made transitions to democracy; others from countries where democracy is at risk; and still others from countries

that continue to repress those who call for freedom and basic human rights. . . . And as someone from an established democracy, I can tell you that the struggle is never over, that we must always be vigilant and always work to strengthen the institutions, because no society ever stands still.



Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell

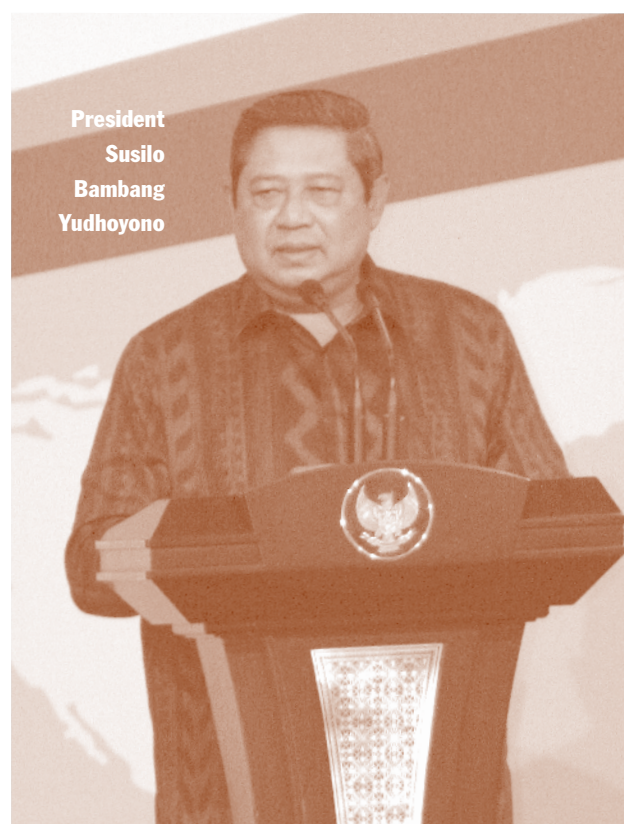


Bambang Harymurti
Member (Indonesia),
World Movement Steering Committee

Bambang Harymurti is editor of Tempo Media in Jakarta, Indonesia. He has covered regional and international news since the early 1980s, working for several journals, including TIME magazine, Media Indonesia Daily, and Tempo Weekly News magazine. He is the recipient of several prestigious fellowships and awards, including an Excellence in Journalism award from the Indonesian Observer Daily in 1997 and the PWI Jawa Timur Pena Award in 2006.

Excerpts: *In 1955, just 10 years after declaring its independence, Indonesia hosted the famous Asia-Africa Conference, a global meeting designed to liberate people in Asia and Africa from the scourge of colonialization. I remember that another 10 years later – I was still a little kid back then, of course – I used to look at a special map hanging in my father’s study, showing so many countries that had become independent after the Asia-Africa Conference in Bandung. So it is our dream today that our meeting this week will*

serve as some kind of déjà vu; that our work at this important Assembly will make us much more motivated and effective in working together for the advancement of a more democratic global society. It is my dream that 10 years from now, our children, and even our grandchildren, will look at a world map in our study rooms and see that many societies made gains, became more democratic, after the Sixth Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy in Jakarta. So ladies and gentlemen, history is opening its door for us today to leave our mark for the next generation. Let us work hard, with joy in our hearts, to seize this opportunity. As our forebears would say in Latin, “Carpe diem.”



Keynote Address

President Susilo
Bambang Yudhoyono
President of the Republic of Indonesia

The Honorable Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was elected the Sixth President of the Republic of Indonesia in the country’s first-ever direct presidential election in 2004. Running on a platform for a “more just,

more peaceful, more prosperous, and more democratic Indonesia,” SBY, as he is popularly known, won 60 percent of the popular vote. In July 200, he again won a landslide victory, becoming the first president of Indonesia ever to be re-elected, winning all but five of Indonesia’s 33 provinces. Born in Eastern Java in 1949, President Yudhoyono graduated first in his class in 1973 from Indonesia’s Military Academy. Prior to entering political life, he led a distinguished military career, rising to the rank of four star general before retiring from the military in 2000 to join the National Unity Cabinet of President Abdurrahman Wahid. He also served as Coordinating Minister for Political, Social, and Security Affairs in the Cabinet under President Megawati Soekarnoputri.

Excerpts: *First of all, on behalf of the Government and people of Indonesia, I am pleased to extend a very warm welcome to all of you to Jakarta. . . . We meet at a challenging time. On the one hand, we saw a positive trend of significant expansion of democracies, particularly in the second half of the 20th Century. Democracy, through different means, expanded in many regions—in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. That democratic wave also swept Indonesia in 1997, and changed us for good. As a result, the political map of the world was significantly changed, with all its strategic, geopolitical, economic and social consequences. In Asia, there was a time several decades ago when Japan was the only democracy in the region, but today Asia is home to many democracies.*

On the other hand, we are also seeing a parallel trend of democracies in distress. Military coups. Political instability. Constitutional crises. Divisive polarization. Violent conflicts. The return to authoritarianism. Failed states. But I do believe that, in most cases, this is temporary. Democracy, as we know too well in Indonesia from experience, is never easy, never smooth, and never linear. It always involves a painful process of trial and error, with many ups and downs. So do not despair.

I am convinced that ultimately the 21st Century instinct will be the democratic instinct, and the democratic instinct in the 21st Century will be inevitably stronger than the democratic instinct was in the 20th Century. This is because the world will be more—not less—swept by the powerful force of globalization. . . . Regardless of how one defines that elusive term “democracy,” and no matter what political model you embrace, I have no doubt that, in our time, the future belongs to those who are willing to respon-

sibly embrace pluralism, openness, and freedom. I say this based on the Indonesian experience.

For decades, when we experienced high economic growth in the 1970s and 1980s, Indonesians found convenient cover in our “comfort zone,” an authoritarian system that sought stability, development and national unity at all costs. We believed then that Indonesians were not ready for democracy, that democracy was not suitable for Indonesia’s cultural and historical conditions. It was widely held that democracy would lead to national regress, rather than progress. Thus, our political development had to proceed through a very narrow and rigid corridor. Certainty was much preferred over uncertainty. What many of us find surprising is how fast Indonesians ditched that notion, and how swiftly we transformed our mindset. Yes, it took some noisy soul searching and fierce public debate about the form and pace of democratic change, but 10 years after we held our first “reformasi” free elections in 1999, democracy in Indonesia is now irreversible and a daily fact of life. Our people not only freely, but enthusiastically, accept democracy as a given, as their right. And in the process, they increasingly feel ownership of the political system. This proves that at some level there was already a deep-seated democratic impulse among many Indonesians that was waiting to be drawn out. It also proves that once individuals and communities taste the air of democracy and choice, they are likely to cling to it and fight for it when it is under threat. In short, we have awakened our democratic instinct.

Indonesia’s democratic experience is also relevant in another way. . . . Today, our democracy is growing strong, while at the same time, Indonesia is registering the third highest economic growth among G-20 countries, after China and India. In others words, we do not have to choose between democracy and development—we can achieve both, and we can achieve both at the same time! . . . Indonesia’s democracy has grown from strength to strength. We held three peaceful periodic national elections, in 1999, 2004, and 2009. We peacefully resolved the conflict in Aceh with a democratic spirit, and pursued political and economic reforms in Papua. We made human rights protection a national priority. We pushed forward ambitious decentralization. Rather than regressing, Indonesia is progressing.

There is a larger revelation at work here: No matter how bad the political, economic, and social conditions, no matter how deep you fall to unimagined depths, democracies can pull through. There is a

way up. There is always hope. And you should never let go of it. What is important to keep in mind is that Indonesia's democratic development could have easily gone the other way—on a downward spiral, crashing down. I personally believe there is a “hidden hand” at work here, guiding us to make the right turns at critical crossroads in history.

But I also know that it takes more than luck. Making democracy work requires faith, discipline, determination, and creative improvisation. One of the key lessons for us is that democracy must connect with good governance—In our case, it was only when democracy was combined with good governance—with corresponding strategy, policy, decisions, and capacity—that we were able to strengthen national unity, resolve conflicts, enhance economic growth, and promote social cohesion. This is why I believe it is important for this Assembly to discuss how democracies can better deliver results for the people. How do we produce better leaders? How do we ensure that more democracy means less corruption? How do we make sure that democracy leads to responsible and responsive government? . . . I can tell you that one of the key challenges for our democratic development is how to minimize and ultimately do away with “money politics.” This, I know, is a problem even for many established democracies. . . .

[I]n our democratic development it is extremely critical to build lasting institutions. In the past 10 years, this is precisely what we have done. Our periodic elections ensure political accountability and peaceful change. The office of the President is no longer the all-powerful dominant executive that it once was. The military and police no longer intervene in politics. There is a system of checks and balances. The Parliament is vibrant and completely independent, and so is the judiciary. The constitutional relations among the branches are clearly defined. And the rule of law reigns supreme in our land. All this is important because leaders may come and go, but the system must remain

One of the reasons our democracy has held up is that it is completely homegrown. Democracy cannot be imposed from the outside. Democracies that are not sourced from within, or that cannot generate that homegrown energy, will run out of steam and experience political decay. Yes, our democracy came out of a political crisis that was triggered by the financial crisis in 1997, which originated from outside our borders. But the desire to get rid of corruption, collusion, and nepotism came wholly from within.

It is telling that last year a survey found that some 85 percent of Indonesians believed that the country was heading in the right direction. They may not agree with the leader or opposition, they may be critical of government policies, as they should always be, but they believe in their heart that the system was working, and were optimistic about it. To a new democracy like Indonesia, this is very encouraging. It is a sign that democracy is maturing. It also means that you can never go wrong if you trust the people. . . . Thus, if we in Indonesia have made the right turns in history, it is only because that power of judgment rests in the hands of the good people who exercise it with great caution. . . . That is why the most terrible thing to waste in a democracy is the mandate from the people, and the most precious asset to keep is the public trust. Believe me, once you lose that trust you will not regain it.

Indeed, I see democratic development as a constant process of expanding opportunities and empowerment of the people. It is a process to promote gender equality and bring more women into politics. It is a process to reach out to those who are still marginalized. It is a process to prevent a tyranny of the majority, and to build a national consensus on the future direction of a country. It is a democracy where every citizen can become a stakeholder. For a mosaic country like Indonesia that means not just promoting multiparty democracy, but also building a multiethnic democracy, and a democracy that guarantees freedom of religion for all.

We in Indonesia have shown, by example, that Islam, democracy, and modernity can grow together. We are a living example that there is no conflict between a Muslim's spiritual obligation to Allah, his civic responsibility as a citizen in a pluralist society, and his capacity to succeed in the modern world. It is also telling that in our country, Islamic political parties are among the strongest supporters of democracy, and they have every reason to be. This brand of moderation, openness, and tolerance in Indonesia and in other societies around the world is the seed of a 21st Century world order marked by harmony among civilizations.

It is a sad fact that humanity has never had the good fortune to enjoy a century without conflict or a contest between civilizations and cultures. But the 21st Century can be different. It need not—it must not—be a century of a clash of civilizations. It can be a century marked by the emergence of a global conscience across cultures and civilizations, working together to advance the common cause of peace and progress.

That is why I appreciate the theme of your conference, “Solidarity Across Cultures.”

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is time for us to build on this solidarity across cultures to promote a confluence of civilizations, and to make the 21st Century the best century in the history of humankind.

Opening Address

Anwar Ibrahim

Opposition Leader, Parliament of Malaysia

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

Excerpts: . . . [T]here are still apologists, diehard skeptics, and proponents of autocracy who say that democracy is not meant for all cultures because it is largely a Western construct and certainly not the only system for the rest of the world, let alone the best system. Asian values, for example, are said to be inherently incompatible with liberal democracy. The argument goes that the fundamental teachings of Confucius place great importance on filial piety and submission to state authority. Democracy, on the other hand, goes in the opposite direction by putting individual liberty ahead of the betterment of society.

The Asian values mantra of societal stability and paternalism has been foisted on the people to drive home the message that authoritarian systems are better suited to achieving certain economic objectives. Western notions of human rights and freedom are a stumbling block in the eradication of poverty on the path to modernization and global competitiveness. Indeed, this ideology of a strong paternalistic government being the better alternative to liberal democracy still appears to gain traction among certain leaders. . . . This therefore begs the question: What price development?

We cannot deny that in Asia hardly three decades



had passed before the euphoria of independence was replaced with autocrats and dictators. As the concept of the rule of law was turned on its head, the guns of the law were turned on the people. And as the people became more vocal in their opposition to the powers that be, newspapers were threatened with closure unless they practiced self-censorship, reform movements that had mushroomed in the universities were cowed into silence, and labor unions were systematically disbanded. Leaders of opposition parties and dissidents were incarcerated under draconian laws and no effort was spared in the war against “subversive elements” and the “enemies” of the people.

But the people fought back. South Korea, with her Confucian ethical roots, has effectively exposed the hollowness of the Asian values mantra; the commitment to democracy and freedom did not come at the expense of economic development. Taiwan, at one time one of the poster boys for the East Asian economic miracle, has paid the price of the Asian values authoritarian model, but it is clearly on the road to democracy today. The peoples of The Philippines, Thailand, and Indonesia, respectively Christian-, Buddhist-, and Muslim-dominated populations, have demonstrated that culture is no barrier to freedom and democracy. It is clear that these countries demonstrate that the “Asian values” argument and the “we-are-not-yet-ready-for-democracy” excuse are nothing more than doctrines for the justification of authori-

tarian rule over representative and responsible government. In fact, Asian peoples, with their diversity of culture, ethnicity, and religious traditions, have shown that they, too, value and cherish democratic institutions and freedoms. . . .

In the case of democracy and Islam, I believe the argument of incompatibility has thankfully lost traction. Freedom is considered one of the higher objectives of the divine law (maqasid shariah). In fact, not just freedom, but the same crucial elements of a constitutional democracy become moral imperatives in Islam: freedom of conscience, freedom to speak out against tyranny, sanctity of life and right to property, gender equality and a call to reform.

Indeed, if we believe that there can be a convergence of aims across cultures for the cause of freedom and democracy, we can reasonably talk of a Fourth Wave of democratization . . . and it might well find its epicenter here in Indonesia. There is press freedom, and elections are conducted freely and fairly. Significant changes are seen in areas of governance, where checks and balance are getting institutionalized. The judiciary may be mired in controversy, but that is not borne by the complicity of the state. Rule of law generally prevails, while institutions of power remain under the watchful eye of an anti-corruption agency. Indonesia is certainly no utopia, but as a nation emerging from three decades of dictatorship, I daresay that it is by far the most exemplary of nascent liberal democracies. And it is all the more remarkable considering that, as a predominantly Muslim nation, it completely demolishes the layers of prejudice built upon the doctrine that Islam and democracy are diametrically opposed.

I would go further to say that the Indonesia phenomenon demonstrates that when the seeds of democracy are planted in the hearts of the people, and when the passion for freedom and democracy is ignited, neither the weight of three decades of authoritarian rule nor the temptations of material wealth and economic progress can make them settle for anything less. . . .

There are still leaders who cling stubbornly to the belief that they need not heed the call for reform, freedom, and democracy. There are still governments that are founded on the perpetuation of power, not by free and fair elections, but by the arbitrary succession from the father to the son, or from one military clique to another, or even from one power elite to the next. And there are governments that appear to have all the characteristics of a liberal democracy insofar as their domestic governance is concerned, but they continue to violate human rights with impunity.

. . . Indeed, to be truly meaningful, any talk of solidarity across cultures for the cause of freedom and democracy must take into account the serious human rights violations being perpetrated around the world. In this regard, where established multilateral institutions have failed to address the issues effectively, an alternative organization may be the answer—one that is not beholden to any particular state, power, or vested interest, and that is committed to taking violators of human rights to task without fear or favor.

We can make diversity in culture and religion a source of strength and richness, and the shared history of oppression and political enslavement a further impetus to solidarity. The flame that fires the passion for freedom and democracy must not be left to flicker, let alone die out. To keep it burning, we must remain resolute in our conviction to fight for freedom and democracy and to defend it with courage, honor, and dignity.



Presentations

Esraa Rashid
Egyptian Democratic Academy

Esraa Rashid is the Media Coordinator at the Egyptian Democratic Academy. The Academy runs the popular online radio program Almahrousa. In March 2008, Rashid established the April 6 Strike Group on Facebook in support of workers in Mahalla al-Kobra,

an industrial city north of Cairo. This led to her being subject to the first arrest order issued for a woman by the Egyptian Interior Ministry and spending two weeks in jail. The success of the strike, the size of the Facebook group – over 70,000 members – and the notoriety she received for her jail term made her a well-known figure in Egypt and among human rights activists. Her blog focuses on human rights violations in Egypt.

Excerpts: . . . I will speak within the limits of my personal experience as one of hundreds of young activists working for democracy in Egypt. We have faced various challenges, starting from the grip of security dominating all forms of public life in Egypt; the Emergency Law, sustained now for 30 years, that restricts all basic freedoms—freedom of belief and expression, and the right of peaceful assembly and association—and ending with the collapse of the simplest principles of the rule of law. Dominating corruption consumes the resources of our country and redistributes them in a way that doesn't secure basic needs for the majority of our people.

. . . Mahalla textile workers, the largest labor gathering in Egypt, announced that they would organize a strike on April 6, 2008, to make fair wages proportional to skyrocketing prices. Various political forces from right to left expressed their solidarity and called for a general strike on April 6. We young people, using Facebook and blogs, called for a general strike in Egypt on that day; we spread the word through Facebook, blogs, and online forums; we invited everyone on our friends lists to join; and we changed our profile photos and personal statuses into calls for the strike. The Facebook group grew at an unprecedented rate, reaching 77,000 members within only two weeks. It was the first time 77,000 Egyptians on Facebook participated in a group with a political dimension, the calling of a general strike.

The youth members of the Facebook group developed ideas for reaching out to many citizens who did not normally use the Internet. They wrote slogans calling for a general strike on banknotes; they designed posters for the strike and posted them in the streets; and they wrote statements urging people to participate, and distributed them in their universities and workplaces.

Talk of the strike was the main subject of the daily independent and opposition newspapers in Egypt, which played a great role in the promotion of the idea. The authorities responded through a statement

from the Ministry of Interior the evening before the strike warning citizens against participating in it, using mainstream media channels and governmental newspapers. This reaction actually contributed to spreading the news of the strike to segments of the Egyptian population who do not use the Internet or read independent newspapers.

The result was impressive. Forty percent of the labor force in Egypt did not go to work the day of the strike. Those who did leave their homes on that day either went to work because of intense pressure from their employers, who were themselves under pressure from the government, or they were activists who participated in protests in the key squares. Of course, freedom has a price and we paid the price of that day. More than 100 political activists were arrested, most of them detained under the Emergency Law. More than 450 residents of Al-Mahalla town were arrested, and more than 80 of them have been referred to trial. This wave of arrests and trials was the largest in many years

I myself was one of those arrested. I spent 18 days in jail, the first time I have been in prison in my life. Under all these circumstances, internal pressure and international solidarity have been very important and cannot be ignored. . . . I remember solidarity activities undertaken by activists who were not detained and the tremendous pressure they put on the regime for the release of the April 6 detainees. A wave of international solidarity was also built through existing solidarity networks among Egyptian activists and their counterparts abroad. . . . Communication between domestic activists and their counterparts abroad for solidarity has been done using new technologies, such as the Internet and modern mobile phones that allow activists to publish their news via Twitter, Facebook, and email literally while being subjected to harm by the security forces.

Among the most important examples of such solidarity is what happened to me and a large group of activists We had been detained by the police for two days in southern Egypt while we were there to support the victims of the sectarian violence that happened on Christmas. The level of international solidarity on that day deserves attention because most of the detainees were prominent activists who have good ties with counterparts around the world. The activists abroad launched a wave of international solidarity to put pressure on democratic governments to release official statements in support of the detainees. This had a significant impact and quickly

led to our release. In this context, for instance, we felt the crucial role that the World Youth Movement for Democracy played. . . .

Solidarity among youth activists in Egypt creates great internal pressure and is greatly inspired by communication tools, specifically for networking, through which individuals and organizations collaborate in independent and unstructured ways to come together for action, even if at other times they may seem scattered. I do not claim that we have deliberately adopted such a form of networking, but the circumstances in Egypt, in the face of the grip of security forces, suffocating censorship, the absence of democratic political practices, and the low level of public participation for many years, have brought us to act in this way and to succeed in making a significant impact. This networking pattern of our activism is in accord with the main tool we use in our communications and organization, which is the Internet. . . .

A new NGO law, which is currently in the drafting process, would not allow civil society organizations to be registered as civic companies, which is how the majority of human rights organizations in Egypt are registered. It would also not allow civil society organizations to conduct their activities if they are not registered as associations with the Ministry of Social Solidarity. This would put them under absolute security and government control, if they are even allowed to register at all.

We work within this restrictive environment to amend the Constitution, to reform the electoral system, and to challenge the Emergency Law, and we face security and censorship restrictions while trying to mobilize Egyptians and encourage them to participate. This is what people were calling for through the general protest on April 6, 2010 (Black Tuesday) when security forces severely beat many protesters, especially girls, and arrested nearly 100 activists. . . .

Ladies and Gentlemen, we need your solidarity; we are proud of what you do to carry the burden of spreading democracy around the world; and, yes, we believe that people who want freedom will win.



Tapera Kapuya

Tapera Kapuya World Youth Movement for Democracy-Africa

Tapera Kapuya was until recently the coordinator of the South Africa office of the National Constitutional Assembly, a civic movement campaigning for a new constitution in Zimbabwe. He also served as the Africa regional secretary for the International Union of Students, an umbrella organization representing 125 national student unions. In 2001, Kapuya was elected general secretary of the Zimbabwe National Students Union (ZINASU). Because of his political activism through ZINASU, he was detained and tortured. In 2002, he was also barred from continuing his education in the country. He lived in exile in South Africa for a number of years, working closely with Zimbabwe's civil society activists. Today, he is pursuing his higher education in Australia.

Excerpts: *A few years ago as a student leader and youth activist, I fell victim to some of the most horrendous acts that can be inflicted on a human being by other fellow human beings. I was abducted in the middle of the night from my room at the University of Zimbabwe. For the next two weeks I was subjected to all manner of torture, including electric shocks, beatings under the soles of my feet and on my head, having my hands chained to the roof of a jail cell while my feet were dipped in acidic water. No one was informed*

of my fate, which only came to light after my release, drugged and dumped at the edge of Harare. Months later, I was thrown from the third floor of a student hostel at the same university by agents of the state. I found myself banned from university and in exile at age 21, isolated from my family and friends, and having only shattered prospects for the future. The state achieved what it wanted: setting what I and other activists had gone through as examples to deter other students and young people from speaking out or organizing against the injustices that had engulfed, and continue to engulf, my country.

This story is the same for many other courageous young people who are battling against autocratic rule. From Venezuela to Burma, from Belarus to Egypt, in Iran, Kenya, and in so many other parts of the world, young people are taking an active interest in the democratic fate of their countries, often in the face of brute force and repression. Shunning violence, young democracy activists are developing creative ways to organize and mobilize. There are convincing examples of how youth efforts contribute to the fight for democracy. In Zimbabwe, young people have been at the forefront of all major civic and political campaigns of the broader democracy movement. In Iran, the world recently witnessed the strength and energy of young people standing up against what was seen to be a stolen election. In Venezuela, the role of young people has been remarkable as they have opposed the shutting down of media spaces and attempts to manipulate the Constitution. In Serbia, only a decade ago young people rose to lead one of the most successful campaigns for democracy in the contemporary world.

For this positive picture of youth engagement to endure, the international democracy movement, and all those who love the cause of freedom, should play an active role in supporting and enhancing youth movements, which often operate without adequate resources, active linkages with civil society, or even recognition. To help ensure that the potential of youth movements can be fulfilled, they should be supported as much as mainstream civil society groups.

We have also seen that ignoring the urgency to harness youth activism often leaves young people at the mercy of manipulation by anti-democratic and radical forces. In my home country of Zimbabwe, we witnessed the regime recruiting over 300,000 young people into a para-militia. Many of the same youth ended up responsible for most of the atrocities against those in the opposition that have come to characterize

Zimbabwean politics and life over the past 10 years: rape, torture, and murder. In other countries, we see a surge in disaffected young people joining terrorist networks. All of this can be limited, if not avoided, if greater efforts are put into developing a culture of positive youth engagement in political processes.

The need to strengthen youth movements is an issue not only for those countries under authoritarian rule, but for established democracies as well. The tide of instability in most backsliding democracies is often driven by disaffected youth who, because of a failure to be accommodated in democratic participation, become easy targets for anti-democracy radicalism.

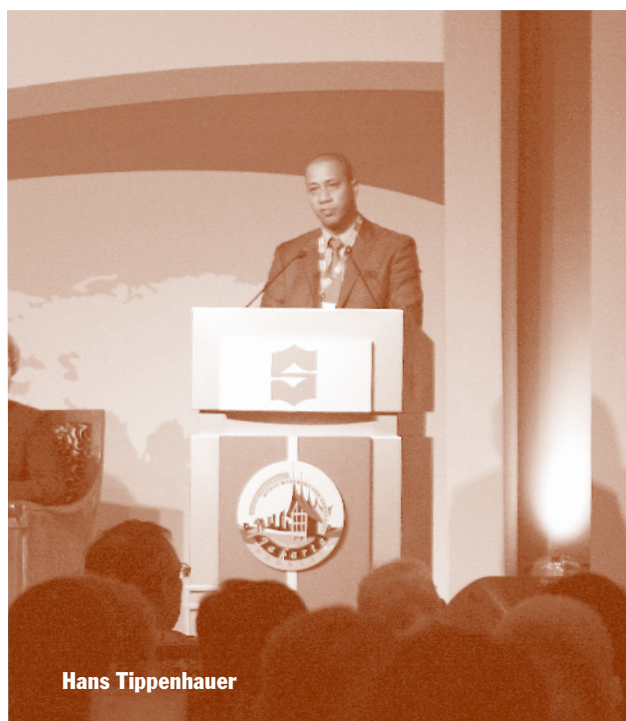
Initiatives in the international democracy community, such as the World Movement for Democracy, must seriously think of ways to support, as well as link up and build solidarity with, many emerging youth voices. Such support, linkages, and solidarity would help ensure effective transfers of knowledge, experiences, and values so that each new generation builds upon the work of the last, instead of reinventing the wheel. It would also help guarantee that the ideals of freedom and democracy are carried forward and that prospects for the future are not lost!

Hans Tippenhauer

**President, Fondation Espoir, and member (Haiti),
World Movement Steering Committee**

Hans Tippenhauer is the President of Fondation Espoir, a civil society organization developing young leaders in Haiti. Tippenhauer is a social entrepreneur who has been working, consulting and leading in the business and development sectors for more than 17 years. He has extensive experience as a trainer in the areas of governance, leadership and democracy building, and also produces radio and television programs on these topics. An industrial engineer by training, Tippenhauer also serves as a coordinator of the World Movement's Latin American and Caribbean Network for Democracy.

Excerpts: On January 12, 2010, at 4:54 pm, the capitol of Haiti, Port-au-Prince, and several nearby cities . . . were struck by one of the most devastating earthquakes in the modern history of the world. Haiti, Maman Libète (the Mother of Liberty), is the nation that brought freedom to the world by becoming the first free black republic by abolishing slavery on January 1, 1804 (an original of that declaration having just been discovered in London). It is a country



Hans Tippenhauer

whose existence had barely been acknowledged by the international community for 60 years, and was condemned to pay something unheard of, “a debt of independence,” literally a price for freedom imposed upon its people (when Haiti became independent of France, it was made to pay a “fee” to France for the loss of property and slaves). Haiti, a country that has also been ill-served by its numerous dictators, populist leaders, and corrupted politicians, a country that had already survived so many catastrophes, among them the appellation of “poorest country in the Western Hemisphere,” was not prepared for this latest catastrophe. . . .

The one thing that the January 2010 earthquake has done for Haiti is allow most people in the world to finally discover the country and the true story of its valiant people. It has given the world an opportunity to be touched by its amazing resilience, its willingness to hope, and its unbelievable faith. It has also raised the level of consciousness everywhere, and has given Haitians the opportunity to see real solidarity in action. We have seen extraordinary examples of courage, of abnegation, of sincere willingness to help, from people of all walks of life and all nationalities. . . .

This is the paradox of Haiti: You come because you are hopeless for the Haitian people, but it is that same people who give you more hope for humanity to bring back home; you come feeling that you just want to help and do a good duty as a world citizen, and you

depart unable to forget the smile of that one child or the look of serenity in the eyes of that beautiful amputee girl; you come to help, but you realize you cannot do it if you do not truly love the people, for it is not charity that Haitians need, but true support, compassion, and the understanding that despite everything they are a dignified people. The truth is Haiti is a country that has been given too much assistance, too much humanitarian aid, over the last quarter of a century. When you want to help someone, it is fine if the first time he asks for food, you give him a fish, but the second time consider really teaching him how to fish, and maybe even how to swim. You can't really help anyone in Haiti today if you do not facilitate their empowerment, and build the necessary capacity for them to get back on their own feet. But for that, trust has to be nurtured, a trust in the guarantee that their children will have a better future in their country than they have at present, and a trust that their elected officials will be able to rally the masses that are poor, as well as the few that are rich, for the betterment of the whole nation and create the conditions for the general prosperity of the country, not just for the enrichment of a few friends and cronies.

It is amazing to see the decapitation of all powers in Haiti after the earthquake, and in addition to rebuilding the majority of government institutions, civil society is confronted with the challenge of rebuilding 250,000 houses and 2,000 schools. But rebuilding Haiti today is not only a physical task or a question of money, but also a moral reconstruction, a mental makeover. Hundreds of thousands of families and orphans need to be reunited and entire communities need to be rebuilt. Our foundation, Fondation Espoir, and its network of partners is promoting a reconstruction charter, simple points that should ensure that never again do we have a country with so many inequalities, with so little progressive direction. Our goal is to create a strong citizen coalition around an agreed upon collective vision because one thing that we need now in Haiti is vision. We need people who can come to Haiti to dream with us, to dream of what we can do with such a beautiful mountainous island. But we also need “doers” who can facilitate the way to economic freedom. Thinking out of the box involves giving a voice to structures of democratic participation. Port-au-Prince has to be rebuilt, but all the country's systems also have to be completely overhauled to finally serve the citizens of Haiti. . . .

The good thing when you are dealt such a blow as this earthquake is that you are forced to the floor, you

know there is only one way out, and that is to get back on your feet and to begin evaluating everything from a new perspective, to begin from scratch. Today, Haiti has an opportunity to go back to the drawing board and create a more inclusive, transparent and connected society, one that can become an example. To quote President Clinton, "Let us help Haiti help the world."

I can assure you that this time, if we act with compassion and understanding, if we teach instead of just giving, if we no longer make the Haitian people pay for their freedom, but instead recognize their capacity to dream and to create economic freedom, the world will be proud to see the results of the new Ayiti, the Mother of Liberty.

Condolences for April 10, 2010 Polish Tragedy



World Movement participants Alicja Derkowska and Krzysztof Stanowski (Poland) speak in memory of Polish President Lech Kaczyński and several other governmental and non-governmental dignitaries who were tragically killed in a plane crash en route to a World War II commemoration in Katyn, Russia, the day before the Assembly began (April 10, 2010).



The Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell (Canada) joined Alicja Derkowska in presenting Polish Ambassador to Indonesia, Tomasz Lukaszuk, with a book of condolences signed by Sixth Assembly participants.

Democracy Courage Tributes

Presented at the John B. Hurford Memorial Dinner



Democracy Courage Tribute recipients pictured with World Movement Steering Committee Chair Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell (Canada), who chaired the John B. Hurford Memorial Dinner, as well as World Movement Steering Committee members, Igor Blažević (Bosnia), who chaired the Democracy Courage Tribute presentations, Yuri Dzhibladze (Russia), and Jana Hybášková (Czech Republic). They are joined by Ali Afshari of the Iranian Democratic Student Association.

A highlight of each Assembly is the presentation, at the John B. Hurford Memorial Dinner, of the World Movement's Democracy Courage Tributes, which give special recognition to groups and movements working in particularly difficult circumstances, but outside the spotlight of world attention. At the Sixth Assembly, Tributes were presented to the Movement for Human Rights in Syria, the Student Movement in Venezuela, the Women's Movement in Iran, and the Human Rights Defenders in the North Caucasus.

The Movement for Human Rights in Syria

In 2009, Syria threw hundreds of democratic activists in prisons, where they joined Syrian dissidents associated with the 2005 Damascus Declaration for democratic reform. The Declaration called upon democratic forces to undertake "a salvation task of change that takes the country from being a security state to a civil state." Democrats in Syria today face a climate of impunity where government security forces arbitrarily arrest, detain and torture critics of the regime. This diverse and courageous movement struggles to return Syria to the days before the current regime took power in 1963 when the country had free media, an independent parliament, and strong democratic institutions.



Radwan Ziadeh (Syria) receiving Courage Tribute on behalf of the Movement for Human Rights in Syria presented by Jana Hybášková (Czech Republic), member, World Movement Steering Committee.



Roberto Patiño (Venezuela) receiving Courage Tribute on behalf of the Student Movement in Venezuela presented by Ali Afshari, President of the Iranian Democratic Student Association at George Washington University.

The Student Movement in Venezuela

When President Hugo Chavez attempted to legitimize his authoritarian rule by amending Venezuela's Constitution in December 2007, a non-partisan student movement rose up to defeat it. Inspired by the nonviolent philosophy of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the movement had mobilized earlier that year, holding peaceful demonstrations across the country to protest the government's closing of the country's oldest and most popular media outlet. The student reaction to the TV closing and referendum to amend the Constitution was motivated not by political ideology or partisan politics, but by the notion that "in a democracy all sides should be welcome." Despite government provocation and calls for physical attacks on students, the movement continues to focus on the peaceful promotion of democracy by training observers to monitor elections and encouraging young people to register to vote.

The Women's Movement in Iran

Beginning with their participation in the constitutional revolution of 1906, Iranian women have struggled courageously and steadfastly for equal treatment under the law. The regime that came to power in 1979 nullified the legislation that gave women the equal rights they had worked for decades to achieve. Through years of struggle the women's movement has gained political maturity; the success of the movement became apparent to the world when years of organizing and campaigning brought the women's networks to the forefront of the prodemocracy demonstrations leading to and following the 2009 elections. Despite persecution, they continue their struggle with dignity, courage, and perseverance.



Hafsat Abiola (Nigeria) receiving Courage Tribute on behalf of the Women's Movement in Iran presented by the Rt. Hon. Kim Campbell, Chair and member of the World Movement Steering Committee, and former Prime Minister of Canada.

The Human Rights Defenders in the North Caucasus

The human rights situation and conditions for human rights defenders in the North Caucasus have become increasingly alarming and violent since the brutal murder last summer of Natalia Estemirova. Abducted from her Grozny office at the human rights group Memorial, Estemirova was found shot dead later the same day in neighboring Ingushetia. Threats, incidents of intimidation, and murders directed against activists and journalists in the region continue with impunity. The targets of this violence are Russia's best hope and moral conscience. They keep alive the possibility that Russia will one day change course, turn its back on extreme nationalism, address the severe internal problems that threaten its well-being, and embrace the values of human rights and the rule of law.



Dokka Itslaev (Russia) receiving Courage Tribute on behalf of Human Rights Defenders in the North Caucasus presented by Yuri Dzhibladze, member (Russia) of the World Movement Steering Committee and President of the Centre for the Development of Democracy and Human Rights. Mr. Dzhibladze completed his term as a member of the Steering Committee at the close of the Sixth Assembly.



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

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

Past Recipients of Democracy Courage Tributes

Fifth Assembly (Kyiv, Ukraine, 2008)

The Monks of Burma

The Legal Community of Pakistan

The Independent Journalists of Somalia

Fourth Assembly (Istanbul, Turkey, 2006)

Democracy Activists in Vietnam

Human Rights and Democracy Movement in Uzbekistan

Civil Society of Nepal

Crimean Tatars and their Mejlis (Parliament)

Third Assembly (Durban, South Africa, 2004)

Democracy Movement in Sudan

Democracy Movement in Belarus

Mano River Union Civil Society Movement

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

Second Assembly (São Paulo, Brazil, 2000)

Colombian Democratic Mayors

Civil Society Movement of the Democratic Republic of Congo

Iran's Pro-Democracy Student Movement

LAM Civil Society Organization, Chechnya

Tiananmen Mothers Network

Announcement of Youth Essay Contest Winners

The World Youth Movement for Democracy holds essay contests to encourage youth to reflect on the state of democracy in their communities and how they can better contribute to their country's path to a stable democracy. This year, over 500 youth participated in the contest, which took place over four months. The

Hurford Foundation generously sponsored 15 regional winners to attend the World Movement's Sixth Assembly, two of whom were selected as global winners and presented with awards by Robert Miller, at the Hurford Dinner.



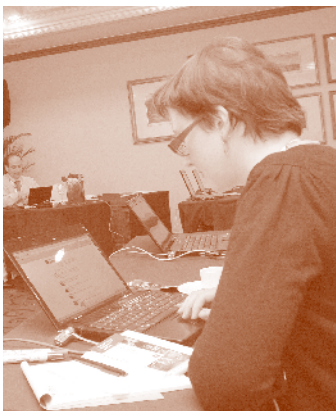
Ismail Alexandrani (Egypt) was the second global winner of the World Youth Movement for Democracy essay contest, but was not able to attend the Assembly due to his military service. Receiving the award in his behalf was fellow Egyptian activist Ahmad Badawy (left). Robert Miller congratulated Ismail: "Your essay beautifully explains your personal experience and shows your strong commitment to deepened democratic culture in personal and private life, as well as in the public sphere."



Daria Taradai (Ukraine) accepting award as one of two global winners of the World Youth Movement for Democracy essay contest presented by Robert Miller. As part of the presentation, Miller noted that Daria's essay underscored the "complexity of democratic transitions by sharing her own experiences in Ukraine's Orange Revolution."

Democracy Fair

The Democracy Fair included an exhibition throughout the Assembly. The environment fostered active engagement among participants, allowing them to share their organizations' materials and experiences. In addition, the Democracy Fair included an Internet Café, Video Screening Corners, Blogging Stations, a Technology Training Center, and Indonesian craft displays sponsored by Dekranas, the national crafts council of Indonesia.



Solidarity Across Cultures

Workshops

Addressing Attacks on Human Rights Defenders and Independent Media: How can Cross-Border Solidarity Help?

ORGANIZERS:

**East and Horn of Africa
Human Rights Defenders Network**
**Institute for Reporter Freedom and
Safety** (Azerbaijan)

MODERATOR:

Hassan Shire Sheikh – East
and Horn of Africa Human
Rights Defenders

RAPPOREUR:

Rose Nyawira – Pamoja
Trust (Kenya)

PRESENTERS:

Adilur Khan – Odhikar (Bangladesh)

Floribert Chebeya Bahizire – La Voix
des sans Voix (Dem. Republic of Congo)

Emin Huseynov – Institute for
Reporters Freedom and Safety
(Azerbaijan)

The workshop presenters focused in their presentations on their own experiences working as human rights defenders, as well as on the overall human rights situations in their countries, and they described their governments' strategies to curb freedoms of speech, participation, and information. The ensuing discussion also focused on the common threat of torture and persecution.

The discussion highlighted the efforts of civil society organizations (CSOs) to address the safety and protection of human rights defenders, in addition to disseminating information and promoting solidarity networks around the world. CSOs provide resources to individuals, including relocation to a different country, especially if a defender's life is at risk; training in the security of defenders; the organization of conferences and fora in which activists can discuss their challenges and achievements; and facilitation in the use of the Internet and audio-visual media for communication and information sharing to build relationships of solidarity. To some extent, such initiatives have been successful. In Poland, for instance, CSOs train journalists and students in documenting and reporting on human rights violations using community radio.

By reporting on their own situations and human rights violations, activists have indirectly supported

human rights defenders in neighboring countries. There are also organizations that promote the use of conferences and Web sites to share information. Witness, a nongovernmental organization based in Europe, provides equipment, training, and video hubs. These are opportunities we could tap, among others, to ensure that defender issues are discussed in the global arena.

In countries run by dictatorial and military regimes, human rights defenders are always at high risk of being tortured and persecuted. In the case of Somalia and Azerbaijan, where the media is controlled by the government, many human rights defenders are tracked down, carefully monitored, and, in some cases, executed. In these circumstances, the media serves as an instrument of propaganda by the government.

How human rights defenders in Belarus have dealt with media restrictions provides a compelling example of the need for solidarity. Solidarity can also work well in Asia and Africa, since there are some common languages in these regions. Ultimately, there is a need to invest more resources into building solidarity, especially since human rights defenders are critical for the wider fight for justice and democracy.

All the presenters shared similar stories of governmental suppression mechanisms and the challenges

faced by defenders. They also therefore called on CSOs to work together and to develop networks to address those challenges. In particular, they noted that young, emerging activists should be supported.

Participants in the workshop agreed that human rights defenders can benefit from innovative ways of communicating with each other about the lessons they've learned about how best to protect themselves. Specifically, they can learn from the innovative strategies of youth and from professionals in public relations and communications. Moreover, youth activists, journalists, and human rights practitioners can all benefit by sharing their expertise with each other.

Challenges

The challenges facing human rights defenders are diverse and vary according to local contexts. In the discussion, these challenges were viewed within the framework of access to media, working in armed conflicts, and political oppression. Some of the challenges that human rights defenders face include:

- Harassment and intimidation;
- Defamation;
- Legal proceedings to drain human rights defenders of resources, time, etc.;
- Arbitrary arrests and detention;
- Targeted killings;
- Disappearances;
- Legal restrictions, such as national laws that criminalize the activities of human rights defenders (e.g., sexual minority rights defenders under the Civil Society Proclamation in Ethiopia);
- Governments' persistent failure to comply with treaty obligations under international law;
- Increased insecurity in many countries;
- Insufficient financial resources to carry out planned activities; and
- Insufficient networking among human rights organizations.

Recommendations

- Promote the capacity of human rights defenders to carry out audio-visual reporting and monitoring (use of video, films, and documentaries).

- Start a campaign to promote the Internet as a means to communicate and to organize for democracy work, particularly since it is becoming one of the main methods of sharing information quickly, especially among youth.
- Dedicate a person to work directly and specifically with journalists and activists to address their challenges at the regional level and in EU countries.
- Groups should share most of their information with diaspora groups so that together they can push for better human rights situations.
- Use UN information on how presidents vote on issues in international bodies and use it as a basis to organize for accountability.
- Lobby more donors to support human rights protection initiatives.
- Create a global human rights network.
- Call on public relations and communication experts "without borders" so they can offer their skills and knowledge to support human rights defenders.
- Develop a standard template to organize national and international campaigns in support of prosecuted human rights defenders.
- Give greater support to enable the escape and departure from a country because most defenders do not necessarily have contacts within their neighboring countries and thus can sometimes become stranded. There is also a need to support defenders getting situated in a new country since their governments are often able to follow them when they leave.
- Promote a culture of tolerance and solidarity through trainings and conferences. Ensure that mechanisms exist for information from such activities to reach the grassroots.
- Create mechanisms for the legal protection of defenders at all levels and for their safety during trials, especially at the International Court.
- Promote education and mentoring in schools and other learning institutions, and call upon journalists to cultivate innovative and new technologies for helping prevent human rights abuses.
- Promote youth innovation in reporting, monitoring, and campaigns for human rights.

How Can Minority Rights Best Be Protected in a Democracy?

ORGANIZERS:

National Alliance for Freedom of Religion and Beliefs—AKKBB (Indonesia)

Due Process of Law Foundation (U.S.)

MODERATOR:

Anick Tohari – Indonesian Conference on Religion and Peace-ICRP (Indonesia)

RAPPORTEUR:

Aquino Wreddya

Hayunta – Women's Journal Foundation-YJP (Indonesia)

PRESENTERS:

Rumadi – The Wahid Institute (Indonesia)

Elena Ryabinina – Institute of Human Rights (Russia)

Katya Salazar – Due Process of Law Foundation (U.S.)

Niemat Kuku – Gender Studies Center (Sudan)

Alpha Lisimba – Darfur Community Association of Australia (Australia)

Minority groups are usually defined as groups within a country with a specific identity defined by religion or ethnicity—among other criteria—but with fewer members compared to the majority of the population. However, through this workshop discussion it became clear that dominance, rather than simply the percentage of a population, should be the key to evaluating whether a group is a minority or not. For instance, a group might have fewer numbers, but it might also have greater power and access to the economic resources of the country. In Sudan, for example, there is a minority that has more access to economic power, while in Latin America indigenous groups often represent a significant portion of the population, but still live in abject poverty. In Indonesia, it is difficult to determine which group is larger and more dominant, but, in fact, the economic resources are held mainly by multinational companies. Also, in most cases, women are less empowered than men, even if they are in greater numbers. So the decisive feature is not the number, but the power.

These differences in power clearly affect identity. In a given country, the most powerful group tends to hold onto power and build a system on its own behalf by bringing other groups within its identity and interests. Weaker groups also tend to suffer the impact of governmental measures to abolish progressive or opposition movements. This happens in Russia, for instance, where the fight against terrorism drives the government to affect negatively those who just don't agree with the government's policies. This counterterrorism has especially affected Muslims in the country. Any effort by Muslims to preserve their culture can be considered by the government as suspicious.

In Latin America, new challenges facing indigenous peoples concern rights to land, territory, and natural resources. In recent years, there have been growing

tensions between claims to these rights and those of the State to exploit and manage resources. These tensions have led to several serious conflicts between local communities, the State, and transnational companies, and are now threatening governability in many countries in the region. There are, however, international conventions and standards that should be taken into account when these issues are addressed and should be made more widely known and understood.

Minority rights are often not recognized at the national level, and although there are international treaties that cover the issue, the challenge is how to implement them. The performance of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights is a good example that should be emulated in other regions.

Challenges

- Certain democratic principles, such as rule of the majority, may not be sufficient to address the problem of minority rights, and may even intensify it.
- Some international actors can exacerbate conflict by supporting oppressive governments or parties, as in the case of Sudan where China continues to trade with the government.
- Some participants questioned the legitimacy of the interests of international organizations that support local minority groups.
- Although several countries have signed international conventions and treaties that protect minority rights, as noted above, there are still many challenges to implementation and compliance. National laws should be made compatible with these international treaties.
- In some cases, local laws can violate the basic rights of a minority. For instance, in Indonesia there

is a law that recognizes only six religions; the other religions are not acknowledged.

Recommendations

- The concept of democracy should be broadened to reflect the specific conditions and situations of minority groups.
- Human rights principles should be used to analyze whether minority rights have been fulfilled. Human rights principles are intended to protect all groups, both majority and minority.
- We need to pay attention to legal frameworks as follows:
 - Change discriminatory laws.
 - Sign and ratify international conventions as soon as possible.
 - Ask the international community to give attention to the problems of minorities, not only

from local perspectives, but as they relate to the international community.

- Although engaging in street demonstrations and protests is a right, we should also promote the use of institutional and legal mechanisms to address minority grievances and thus create precedents for future cases.
- Civil society should advocate for the adoption of national legislation to implement international conventions and treaties, and then use this legal framework to monitor that implementation.
- Legal frameworks are necessary but insufficient to bring about real change at the national level. Civil society should therefore actively demand that governments comply with legislation and conventions.

Building Solidarity with Internally Displaced Persons: How to Ensure Their Inclusion in Democratic Processes?

ORGANIZER:

Educational Society of Malopolska (Poland)

MODERATOR:

Alicja Derkowska – Educational Society of Malopolska (Poland)

RAPPORTEUR:

Julie Boudreaux – Educational Society of Malopolska (Poland)

PRESENTERS:

Julia Kharashvili – IDP Women Association “Consent” (Georgia)

Paula Banerjee – Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group (India)

Visaka Dharmadasa – Association of War Affected Women (Sri Lanka)

Abdelhadi Matar – Darfur Community Association of Australia (Australia)

This workshop focused on how to ensure that internally displaced persons (IDPs) are included in democratic processes. There are an estimated 27 million displaced persons in the world due to conflict, and many more due to other reasons, such as development and disaster. If the officially registered number of refugees globally is decreasing and is now, according to UNHCR statistics, around 15 million people, the number of IDPs displaced by conflict is increasing, and during the last 20 years has increased by 40 percent.

It is important to define IDPs and to distinguish them from refugees. IDPs are persons who are displaced within their own country, whereas refugees have crossed internationally recognized boundaries. Persons can be displaced due to any one of, or a combination of, the following: military conflict, war, or

intervention/occupation by a third party; man-made or natural disasters; massive human rights violations; massive development projects; and climate change.

Refugees are eligible for international protection according to the 1951 UN Refugee Convention (the UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees is an international convention that defines who is a refugee, and sets out the rights of individuals who are granted asylum and the responsibilities of nations that grant asylum; the Convention also sets out which people do not qualify as refugees, such as war criminals, and provides for some visa-free travel for holders of travel documents issued under the Convention) and the 1967 Protocol (the Convention itself was approved at a special UN conference in 1951, and entered into force in 1954; initially limited to protecting European refugees after World War II, the 1967 Protocol removed

the geographical and time limits, thus expanding the Convention's scope). However, IDPs only have the 1998 UN Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement to protect them. While refugees are under the protection of a special UN Agency, UNHCR, IDPs are not that agency's direct responsibility, since the primary responsibility is with national governments. The Guiding Principles were drafted upon request from Kofi Anan, the Secretary General of the UN, in 1998. As guiding principles, they do not constitute a treaty, and a state can therefore decide whether or not to follow them. The majority of states do agree to follow them, so national legislative bodies in those countries should employ them when drafting national laws.

In addition, a human rights mechanism was created by establishing the Special Representative of the Secretary General on Human Rights of IDPs who can investigate and report on their situations; promote respect for their human rights; conduct dialogue with the governments, nongovernmental organizations, and other concerned actors; and strengthen international responses to the needs of IDPs and mainstream their human rights issues within the UN System, which is extremely important for raising awareness about those situations and issues, for bringing them to the attention of the public, and for alerting democratic institutions, which are usually not very involved in IDP matters. The Guiding Principles thus describe the responsibilities and protection needs and instruments at all stages of displacement: protection from possible displacement, protection during displacement, and protection during the process of return and reintegration. The Guiding Principles are the main instrument that the Special Representative can use in promoting the national responsibilities of governments towards IDP human rights. Therefore, promotion of the Guiding Principles is one of the responsibilities of the Special Representative.

There are differences in how IDPs are viewed, which depend on the cause, history, and duration of displacement. In emergency situations, newly displaced persons need immediate humanitarian aid and protection. In protracted displacement, they should have the option of being integrated into their new communities or returning home, and the decisions the IDPs make should be based on an informed choice, requiring sufficient information. Both solutions should be implemented in safety and dignity. At all times, their protection should be a priority.

During the workshop there were detailed presentations about the specific situations of IDPs in Sri Lanka,

Sudan (Darfur), Serbia, India, Georgia and Turkey.

Challenges

- The Guiding Principles serve as the only instrument for the protection of IDPs, and they are not binding on governments.
- The Guiding Principles indicate that governments are primarily responsible for the protection and rehabilitation of IDPs; however, in some cases, governments are themselves the cause of displacements, and in those situations it might be futile to look to governments for protection.
- Internal displacement is such a complex and diverse issue that it cannot easily be encapsulated in one legal document.
- The problem of IDPs is often considered by wider society as a humanitarian rather than a democratization issue, which makes bringing IDPs back into social life and encouraging their participation all the more difficult. IDPs are often seen as survivors, not as active members of society. Stressing that IDPs are full citizens is therefore very important.
- People do not understand the social, political, and economic dimensions of displacement. Even IDPs themselves are often not aware of their rights and entitlements. For example, after the Katrina hurricane in the U.S., those who were displaced were not aware of their status as IDPs.

Recommendations

- IDPs should be regarded as full citizens with all the rights and entitlements of other citizens. In particular, they should be able to participate in elections at all levels, and they should be accurately registered for purposes of assistance, protection, and rehabilitation.
- To make informed choices about their future, IDPs should receive adequate information and education. It is necessary to have feedback on the information provided to ensure that it is, in fact, received and that the choices IDPs make is based on clearly understood options.
- The mandate for the Special Representative should be continued, strengthened, and expanded through budgetary allocations from the UN and from donor governments.
- The social capital and empowerment of IDPs should be strengthened through people-to-people connections.
- IDPs should be educated about their rights. At the same time, governments also need to be educated

about IDP situations and provided with possible solutions.

- A movement of activists and NGOs of and for IDPs should be launched. This network would promote IDP issues regionally and globally.
- The Guiding Principles referenced above should be made binding on governments, which should be compelled to be responsible and accountable by local and international “watchdogs.”
- Media coverage should be used to support and raise awareness of IDP issues.
- Existing legal mechanisms should be used to support IDPs.
- Best practices should be collected, disseminated, and implemented.

➤ State strategies toward IDPs should be developed in consultation with IDPs, civil society, and international experts.

➤ Women’s leadership of IDP populations should be supported and promoted and the participation of women in all decision-making processes on IDPs should be encouraged, as per UNSCR 1325 (for the first time, this Convention views women in conflict not only as victims, but also as a resource, and thus proposes to increase their participation as negotiators, special representatives, and heads of missions regarding the settlement of conflicts and to address IDP situations).

➤ IDPs should be seen not just as victims, but also as agents of change.

Inclusive Democracy: Women and Men Working Together to Ensure the Promises of Democracy

ORGANIZERS:

Women’s Learning Partnership for Rights, Development and Peace—WLP (U.S.)

Fondation Espoir (Haiti)

Foundation Hope for Haiti (U.S.)

MODERATOR:

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

RAPPOREUR:

Nadege Robertson – Foundation Hope for Haiti (U.S.)

PRESENTERS:

Rakhee Goyal – WLP (India)

Rabéa Naciri – Association Démocratique des Femmes du Maroc (Morocco)

Diego Sueiras – Fundacion Nueva Generación (Argentina)

Hans Tippenhauer – Fondation Espoir / Jeune Ayiti (Haiti)

Sakena Yacoobi – Afghan Institute of Learning (Afghanistan)

This workshop sought to share the experiences, challenges, and best practices of including both women and men in micro and macro democracy-building processes. The discussion began by defining what inclusive citizenship actually means. The example of Lebanon was used to illustrate a context that was recognized as being “democratic” and “liberal,” since it enjoys elections, a fixed-term presidency, freedom of speech and association, and a multi-party system. Yet Lebanon is very much patriarchal and confessional, and women are denied the enjoyment of their basic rights. Their economic and social participation in Lebanon is the lowest in the region. Honor killings are allowed by law and women cannot transmit their nationalities to their children simply because they are women. In addition, women’s lives are ruled by confessional and religious laws. The

case of Lebanon clearly illustrates that a country may enjoy the recognized basic elements of democracy but cannot be deemed democratic as long as women are treated as second class and dependent citizens.

One presenter in the workshop, Rakhee Goyal, analyzed the experiences of two countries in which an iterative process showed that working with young women and men was very effective and had a high impact on the effort to contribute to build just, egalitarian, and democratic societies. Indeed, young men today tend to be more gender-neutral than their older peers and to take up women’s issues much as they do their own. By focusing on the younger generation, the Women’s Learning Partnership (WLP) has noted that change and transformation toward inclusive democracy is indeed possible. Furthermore, empowering women in the family is a prerequisite for establish-

ing the fundamental values of democracy in a culture that supports the procedures of democracy. It is also important to encourage men and women to share power, whether at the state and societal levels, or at the individual level of human interaction.

Rabea Naciri presented an interesting experience from Morocco, where the Association Democratique des Femmes du Maroc supported a movement of local women who were claiming their right to communal land, which the government was reclaiming from everyone, but for which it was paying compensation only to men. This is an example of how a state recognizes only men as legitimate citizens who can claim rights. Thus, the movement unveiled key gaps in the practice of democracy and was an entry point for empowering women to challenge unfair treatment and to claim their rights. Ms. Naciri drew a link between reform of Moudawwana (religious family law), in order to grant women more rights in the family, and the ways in which this reform resulted in an actual change in the status of women. She concluded her analysis by indicating that national and social struggles for justice often tend to be more gender-neutral, so women's participation in those struggles is important.

Diego Sueiras shared the experience of Argentina, where, he said, despite a visible increase of women coming into the political, economic, and social arenas, real change towards a democratic society has yet to happen. Women may have entered the political sphere in large numbers, but they have not necessarily brought a women's rights agenda with them. He pointed out that kinship relations remain more important than meritocracy, and that there is a price for women's political and public participation.

In the case of Haiti, Hans Tippenhauer described local society as both matriarchal and patriarchal. Women play a key role in securing the livelihoods of their families, but their life choices remain confined to marriage and raising families. Given this, there are few women leaders, and few women are willing to attend his organization's training events. Mr. Tippenhauer traced this to the fact that women themselves do not see their role going beyond their reproductive duties.

Finally, Sakena Yacoobi shared her experience of working in Afghanistan where the endemic conflict has had a significant impact on girls and women, particularly in denying them their basic right to education. According to Ms. Yacoobi, in Afghanistan education is the key entry point for ensuring the participation of women and their empowerment. Her organization's strategy rests on mainstreaming human rights education into its training and using WLP's *Leading to Choices* leadership curricula, as well as its *Safe and Secure* manual (which draws on Qu'ranic arguments) for framing human rights concepts and practices in their teaching. Their experience evolved to include men in their trainings in order to prepare both women and men for a more just and egalitarian society.

Observations

- There is a growing awareness that women's participation is necessary on the basis of equality and equity, because of the importance and wealth of diversity, and because women often tend to bring relevant and interesting perspectives to bear in decision making.
- Cultural biases have often blocked women's participation in democratic processes. Mindsets that maintain that women are not interested in politics are examples of such biases.
- A quota system for women to overcome cultural and other biases is important.
- Obstacles to the equal treatment of women are found in common worldwide, and there is a need, therefore, to network and to continue sharing experiences and solidarity.
- It is important to ensure that women are actively included in post-conflict and post-emergency processes and interventions.
- Where some women-friendly laws exist they may not be known by all women; it is thus important to raise awareness.
- Democracy in the family is a pre-requisite for a truly democratic society.
- Women should not be considered a minority to be "included" in a mainstream process.
- Women have an inherent and natural right to participate in building a democratic society.
- We should be aware that there is a social system based on the domination of men that prevents women from playing an active role in the public arena.

Preventing Electoral Conflict and Violence: What Roles Can Electoral Management Bodies, Political Parties, Civil Society, and Media Play?

ORGANIZER:

International IDEA

MODERATOR:

Andrew Ellis –
International IDEA-
Indonesia (UK)

RAPPOREUR:

Miriam Kornblith – National
Endowment for Democracy-
NED (Venezuela)

PRESENTERS:

Hadar Gumay – Centre for Electoral Reform-
CETRO (Indonesia)

Maina Kiai – Inform Action and Voxcom (Kenya)

In his opening remarks, the moderator, Andrew Ellis, stressed that free and fair elections involve free and fair competition. Electoral violence often erupts when elections are not perceived as being free, fair and truly competitive. He also emphasized that the focus of the workshop was to contribute to understanding when and why election-related violence arises and how it can be detected, prevented, or at least mitigated.

The moderator also noted that violence can occur at any point in an election cycle—prior to, during, and after election day—and can be due to a number of different factors. In particular, it tends to be associated with the electoral design, the party system, the timing and sequencing of elections, the legitimacy of electoral or other institutions, or the level and nature of people's expectations. According to Mr. Ellis, the actors connected with election-related violence can come from a broad spectrum of society, including individuals from civil society organizations, political parties, election commissions, media outlets, electoral justice machinery, organs of executive government, and the security forces. In the case of security forces or the executive branch of government, there may be no reason to expect much familiarity with, or understanding of, the principles and practices of democracy.

A common factor of electoral violence is that it usually comes as a surprise. While people on the ground may note that there will be a problem of electoral violence, they are often isolated and feel powerless to do anything about it. The question, then, is how to develop early warning systems that allow people to draw attention to potential problems that lead to the detection, prevention, or mitigation of electoral violence.

These remarks provided a framework for the ensuing presentations and the discussion.

Indonesia

The presenter on Indonesia stressed that many changes have been made in the electoral system and conduct of elections throughout Indonesia's transition from an authoritarian regime to a democratic one. He noted that one significant change has been the absence of election-related violence in general elections. However, it is still present in local elections, on which he primarily focused his presentation. According to the presenter, the reasons for local electoral violence in Indonesia include:

- Local elections tend to be more “personal,” so people know each other better and there are consequently more tensions;
- Local election management boards (EMBs) work in isolation from national electoral boards and thus may not be neutral;
- Transparent regulations related to the functions and obligations of local EMBs are not clear;
- There are insufficient regulations related to local elections;
- There are no clear sanctions regarding violations of electoral rules at the local level; and
- There is not enough enforcement of local-level regulations.

As a consequence, both candidates and voters feel that elections at the local level are not free, fair, and truly competitive.

Other factors are more structural. In some areas, there has been a long history of conflict at the local level, and tensions between central and local communities serve as the triggers of conflict and violence. Other structural factors relate to religious tensions, separatist sentiment, and the presence of a migrant population.

Concerning the actors involved in election-related violence in Indonesia, the presenter stressed the role of political parties, which often sign codes of conduct

and agreements to help prevent electoral violence, but don't abide by them if the results indicate that theirs is the losing party. He also mentioned that civil society can have a constructive role, and that civil society organizations promote legislation through the legislature, interact with the EMBs, and carry out workshops and trainings to promote free, fair, and nonviolent elections.

Kenya

The presenter on Kenya discussed the country's political and electoral context in detail. He stressed the fact that violent elections are associated with the perception and reality of politics as a zero-sum game in which all the stakes are at the presidential level; members of Parliament don't have real power. He also stressed the fact that the Kenyan EMB is weak and dysfunctional, in contrast, for instance, with the EMB in Ghana.

The presentation on Kenya also addressed the role of the media in elections. The media can broadcast in local languages, and can thus be very helpful in promoting participation by disseminating relevant information. However, the media can also play a negative role by being very nationalistic and promoting ethnic extremism. Politicians also often use the media to promote their own interests. Election-related violence is also triggered by the dissemination of hate speech by the media and the politicians and there is therefore a need to eliminate or control hate speech. It is thus necessary, in effect, to shame politicians and the media regarding their use of hate speech.

From a structural perspective, deep cultural, social, economic, and political issues surface during elections, and are expressed through the elections and election-related violence. Such issues as impunity, marginalization, centralization of power, corruption, youth frustration, and others are expressed through election-related violence along with many other grievances. In addition, Kenya has a weak state that cannot control violence, and security forces often act with brutality. The presenter assigned a positive role to the international community in monitoring Kenyan elections and helping to mitigate violence.

During the ensuing discussion, it was noted that actors, such as political parties and the media, may play different roles in different contexts. While one may trigger violence in one context, another may act to prevent or mitigate violence. One participant stressed the fact that youth are often used to promote

violence by taking advantage of their frustrations due to lack of opportunities and employment. In general, the zero-sum nature of political competition in Kenya, and in other countries in Africa and around the world, was highlighted as a very relevant contributing factor to environments that are conducive to election-related violence.

The workshop participants divided into two working groups for specific discussions, one focusing on the role of civil society and electoral management bodies in triggering and preventing violence, while the second discussed the role of political parties and the media.

Recommendations

Role of civil society and electoral management bodies:

- Dialogue among civil society organizations (CSOs) and electoral management bodies (EMBs) should take place before, during, and after elections, as well as during electoral reform processes.
- There is a need for legal and electoral system reform processes, which should involve the EMB making proposals and CSOs engaged in lobbying and advocacy.
- There is a need for an effective system to provide access to electoral justice.
- Stakeholders, such as youth and international monitors, can have constructive roles in preventing or mitigating election-related violence.

Role of political parties and the media:

- Parties should be encouraged to form conflict management bodies and to cooperate with each other. They should sign covenants or codes of conduct on nonviolence.
- There should be transparent internal processes to select candidates to run for office in order to avoid conflict related to candidate selection.
- During non-election periods, political parties should engage in activities that provide civic and political education to voters and the general population stressing nonviolent processes.
- There should be transparent and clear rules on the timing and procedure for providing electoral outcomes to avoid conflicts over disputed results.
- Parties should consider controlling voter mobility on election day to prevent violence, and should try to help avoid the "export" of violence from one community to another.
- The media should contribute to the mitigation of political violence.

- Public media have an obligation to remain neutral and to provide space to all political parties.
- Private media can support specific candidates and parties, but should not engage in hate speech that fuels violence.
- There should be agreement on the procedure to release election results to ensure their responsible dissemination.
- There should be a recognized body above the media to enforce a code of conduct for their election-related activities.

The moderator concluded the workshop discussion by indicating that violence can be a symptom of political culture, and that it depends on different configurations of institutional frameworks, such as whether there is a winner-take-all system, whether there is political legitimacy and a concept of opposition, and whether there is separation between the executive and legislative branches. A parliamentary structure with a winner-take-all electoral system can, in practice, be more like an “imperial-presidency” than a presidential system! In a presidential system, the entire legislature, including those in the president’s own party, is involved in oversight.

Addressing Dictatorship and Radicalism: The Role of Political Parties

ORGANIZERS:

Baluchistan Institute for Development
(Pakistan)

Arab Democracy Foundation (Qatar)

MODERATOR:

Zafarullah Khan – Centre for Civic Education (Pakistan)

RAPPORTEUR:

Radwan A. Masmoudi – Center for the Study of Islam & Democracy-CSID (U.S.)

PRESENTERS:

Sanaullah Baloch – Baluchistan Institute for Development (Pakistan)

Jana Hybaskova – European Democratic Party (Czech Republic)

Antonio Pradjasto – Center for Democracy and Human Rights Studies (Indonesia)

Slaheddine Jourchi – El Jahedh Forum (Tunisia)

Political parties are often regarded as the “children of democracy,” which organize, articulate, and aggregate choices to seek electoral legitimacy. Parties are essentially voluntary organizations and flourish in democratic cultures, whereas military or civilian dictatorships always remain in quest of legitimacy and end up usurping citizen rights and freedoms. How political parties can address the challenges, such as dictatorship and increasing radicalism, was the main focus of this workshop, and it featured perspectives from three continents.

In his opening presentation, Sanaullah Baloch explained that for many years the denial of democracy in Pakistan resulted in socio-economic deprivation among the people and a sharpening of numerous ethnic and ideological fault lines. As a result of bad quality education and a lack of employment opportunities, violence emerged as an end product in the country. Therefore, religion was used and abused to perpetuate authoritarian regimes, giving birth to political Islam, which radicalized the society and was used against India and Afghanistan (militants waged Jihad in Afghanistan in the 1980s and in Indian-held Kashmir;

support for these groups was part of Pakistan’s foreign and defense policies). Mr. Baloch remarked that military dictatorships often do collapse after citizen struggles against them, but their dictatorial mindsets plague the societies for much longer. He also counted the fault lines that eclipse a democratic future for Pakistani society.

Jana Hybaskova elaborated the European political traditions and how Europeans engage with partners in other parts of the world, including the Socialist tradition of solidarity with causes in other parts of the world. We need to establish a distinction between fundamentalism and extremist and violent Jihad, she continued. Explaining the limitations of European foreign policy approaches, she stressed that Europe cannot communicate with dictatorships. That is why it pushes for the return of democracy, meaning conducting elections and promoting parties. In the Middle East, there are no free and genuine political parties, and elections in some of the societies in the region are just a farce. Ms. Hybaskova observed that it is the responsibility of the local people to nurture political parties. She stressed the need to build stronger bonds

with genuine democratic political partners.

In his presentation, Antonio Pradjasto pointed out that according to extremist ideologies, those who have other beliefs don't exist. On the other hand, the founders of modern democratic Indonesia had respect for pluralism, and they agreed not to have a state religion in the Constitution. They also chose a minority language to be the national language, he said. Indonesia is the third largest democracy in the world, and its society is blessed with wide political space. Mr. Pradjasto noted that the support for radical parties has been decreasing and that they receive fewer and fewer votes. Religious parties are usually closed parties, and unfortunately, the so-called secular parties also don't offer inclusive space. He said that Jihad enjoys support among some external networks because it is sometimes perceived to be directed toward eradicating poverty and corruption.

Slaheddine Jourchi argued that contemporary grievances in many societies are deep-rooted and have attained the status of popular culture, and he identified the term "radicalism" as the end product of this phenomenon. Economic power is not evenly distributed in the world, and the values of community are breaking down. He blamed the poor quality of education as the major contributing factor. The world has recognized radicalism as a problem only when it acquires violent expression, and his fear is that if this trend continues to gain ground it will be globally problematic. The proper understanding of democracy and its corresponding values and culture are therefore important.

Recommendations

- The number of countries that are victims of dictatorship and radical tendencies is increasing, and countries should develop or enhance democratic civic education and nonviolent democratic action as the means to prevent it.
- Countries on the path of democratization should take measures to avoid the risks of reversal by eliminating policy failures and addressing gaps in good governance.
- Countries prone to religious radicalization should promote pluralist values of coexistence in their school textbooks and in their general overall policy frameworks.
- Democracy should be accepted as the best form of government for the future of society, and the focus for instilling democracy as a normative way of life

should be on youth. Shortcuts will yield nothing but violence.

- Democracy should offer inclusive space to ordinary people.
- Stereotyping of Muslims as "radicals" is wrong and we should expand democratic debate within Muslim communities.
- Critical crises in any one part of the world should not become a pretext for denying democracy in other parts of the world.
- Democracy should have global institutional structures to counter critiques of democratic values.
- The world should take preventive steps to avoid 21st Century holocausts.
- There should be global efforts to address issues of under-development through knowledge sharing and meaningful engagement to advance democracy.
- Radicalism is a political phenomenon and should be addressed politically.
- Put people first in all endeavors aimed at promoting democracy and development.

International Women's Democracy Network – IWDN Towards 2020: Strategies for Realizing Democracy

ORGANIZER:

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

MODERATOR:

Hafsat Abiola – Kudirat Initiative for Nigerian Democracy – KIND (Nigeria)

RAPPOREUR:

Jennifer Pendleton – WLP (U.S.)

PRESENTERS:

Kim Campbell – Member (Canada) and Chair, World Movement Steering Committee

Carl Gershman – National Endowment for Democracy – NED (U.S.)

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

Hannah Forster – African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies (Gambia)

Rose Quintana – Human rights activist and union leader (Uruguay)

Inna Pidluska – Europe XXI Foundation (Ukraine)

Asma Khader – Sisterhood Is Global Institute (Jordan)

This workshop was the fourth meeting of the International Women's Democracy Network (IWDN), a network of women's organizations and activists engaged in the promotion of women's political participation, empowerment, and human rights. The IWDN, for which the Women's Learning Partnership (WLP) serves as secretariat, also provides tools and virtual resources for exchanges of information and ideas to support these goals within and across the African, Asian, Latin American, and Middle Eastern regions. This workshop aimed to explore the current context in each region, as well as strategies and solutions looking ahead to 2020.

The workshop began with presentations by the Rt. Honorable Kim Campbell and Carl Gershman on the global state of affairs, and Lina Abou Habib's presentation of WLP's newest training tool, the manual *Leading to Action: A Political Participation Handbook for Women*. The manual was developed in response to requests for a resource that went beyond more technical, skill-based toolkits and instead offered practical and culturally adaptable case studies addressing a range of social and ethical questions that affect women's ongoing formal and informal engagement in political processes.

Ms. Campbell noted that while much progress has been made on issues affecting women, including dramatic breakthroughs, such as the record percentage of women in the Parliament of Rwanda and, in some countries, increasing numbers of women in ministry positions, more work remains to be done. Women must be visible in positions of power in order to set examples for younger generations, and we need to make

clear arguments for the increased efficacy and inclusive outcomes that result from women's participation in decision-making processes. Through their participation in policy making, women can ensure that their daily needs and concerns are not overlooked. In the area of peacekeeping and conflict resolution, for example, women's participation can lead to more gender-aware and inclusive protections in programs such as de-mining, and violence against women during conflicts would be acknowledged during reconciliation processes. As women have shown, they have been "on the lines," so no one can question their right to be at the table.

Mr. Gershman reflected on the need for the *Leading to Action* manual and its potential to support the goals of the World Movement for Democracy, including the importance of women's political participation as a means of raising policy issues in socio-economic areas that more directly affect women and families. A consensus- and communication-based model of leadership is key to demonstrating that women's participation is not a threat to men, to broadening networks, and to encouraging women to engage more fully in political processes. A core objective is the building of solidarity—not just gender solidarity, but a deeper sense of moral purpose and compassion demonstrated by women activists.

Regional Priorities

Africa

Hannah Forster noted specific issues in The Gambia that are related to the need to bridge the gap between

the local and the global in democracy building. Key concerns include the minimal presence of women in political positions, despite the absence of constitutional or legal impediments. Women themselves are reluctant to engage in political processes within an environment that remains far more conducive to men's participation and in which women may be subject to verbal abuse. Proposed strategies include implementation of local and national quotas of 30 percent women; working to eliminate the gap between law and reality regarding gender discrimination; enhancing civil society's role; and positioning women to speak with a common voice on gender issues.



Latin America

Rose Quintana pointed out that while there has been political advancement of women in countries such as Argentina, even where women hold political positions, the government workplace fails to accommodate women with families, and the capacity of women to perform their duties is frequently questioned. The political system itself often operates on a patriarchal model, and a more fundamental change in the notion of leadership should be cultivated so such models are not reinforced. A glass ceiling remains, but there is an ongoing learning process for women political activists about how to engage as women. Ms. Quintana urged women to come together to document a unified vision.

Eurasia

Inna Pidluska spoke about the changing demographics in the former Soviet bloc that reflect women's increasing numbers in the population overall, as single mothers, and in the educational system as both students and teachers. The educational system is thus an important place to tap into the future potential of women to engage in political processes. Poverty remains a particular concern for women, but there are no women serving in the cabinet or as governors in Ukraine, and while they are represented in civil service, the majority of them are in lower ranking positions that require longer work hours. Quotas have created some backlash from women themselves who are concerned that they cannot identify a sufficient number of women candidates. Women have spoken out in court against discriminatory stereotypes expressed

by the Prime Minister of Ukraine, and Ms. Pidluska encouraged women to refrain from self-censorship.

Middle East

Asma Khader noted that the Middle East reflects some of the lowest levels of women's political participation as a result of both wider contextual obstacles and direct gender discrimination. The political climate in countries such as Palestine, Iraq, and Lebanon, has led to delays in efforts and opportunities to make improvements. Women's issues frequently take the back seat to "emergency" situations. Equality is constitutionally enshrined, but issues affecting women, such as poverty and access to education, have not been fully addressed. There is a significant variation in women's education and literacy levels across the region, and health care remains a problematic issue for women and girls. There is a link between private-public power relations and the status of women, such as the need for government accountability for violence against women. Regional coalitions, such as the Claiming Equal Citizenship and Equality without Reservation campaigns, work to bridge that gap. In terms of women's participation in elections, limited resources continues to be a factor, so economic empowerment is also important for increasing women's political participation. In many countries, women are visible in the judiciary, education, and women's rights activities, and for 2020 our dream should be to attain full equality and participation with 50-50 female-male membership in government. We can accomplish this by cultivating grassroots leadership, technological capacity, and youth engagement.

Pluralism and Diversity: Strategies for Developing Strong Interfaith Coalitions to Support Religious Freedom Rights

ORGANIZERS:

Freedom House (U.S.)

Lakpesdam (Indonesia)

MODERATOR:

Uli Parulian Sihombing – Indonesian Legal Resource Center (Indonesia)

RAPPORTEUR:

Piet Khaidir – Freedom House (Indonesia)

PRESENTERS:

Festus Okoye – Human Rights Monitor (Nigeria)

M. Syafi'i Anwar – International Center for Islam and Pluralism (Indonesia)

Marianne Ibrahim – Bridge for Training and Research and Development (Egypt)

Recommendations

- The state should not interfere in the rights of a person's belief.
- Given that religious violations and religious intolerance are a result of a lack of religious knowledge, a lack of hope, and poverty, we should change from a strategy of interfaith dialogue to one of interfaith cooperation. This means, first, that a strong interfaith coalition must be more practical and based on need-assessments of problems in society, and, second, a strong coalition must work at the grassroots and with youth, as well as with the elite.
- Without talking about their religions, religious people can focus on providing social services, such as HIV/AIDS programs, poverty eradication, and the challenges facing migrant workers.
- Do not manipulate religion to pursue political interests, since this can lead to religious violence.
- Civil society plays an essential role in developing

interfaith coalitions for religious freedom; therefore, it should be encouraged and given space to create tools and instruments for religious freedom to fulfill this role.

- A global meeting of religious leaders should be held so they can gain mutual understanding of each other in the religious community.
- Sectarian conflict, or even religious conflict, emerges in Nigeria, Egypt, and Indonesia because of a lack of law enforcement, economic turbulence, strong opposition to U.S. foreign policy, misinterpretation of the holy script, misunderstanding of modernization and globalization, a strong belief in conspiracy theories, or crises of identity.
- Dialogue is always possible, but we must guard against hate speech, which can lead people to violence.
- We should encourage religious people to talk about humanity.

Religion, Tradition, and Rights: How can Civic Educators Help Build the Bridges?

ORGANIZERS:

Cooperation Center for Afghanistan
(Afghanistan)

Philippine Council for Islam and Democracy
(The Philippines)

MODERATOR:

Amina Rasul-Bernardo –
Philippine Council for Islam
and Democracy
(The Philippines)

RAPPORTEUR:

Radwan Masmoudi –
Center for the Study of Islam
& Democracy (Tunisia)

PRESENTERS:

Sayed Abdullah Ahmadi –
Cooperation Center for Afghanistan
(Afghanistan)

Wajeelha Albahama – Bahrain
Women's Association (Bahrain)

Ash Narain Roy – Institute of Social
Sciences-ISS (India)

In his opening presentation, Sayed Abdullah Ahmadi spoke about the role of religion in Afghanistan. Religious studies have replaced primary schools in the country and religious leaders, as well as the mosque council of religious scholars, play important political roles. Afghanistan is a multi-ethnic country and ethnicity is thus an important aspect in the society. Government policies are both legitimized and de-legitimized based upon religious values, and the government tries to use religious leaders and Imams to encourage reform, such as education for girls. In addition, Mullahs are involved in such processes as voter registration and conflict resolution. It is difficult, sensitive, and sometimes dangerous for NGOs to work with them. There have been 24 workshops with Mullahs in two provinces to educate them about the importance of elections, voter registration and participation, and to enhance their knowledge about the Constitution, human rights, and women's rights. Ulemas are also extremely influential in Muslim Mindanao in The Philippines, but they really do not have the pre-requisite training, qualifications, or means to play a positive role.

It is also worth noting that in her presentation on the topic, Wajeelha Albahama indicated that in many cases, traditional values dominate even over religious values (regarding, for instance, divorce practices, women's equality, separation between the sexes, honor killings, the minimum age for marriages, etc.).

In his presentation, Ash Roy pointed out that on September 11, 2001, the twin towers in New York fell, but a new wall of distrust between the West and the Islamic world emerged. According to Mr. Roy, Ghandi said, I do not want my walls and windows to be closed, but I also do not want one wind to blow me

away. Multiple identities are a normal part of life, and democracy is a daily plebiscite to build unity and consensus. Democracy requires citizen involvement and participation, and education allows citizens to become stakeholders.

The large numbers of Muslim youth is a serious issue because they are experiencing a crisis of identity regarding morality and the place of religion. Educational systems have failed to equip them to be good and active citizens for the 21st Century. There is also a desperate need for a new discourse. For example, 65 percent of the population of Afghanistan is between 18 and 25 years of age.

Recommendations

- Freedom of religion requires dialogue among various stakeholders.
- We should modernize school curricula, even for religious schools.
- We should not underestimate the growing role that religious and traditional values play in everyday life for most people. Islamic revivalism is trying to purify Islam in disregard of traditional values.
- The International Leadership Program (in the U.S.) tries to encourage engagement and dialogue among religious leaders, which is a good example of what needs to be done.
- Religion is shaped by local traditions. We have to be careful, therefore, not to box people only into religious identities.
- The target audiences for work on building bridges between religions should include youth, women, religious leaders, and politicians.
- Civic education is a necessary tool to build bridges between peoples and communities.

- Interfaith dialogue is necessary to prevent violence and to teach people how to live together and respect their differences and diversity.
- Diversity is the key to unity. We should therefore teach that diversity and tolerance are important and necessary values, and that religions can be a unifying force if we focus on the common values among them.
- It is important to respect the dignity of every human being and to think about the good of the community.
- We should advance solidarity and support for equal rights.
- We should empower people to use their freedom for the good of mankind.

- NGOs should organize “listening campaigns” and meet people where they live. Media can be employed to reach people on various issues.
- We should provide correct understandings of religions, especially for youth.
- It is important to have joint efforts and coalitions among NGOs and politicians.
- Governments should involve religious actors in development and democratic processes, and provide space for dialogue and debate.
- Religious leaders are not political leaders, but they can support the ideas and principles of tolerance, diversity, and democracy.

Youth Engagement and Empowerment

Workshops

Embracing and Instilling Democratic Values among Youth

ORGANIZERS:

World Youth Movement for Democracy

Maarif Institute for Culture and Humanity (Indonesia)

OCASA (Colombia)

MODERATOR:

Raja Juli Antoni – Maarif Institute (Indonesia)

RAPPORTEUR:

Nidhi Killawala – Youth Essay Contest Winner (India)

PRESENTERS:

Gina Romero – OCASA (Colombia)

Eddie Jarwolo – National Youth Movement for Transparent Elections – NAYMOTE (Liberia)

Dhafer Hasan – Iraqi Social Education Team (Iraq)

Rasmus Grue Christensen – Danish Red Cross Youth (Denmark)

The moderator of the workshop introduced the topic for discussion and emphasized that much debate surrounds the definition of a democratic country. The theme of the Assembly, “Solidarity Across Cultures,” was evident in this workshop because all those participating were from different countries at different stages of democracy. Anwar Ibrahim said in his speech at the opening of the Assembly, “Probably every country claims that it is democratic, but some still have human rights violations,” and since youth can play a vital role in reducing the number of these violations and bringing about peaceful cooperation and co-existence, it is important to know what young people need and want in order to bring about change.

All the workshop presenters agreed that youth play a great role in promoting democracy, and different mechanisms through which youth can get involved in

democracy and its promotion should thus be identified. Innovative means should be used to attract youth to democratic processes and to encourage them to participate in elections. It is also crucial to teach them democratic values and provide them with tools they can use to strengthen democracy. New technology, such as the Internet and mobile communications, can be used to promote the values of democracy. Specific mention was made in the discussion of the use of cellular phones, chat, text messages, and Facebook as technological means to disseminate the values of democracy. These were considered to be very influential, since youth are better able to relate to audio-visual messages.

The presenters also described first-hand experiences that often provide fresh perspectives on the issue of engaging youth in democratic practices. Several sug-

gestions for addressing the problems of youth involvement emerged in the discussion, such as the example of NGOs working in Iraq to increase youth awareness and participation. The success of these efforts demonstrates that when youth discover that organizations conducting such work are not related to government they realize that they can freely express their own opinions and take action, and when they discover that they can add value to their society without supervision from government they more readily take active interest in such organizations.

Challenges

- There is no way to measure the level of influence youth have on decision-making processes. Therefore, a thorough plan should be devised to increase youth participation, particularly in political parties.
- The declining availability of education in Indonesia was discussed as an example of what results from the difficulty the poor face in gaining access to education as a result of high tuition fees. The lack of available high quality education is a problem for youth, since it prevents them from fully participating in the mainstream of society.
- Another challenge cited is that educated youth, who are economically advantaged, hardly ever do anything to help those who are in need. The question, therefore, is how to educate young people to become progressive leaders and advocates of freedom and democracy, which is undoubtedly one of the most important questions to be addressed.
- Participants in the workshop also raised concerns that government policy often fails to reflect the voice of the people because even though a particular country claims to be a democracy it often does not function or make decisions democratically. It is extremely important, therefore, to “translate” democracy for different cultures, or even for sub-cultures, to increase youth participation.
- The issue of deviant youth who turn to crime was also discussed. Presenters reflected on how such youth can be reintegrated into the mainstream to become leaders and advocates of peace.
- Another challenge participants raised was that youth are never taken seriously enough, and they thus believe that their efforts and initiatives will not be taken seriously either; they thus fail to see the point in trying.
- The understanding that youth have of democracy varies and they thus relate differently to democracy;

many of them connect democracy to politics, which doesn't have a positive connotation in their minds and thus gives them little incentive to engage in mainstream politics.

Recommendations

- Campaigns should be launched to encourage youth to engage in politics and to increase their awareness of their rights and responsibilities.
- Youth should be made more aware of their public and constitutional rights. Only when they understand their rights can they become a driving force for change.
- The opinions of youth should be considered, especially on economic and employment issues, which most affect them.
- Good leadership is essential for youth, and it is important to gauge whether those who have become ministers, religious leaders, and heads of organizations have brought about any change.
- Youth should be encouraged to participate in the activities of not only civil society, but also political parties.
- Political parties should be reformed to include platforms for youth to come together and exchange ideas, opinions, etc. While youth wings should be established within political parties, participation of youth outside existing structures created by government is also important.
- It should be determined whether or not youth wings that parties claim to have established are actually involved in the real operations of their parties.
- The suggestion was made to encourage the registration of youth in electoral rolls to ensure that their votes count and thus make a difference.
- Youth should be brought into mainstream politics to bring about change.
- Laws and regulations that restrict youth participation should be amended or discarded.
- Concerning the problem of young people joining gangs or turning to violence, it was unanimously agreed that many young people simply do not have an alternative due to external factors. In such cases, movements to bring them back into the mainstream would prove helpful.
- For those who have engaged in crime, more opportunities should be provided to participate in human rights discussions and dialogue as a way of slowly returning to the mainstream of life.
- For those who want to bring about change but

don't wish to engage in politics, other fora should be created, and other kinds of training provided, to help them bring about change.

► There should be an alternative educational system through which children are made aware of democracy and their rights and responsibilities at an early age, thus ensuring that democracy becomes a part of their daily lives. An alternative educational system should be required so that all those who are now outside the ambit of the current educational system are also included in this awareness-raising

process and we can thus reach out to as many of them as possible.

The workshop concluded with the recognition that youth involvement in politics and other democratic processes is essential to bring about change and to address various problems plaguing countries around the world. Transparency, free and fair elections, and better educational systems are some of the goals that need to be attained before effective youth participation can be assured.

Youth Democratic and Economic Empowerment

ORGANIZER:

Center for International Private Enterprise – CIPE (U.S.)

MODERATOR:

Moin Fudda – CIPE-Pakistan (Pakistan)

RAPPORTEUR:

Eric Hontz – CIPE (U.S.)

PRESENTERS:

Majid Shabbir – Islamabad Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Pakistan)

James Shikwati – Inter Region Economic Network-IREN (Kenya)

Mohammad Nasib – CIPE-Afghanistan (Afghanistan)

Robin Sitoula – Samridi Foundation (Nepal)

Building a democracy that benefits all citizens is a long-term endeavor. Democratic institutions and practices take time to emerge and solidify. Similarly, the values of transparency, accountability, fairness, and responsibility that underpin democratic systems and market economies often need generations to become ingrained in the societal fabric. Engaging younger generations in building functional democracies and markets is therefore a necessary precondition for a country's long-term democratic evolution.

Instilling a sense of civic responsibility and citizenship among young people and equipping them with tools for participation should be a major component of the democratic and market reform agenda worldwide. Typically, as society's most idealistic and driven segment, young people can be powerful change advocates, demanding better democratic governance and better economic policies from their governments. To be effective in such efforts, youth need a voice in public discourse and skills to translate their desire for change into concrete ideas. They must also develop and learn to trust their own ability to effect change rather than wait for the government to provide all the answers.

As the inheritors of today's policy decisions young people should be more involved in political and economic decision making that influences their countries'

futures. Their active participation in democratic and market-oriented reforms is imperative for replacing vicious cycles of frustration and joblessness with virtuous cycles of empowerment and prosperity. Many domestic and international youth programs make young people the object of various initiatives, but they do not provide them with opportunities to be active participants in shaping initiatives according to their priorities and needs.

Young leaders play a crucial role in initiating reform, standing up to oppressive regimes, and mobilizing the private sector and civil society to advocate for change. Although youth often lack the skills and confidence to become leaders in their communities today, with capacity building, opportunities to participate, and encouragement, they can become vital players in democratic and market-oriented reform for generations to come.

To begin any dialogue with youth we must acknowledge that education is vital to their future democratic and economic empowerment. Without access to education, young people's futures are in danger of being lost before they even begin. Civil society should therefore involve youth from an early age in their programming to foster a feeling of inclusiveness in the process of building their nation's democracy and economy.

Challenges

- Youth often don't have outlets to impact policies that will affect them in the future.
- Youth constitute a majority, or near majority, in many countries around the world but face bleak job markets. Without good paying jobs, they have a greater tendency to be attracted to extremist groups and can thus become a future source of instability and violence in their countries.
- Educational systems in many parts of the world focus on theories rather than on their practical applications. Young people are thus often unprepared to enter the workforce, since they have little knowledge of the practical application of skills.
- Although programs for youth in universities are important, civil society actors should focus attention on those students who drop out of educational systems. The high drop-out rate, and the number of youth who are forced by economic circumstances to work, leave a large group of young people who remain underserved by any educational institution.
- The informal sector constitutes a very large percentage of all economic activity in many countries around the world, and informal businesses invite corruption and constrain the growth of many businesses.

Recommendations

- Existing organizations that traditionally have not involved youth in their programming should find ways to include them so their voices can be heard at all levels of government and in a variety of different settings.
- One way to engage the leaders of tomorrow is to introduce young entrepreneurs to potential mentors in business communities.
- By helping youth to establish their own businesses civil society can advance the prosperity, self-esteem, and influence of young people in society.
- Civil society institutions can play key roles in filling in the education gap left by formal education. For example, very few universities focus on entrepreneurship, which can help young people start their own businesses and become active members of their communities.
- Civil society should encourage governments to foster young entrepreneurship by creating streamlined processes to register their businesses, helping them obtain credit for start-up and expansion, and ensuring that if they fail they can choose to start up again.

The Role of New Media and Pop Culture for Youth Engagement and Mobilization

ORGANIZERS:

World Youth Movement for Democracy

Youth Initiative for Human Rights (Serbia)

MODERATOR:

Rose Nyawira – Pamoja Trust (Kenya)

RAPPORTEUR:

Ivan Stojanovic – Youth Initiative for Human Rights (Serbia)

PRESENTERS:

Aissa Penafil – Democracy Video Challenge Winner (The Philippines)

Tsering Choden – Y! Magazine and Democracy Video Challenge Winner (Nepal)

Darko Brkan – Dosta! Movement (Bosnia and Herzegovina)

The workshop began with several presentations. Darko Brkan presented experiences from the Dosta! Movement in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He began with a story about the founding of the Movement, which grew from an Internet forum group to a very significant social movement in the country. The Movement uses Internet activities to recruit people, street actions to engage new people, and new media for outreach (7,000 people gathered on the street in one of their actions). They also use personal contacts with artists, primarily musicians, to reach

a greater number of people. Mr. Brkan said that the Movement was a pioneer in SMS activism in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In their first action, the Movement gathered more than 2,500 people for protests in the streets. He then presented two videos that demonstrated cooperation between the Movement and musicians, who became famous because of their engagement in the Movement's pre-election campaign. One of the videos of a song integrated problematic statements of politicians, thus sending a clear message to citizens that they should not put up with corruption.

The second presenter, Tsering Choden from Nepal, shared her experiences as a radio reporter in a live dialogue program. After a few months of airing the show, she realized that a very small number of people were listening to the program, so she decided that broadcasting alternative music within the program would attract more listeners. The new program was promoted through online chat rooms, and, in fact, the number of listeners began to grow rapidly. Ms. Choden drew the lesson that it is crucial to listen to the needs and interests of a target group, in this case young people, and attract them with content that matches their interests.

Following her radio experiences, Ms. Choden joined a print media organization, which required a completely new approach. However, a common feature of these different media is that they all require the promotion and use of new technologies. Still, even then there are challenges; one particular issue is that when using the Internet as a promotional tool it is difficult to reach people living in rural areas. She realized the potential for reaching people through new media when she took part in the U.S. State Department's Democracy Video Challenge. The film she created for the contest received over 100,000 hits on YouTube.

Aissa Penafiel, a presenter from The Philippines, also participated in the Democracy Video Challenge competition. She described her experience as an independent filmmaker who was not connected to any activist groups or movements. She found out about the contest on the Internet and won the prize. In her presentation, she noted that the Internet provided an easy forum for individuals to express themselves and reach out to the world. She also used the Internet to promote her film, and consequently won a grant for another film project. She pointed out that it is very important that new media bring sustainability to one's creations, thus making it available for discussions and perpetual availability.

Challenges

- How can those dedicated to both activism and creative work find a sustainable way to cover their living expenses? How can they assure potential donors that what they are doing is important?
- While there may be millions of Facebook users

supporting certain causes, there often is nothing happening at the grassroots. How can we bring these online activities "to the streets"?

- How can we engage ordinary people in activities by using new media as an outreach and mobilizing tool? One suggested strategy is to include ordinary people in Internet-based polling and voting to give them a sense of ownership and opportunities to make political statements.

The documentary film about the Youth Initiative for Human Right's GOTV campaign provided answers to some questions, such as how to organize a large campaign with a small amount of money, how to transfer messages to the streets, and how to use street activities to engage people in causes and campaigns.

Recommendations

- Use social networks as mobilization tools and new media as outreach tools.
- You can use a small amount of money to accomplish your objectives if you skip the intermediary (i.e., the general media) and produce content for distribution through new media and social networks.
- Don't forget to include the rural population in your activities by using more conventional media, such as radio.
- It is important to encourage artists to get involved in activism and make the cause popular. So interesting artistic content for new media and social networks should be produced.
- It is important to use new media, not so much to change people's minds, but to mobilize them to take part in causes, activities, and campaigns.

At the conclusion of the workshop, Ivan Stojanovic presented his organization's plan to develop a Web portal to allow individuals, organizations, and networks to exchange experiences and ideas, present themselves and their causes, raise funds, publish news and announcements, find relevant information for building their skills, and improve and promote cooperation on a global level. He invited World Movement for Democracy participants to use this new Web portal.

World Youth Movement for Democracy

ORGANIZER:

**World Youth Movement
for Democracy**

MODERATOR:

Dhafer Hasan – Iraqi Social
Education Team (*Iraq*)

RAPPORTEUR:

Sergio Balladares –
Movimiento Puente
(*Nicaragua*)

PRESENTERS:

Tapera Kapuya – World Youth Movement for
Democracy-Africa (*Zimbabwe*)

Mohammed Al-Maskati – Bahrain Youth Society for
Human Rights (*Bahrain*)

This workshop included about 40 members of the World Youth Movement for Democracy (Youth Movement) representing all areas of the world. Tapera Kapuya, a member of the Youth Movement Advisory Council, reviewed the history of the network, how it was founded, the values that it represents, and its core objectives, which include building the capacity of youth in developing democracy, advocacy, developing grassroots initiatives, and networking youth for the exchange of information.

Sergio Balladares and Mohammed Al-Maskati spoke about two main activities of the Youth Movement, which are the annual Youth Essay Contest and the International Youth Day for Democracy on 18 October. Mr. Al-Maskati spoke about his experience as a regional Essay Contest judge for the 2010 competition. With more than 500 essays to review, he explained the process and criteria of evaluation, as well as the announcement of winners on International Youth Day for Democracy and the prizes awarded. Mr. Balladares pointed out that 18 October has been celebrated for several years as a day to recognize the efforts of youth in democracy building and is unofficially celebrated as the International Youth Day for Democracy. Each year, the Youth Movement encourages its members to carry out activities locally, and the secretariat of the Youth Movement collects information on the events to support the effort to have the day officially recognized by the UN. Last year, events focused on cross-border activities, such as Egyptian youth showing a film on the Balkan wars and young Cuban activists wearing green in solidarity with Iranian activists, among others.

Following the presentations, participants divided into five groups to discuss thematic issues.

One group focused on Youth Movement expectations and suggested that in addition to its two core activities, the network should activate a solidarity compo-

nent. This would bring greater life to the activities. The group also raised the possibility of making the Youth Movement an entity with sub-regional groups.

A second group focused on the annual Essay Contest and presented several challenges to improving the competition, including the translation issue, which made the past contest inconvenient for some contestants. There were also suggestions regarding the selection of judges, including the possibility that previous winners be asked to serve as some of the judges, and thus give back to the activity. Several winners of the last contest suggested that the prize for the contest be changed to something other than attending a World Movement assembly, as was the case for 2010, since some viewed this simply as a free trip rather than as a networking opportunity. The group also suggested that all the submitted essays, not just the regional winning ones, should be publicized and translated, or at least summarized into a report to focus on youth problems by region and on general themes that are repeated in the essays.

The group focusing on the Youth Movement secretariat proposed a new structure to make the network more globally focused and to keep members active. The group recommended a network structure of five regional blocs, while keeping the secretariat in Washington, DC. The regional blocs would develop strong local membership and activities, while the secretariat would coordinate the blocs to keep the network operating globally.

The group focused on International Youth Day for Democracy recommended an advocacy effort aimed at official UN recognition by using the upcoming UN Year of Youth. It was suggested that making youth engagement in democracy each year last for more than one day, possibly even a week, or even from 12 August (International Youth Day) to 18 October (International Youth Day for Democracy). The Youth Movement

should also brand this day with a theme and activity that can be easily replicated globally by network members.

The workshop concluded with a determination that the Youth Movement should be region- and gender-balanced in its membership and leadership bodies, and that two thematic issues should be the focus of its efforts over the next two years: protection of young

activists and increasing knowledge of new information and communications technologies (ICTs) among youth.

The Youth Movement also issued a declaration of solidarity with several fellow young activists who are imprisoned for political reasons or who are being persecuted by their governments for being politically active.

“Democracy is . . .” Joining the Worldwide Digital Conversation

ORGANIZER:

**U.S. Department of State,
Bureau of International
Information Programs**
(IIP)

MODERATOR:

David Shelby – U.S. Department of
State, IIP (U.S.)

RAPPORTEUR:

Jean Rogers – Center for
International Private Enterprise-
CIPE (U.S.)

PRESENTERS:

Aissa Peñañiel – Winner of U.S. State
Department Democracy Video Challenge (*The
Philippines*)

Tsering Choden – Y! Magazine and Winner
of U.S. State Department Democracy Video
Challenge (*Nepal*)

How would you define democracy? All of the participants in this workshop have professional experience that shapes preconceived notions about democracy. However, when we ask this question to nonprofessionals in developing countries who are most affected by the challenges to democracy, we find somewhat different understanding. The U.S. State Department’s “Democracy is...” campaign listens to, and learns from, youth around the world to gather ideas that resonate with a young generation.

The participants discussed the Democracy is... campaign platforms, which utilize social media to gather information about the meaning of democracy in a variety of expressive forms. One platform, the Democracy Video Challenge, began a global dialogue on democracy using film. More than 1,600 filmmakers from 111 countries expressed their ideas of democracy with three-minute films. This challenge revealed young people’s strong desire to express their opinions about democratic development in their own countries. With this overwhelming response, the organizers recognized a deep hunger to discuss democracy and the “viral” capacity of social media.

The workshop, therefore, also analyzed the power of social media and how it enables people to discuss the opportunities for, and challenges to, democracy. Social media represents an evolution in new media and empowers the individual to participate in a conversation and influence the narrative. In a sense, it

is the most democratic form of media yet developed. Organizations that use communications should study the potential of social media and consider how their organizations might best make use of it in their work. The participants also discussed the rules of social media and the need for transparency and authenticity. As long as organizations accept the idea that they are part of a conversation, and not controlling it, they can use social media to collect much more credible material than they can produce internally, and can disseminate it to a much wider audience.

Two winners of the 2009 Democracy Video Challenge spoke about their experiences and described how the contest gave them a sense of empowerment and helped them realize that they can influence and empower others through their creative products. They also underscored the central point of democracy—that every individual, regardless of her or his status in society, can have an impact.

Recommendations

- Aggregate and categorize video content in an accessible online location and allow people to view it according to geographic region and thematic focus. Utilize the content as a tool for programming and as material for discussion.
- Look for ways to distribute products in traditional media, such as television and radio, and reach out to the target audience via popular local events and

venues.

- Expand into new media, such as a democracy music contest.
- Compare the language used and the priorities expressed through the Democracy is... campaign with the messages of one's own organization to identify ways to communicate better with the audience.

- Explore ways to make content accessible through file-sharing sites.
- Raise awareness of the opportunities to participate in the annual Democracy is... conversation by engaging with local groups in areas with limited Internet access.

Increasing Investment in Youth Education in Democracy

ORGANIZER:

Youngstars Foundation (Nigeria)

MODERATOR:

Eddie Jarwolo – National Youth Movement for Transparent Elections-NAYMOTE (Liberia)

RAPPORTEUR:

Eddie Jarwolo – NAYMOTE (Liberia)

PRESENTERS:

Carl Gershman – National Endowment for Democracy-NED (U.S.)

Hafsat Abiola – Kudirat Initiative for Nigerian Democracy-KIND (Nigeria)

Eddie Jarwolo – NAYMOTE (Liberia)

Hafsat Abiola described how her organization, KIND, offers leadership programs and support to young women to enable them to become active participants in building Nigeria's nascent democracy. She offered two examples of the ways the young women are helping to strengthen democracy: The first example, Zainab, is a young girl who refused to get married following high school, against her parents' demand, and instead chose to further her education. The second example, Pamela, worked with Amnesty International to disarm militants in the Niger Delta to foster a peaceful environment, which was more conducive to generating a new consensus for how the oil communities, oil companies, and the state can collaborate to achieve sustainable development and an end to state repression in the region.

In his presentation, Carl Gershman explained that he was a product of the 1960s, a period that witnessed a rebellious generation. The civil rights movement at the time was a mass struggle to change the racial situation in the U.S. and challenge the system of racial segregation. This began as a movement of young people, and led to the historic March on Washington in 1963 and eventually to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This was also the time of the Vietnam War, the sexual revolution, and the counter-culture movement. By the end of the 1960s, the movement had become bitter because young people wanted to obtain change all at once and shunned politics in which compromise is necessary.

The question, according to Mr. Gershman, is what

makes it possible for the people at the Assembly to work for a common cause? The President of Indonesia spoke about common principles, such as human rights and dignity, and that there have to be ways for those who are advancing democracy to be inclusive. Ideas about democracy building are not simple; for example, the idea of checks and balances means one person or group cannot hold all the power.

Mr. Gershman thus emphasized that it is very important that young people have a movement to join that facilitates exchanges with older members, because, he said, wisdom and "know-how" can add energy to idealism. In addition, young people should be brought into movements to learn how to involve themselves in politics, and because it is very important to be able to challenge anti-democratic ideas. Young people should look toward a lifetime of involvement in democratic politics. They should feel connected to a larger movement, and they should learn by working on real problems in society, by fighting for democracy based on human rights principles and nonviolence.

In his presentation, Eddie Jarwolo emphasized that his organization in Liberia, NAYMOTE, works to educate people to make informed choices during democratic elections and increase youth participation in political processes. He said that since 2001 his organization has been helping high school students, out of school youth, young women, and the disabled to become involved in the political and democratic processes of post-conflict Liberia. Considering the relatively fragile peace since the end of 14 years of civil

unrest in the country, which ended in 2003, most of the population still lives in poverty, there is high unemployment among the youth, and illiteracy abounds, all of which continue to challenge the government.

However, Mr. Jarwolo said that his organization has been engaging young people through information sharing, education, and communication materials, such as posters, flyers, and banners, to provide a supportive environment that will enable young people to initiate and sustain positive behavior, as well as teach them about democracy. He also said that it is very difficult to get local support for democracy and governance education initiatives; as a result, his organization could not at first secure sufficient donors for the kind of work it was doing on democracy promotion, and the organization thus struggled without funding for a long time before it received its first grant. He said if democracy is to succeed in the long term, the younger generation must be taught to value democracy as a way of life.

The following points were made during the ensuing workshop discussion:

A participant from Colombia remarked that young people are cleverer than people think. They ask what democracy is giving them on a daily basis. This is why it is hard to work with young people; most approaches are focused on the processes of democracy—the need for free elections, independent institutions, etc.—but real life poses other challenges. Colombia has one of the best democracies in Latin America, for example, but there are many people in the country who don't live a life of dignity. Having institutions and elections alone is not democracy. We have to think about teaching young people about the results of democracy, rather than just about the processes.

Education in democracy is important because it creates consciousness among youth. Funding for education is very low in Colombia, so the quality of education is not high. There is thus a need for greater investment to increase the capacity of young people to participate in society. In addition, when people face problems regarding their health, their households, unemployment, etc., democracy is made weaker. It is thus necessary to ask questions, such as, what percentage of the budget is devoted to education? Who

should be responsible for educating youth to participate in democracy? Are there sufficient spaces for youth participation?

A participant from Georgia referred to the expectation that when the Soviet Union collapsed democracy would gain. Over the years, however, there have been wars, economic crises, and political crises. Many in the older generation, the parents of today's youth, say they miss the communist system because under it everyone had work and life was comfortable. Youth are now found in two groups, those who are politically active and those who are politically passive. Georgia needs the opportunity to raise awareness of the importance of democratic participation in its political, economic, and social worlds.

A participant from Tanzania described a domestic worker rights campaign in the country. Most domestic workers are young, often below the age of 18, and face discrimination because they are usually poorly educated. They want to be recognized, as the International Labor Organization (ILO) Convention stipulates. According to the domestic workers campaign, the political system should start from a human rights perspective, and provide education that promotes the capacity of domestic workers to move freely within society. The ILO works with three stakeholders: employers, workers, and government.

At the end of the workshop, Carl Gershman offered some concluding thoughts drawn from the keynote address by scholar Amartya Sen at the Inaugural Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy in 1999. Dr. Sen identified three advantages of democracy: First, there is a protective function, according to which if you don't have certain basic rights, you cannot fight for yourself. Second, there is an instrumental function, because in a democracy you can make leaders accountable; social investments are more likely where governments have democratic mandates. Democracy gives you the opportunity to fight; it may not guarantee the result you want, but it ensures that you have an opportunity. Finally, there is also democracy's intrinsic value: it defends the principle that all people have rights. If you're going to educate young people about democracy, you have to educate them about all three of these aspects.

Freedom of Association, Assembly, and Expression

Plenary Conversation: Muted Voices, Controlled Spaces, and Restricted Funds: How to Defend Civil Society?

ORGANIZER:

World Movement for Democracy Secretariat

FEATURING:

Krzysztof Stanowski – Foundation for Education for Democracy (Poland)

Leyla Yunusova – Institute of Peace and Democracy (Azerbaijan)

Carlos Ponce – Justice Consortium (Venezuela)

Doug Rutzen – International Center for Not-for-Profit Law – ICNL (U.S.)

MODERATOR:

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

This conversation focused on restrictive environments for civil society groups around the world and ways to address them. In 2007, the World Movement launched a project, “*Defending Civil Society*,” to respond to the global trend of governments’ increasing use of restrictive legal measures to constrain civil society space. The World Movement and its partner on the project, the International Center for Not-for-Profit Law (ICNL), co-authored a report, *Defending Civil Society*, to provide illustrative examples of the measures an increasing number of governments are taking to suppress civil society work, and to articulate the international principles that have been relied upon to protect the rights of civil society groups. The report is available in several languages on the World Movement Web site (www.wmd.org).

The first part of the conversation highlighted issues of limited freedom of expression. Following the presentation of a video, created by young activists in Azerbaijan, which illustrates the political environment in the country and its restrictive NGO laws, Leyla Yunusova described how young people seek to grow “evolutionary” democracy. The arrest of the video creators, she said, is an indication of how the Azeri government seeks to mute these emerging voices calling for reform. Sharing similar examples of limited freedom of expression, Carlos Ponce described the Venezuelan government’s efforts to suppress democratic demands and how this reflects its fear of innovation by democracy activists.

In response to the moderator’s question about gov-

ernment justifications of such measures, Krzysztof Stanowski, who was Deputy Minister of Education until the eve of the Assembly, explained that “many government people are very serious about themselves,” and serious about doing their jobs to keep civil society under control. Based on his own experience as an activist before taking a government position, he warned participants that they ought to “be prepared” if they are working in countries with restrictive civil society legal environments. One should know what risks might be involved in political activities, and should be ready to take those risks before engaging in activism.

The second topic of conversation was the issue of foreign funding and restrictions placed upon it. Doug Rutzen described how dozens of governments around the world, such as Yemen, Egypt, Russia, Venezuela, and Azerbaijan, have been making efforts to restrict foreign funding for civil society groups in their countries. He also emphasized that those governments have shared knowledge and information with each other about their legal frameworks to restrict foreign funding, pointing out that very similar provisions can be found in NGO laws in a wide array of countries.

Asked what the global responses should be to the trend toward more restrictive legal measures against NGOs, Dr. Yunusova suggested that it is important to emphasize that human rights and democracy are not merely internal issues for countries. She also recommended developing cross-border solidarity and stronger global networks of democracy and human



rights activists so they can support each other in cases of attacks by governments. Mr. Ponce emphasized that democratic governments should apply democratic principles, not only in their own countries but in their foreign policies as well. He also encouraged democracy activists, particularly young activists, to continue their innovations in democracy activism. Mr. Stanowski encouraged support for government measures, where possible, to develop internal funding for civil society work, and presented the example of Poland's "1 percent tax" policy, according to which 1 percent of individual income taxes is dedicated to support Polish NGOs. Finally, recognizing the security

and economic interests of governments, Dr. Rutzen recommended that civil society groups should engage with the international community more systematically by developing an international contact group to share information about the development of restrictive legal measures and to coordinate advocacy efforts. (This idea has already been taken up by the Community of Democracies Working Group on Enabling and Protecting Civil Society, chaired by the Government of Canada, and in which the World Movement and ICNL are participating, along with CIVICUS and Article 19.)

Workshops

Supporting Civil Society Legal Reform: Best Practices for Engaging with Governments and Parliaments

ORGANIZER:

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

MODERATOR:

David Moore – ICNL (U.S.)

RAPPORTEUR:

Cecil B. Griffiths – Liberia National
Law Enforcement Association
(Liberia)

PRESENTERS:

Livingstone Sewanyana – National
Coalition of Electoral Democracy
(Uganda)

Orazio Bellettini – Grupo FARO
(Ecuador)

Ziad Abdel Samad – Arab NGO
Network for Development (Lebanon)

The workshop participants heard three presentations: Uganda, Ecuador, and the Middle East:

Uganda

Livingstone Sewanyana highlighted the challenges in Uganda regarding restrictive NGO laws and the strategies employed by civil society organizations (CSOs) to address those challenges:

- It is very important to understand the challenges and the different ways in which arguments and counter-arguments regarding the issue are made.
- Civic education is important, since it is difficult to defend civil society rights unless one knows the issues.
- Lobbying parliament is an important strategy.
- There is strength in numbers; therefore, concerted efforts should be made to create coalitions to address the issue.
- Raising issues with the regional and UN systems, including the African Commission on Human and Peoples Rights, may be an effective strategy.
- Seeking legal redress may include seeking prohibitions against the passage of restrictive laws or bringing the issue to constitutional courts.
- Not all efforts will be successful, but CSOs should nonetheless continue to engage various stakeholders.

Ecuador

Orazio Bellettini discussed the challenges and suggested strategic responses of civil society in Ecuador:

- It is important to analyze restrictive decrees in light of the law in Ecuador and international law

relating to freedom of association.

- It is important to establish a group or coalition of concerned CSOs.
- It is important to seek a dialogue with the state, where possible.
- Advocacy documents should include arguments about how a decree is unconstitutional and in violation of international law.
- Civic education is important for informing citizens about how a decree affects their rights.
- Hold in-person meetings with responsible ministries about recommendations for reform.

Middle East

Ziad Samad discussed the challenges and strategic responses in the Middle East:

- In dealing with freedom of association many factors should be considered, such as the type of state, the level of decentralization, the level of democracy and development, the political system, cultural dimensions, and whether the society is primarily rural or urban.
- The authorities' narrow definition of "security" often leads to increased restrictions; in fact, national security should not be understood only as state security, but also as human security.
- Civil society capacity should be enhanced to provide convincing alternatives in dialogues with governments and parliaments.
- Good governance within civil society is crucial if civil society advocacy is to be accepted as legitimate.
- The right to establish NGOs should be protected

without compromise, and the right to establish an independent NGO includes access to funding, which should also not be compromised.

Recommendations

Following the presentations, participants divided up into five groups to evaluate a hypothetical scenario and to respond to various questions. This exercise led to the following recommendations:

Ways to respond to government justifications for repressive laws:

- Regarding aid effectiveness, the focus should be on national ownership of aid priorities, not on government priorities. The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness stresses national ownership of aid priorities, partnership between government and civil society, and the inclusion of civil society in developing aid priorities.
- State sovereignty should acknowledge the importance of human rights as a cornerstone of both democracy and sovereignty.
- Regarding accountability and transparency, regulatory measures used by government should enhance accountability, not hinder it (for example, legal limits on the administrative expenses an

organization can charge may hinder accountability, since reporting, auditing, and governance functions are often considered administrative, rather than as program, costs).

Best practices for engaging with governments and parliaments:

- Demonstrate NGOs' commitment to government priorities, if appropriate.
- Establish NGO coalitions.
- Seek dialogue through multi-stakeholder fora.
- Internationalize the issue through outreach to donors and the diplomatic community.
- Challenge regressive draft laws through litigation or administrative commissions or ombudsmen.
- Seek engagement with allies in parliament.
- Use the media to spotlight issues or concerns.
- Build the capacity of NGOs to engage in law reform advocacy.
- Improve governance and self-regulation within the NGO sector.
- Seek reform allies in the private sector.
- Mobilize letter-writing campaigns, both domestically and internationally.

Strategies for Effecting Change in Closed Societies

ORGANIZERS:

Cuban Democratic Directorate (Cuba)
National Endowment for Democracy –NED (U.S.)

MODERATOR:

Brian Joseph – NED (U.S.)
John Suarez – Cuban Democratic Directorate (Cuba)

RAPORTEURS:

Jessica Gingerich – NED (U.S.)
Mona Dave – NED (U.S.)

PRESENTERS:

Inae Hyun – North Korean Intellectual Society (South Korea)
Joel Brito – Grupo Internacional para la Responsabilidad Social (Cuba)

This workshop focused principally on sharing experiences and identifying common issues and strategies used to advance human rights and democracy in closed societies. Instead of focusing on specific countries, participants sought to extract from their experiences common themes, tools, lessons learned, and strategies. Perspectives from a range of countries were offered, including Burma, Cuba, Iran, North Korea, Syria, Tibet, and Vietnam, among others.

Common Characteristics of a Closed Society

To develop effective strategies for countering authoritarian regimes, it is essential to understand the nature of the regime itself and its means for imposing state repression. The following are some common characteristics:

- The use and manipulation of ideology and nationalism to maintain state power control and to justify authoritarian rule.

- The use of, and reliance on, linkages and relationships among authoritarian regimes to support and protect each other from pressure and scrutiny in regional and international fora; to provide opportunities for trade and commerce, including access to banking and commercial transactions, as well as trade in illicit goods; to provide models for development and state structure as alternatives to democracy; and to share tactics and methods for controlling civil society and opposition.
- State control of the media, the security and intelligence apparatus, and the economy.
- The use of democratic tools, such as referenda, elections, and government-controlled NGOs (GONGOS) to lend a guise of legitimacy to the regime and garner public support, to hide the nature of the regime itself, and to spread state propaganda.

Strategies for Challenging the Regime's Basis of Power

Political activists working in closed societies have used a variety of methods and strategies to challenge a regime's control of power. Workshop participants identified the following issues that should be considered to develop effective strategies:

- Identify “free windows” or opportunities that can be exploited to create space for civil society to raise awareness and mobilize opposition to advance democratic reform.
- Develop strategies based on reality and a sound understanding of the regime and the major loyalties that prop it up, including economic, military, and international actors.
- Recognize the distinction between tactics and strategy. Tactics alone are not enough. How do your tactics serve or fit into both short- and long-term goals for advancing democracy? For example, one participant warned that you may achieve success in completing a difficult action, but if the success of that action ultimately serves to undermine your objectives, do you have a contingency plan?
- Understand the relationship between the exile community and internal activists. Who has the capacity and access to do what? Many in exile left their home countries because they were at the forefront of movements against authoritarian regimes, so they can still play an important leadership role. However, it's very important to maintain unity with activists inside countries, particularly since regimes often try to delegitimize exile movements. It is also important for opposition movements to ensure that

they represent different ethnic, religious, and cultural groups in their societies, as well as recognize the exile communities.

- Know your audience and develop messages carefully. Some participants suggested avoiding language that may be counterproductive, such as explicit references to democracy and human rights, and instead use terminology that appears less threatening to a regime, including focusing on a lack of transparency and accountability, issues of corruption, etc.

Strategic Opportunities for Advancing Democracy in Closed Societies

Challenging State Monopolies on Information

- There are multiple media for disseminating information in closed societies, including radio, satellite TV, print publications, CDs/VCDs, flash drives, and advanced technologies.
- Activists should keep new technologies in mind—such as working with citizen journalists and social networking (e.g., Facebook and Twitter)—as well as use traditional forms of journalism and person-to-person linkages via activist networks inside the country.
- It is important to explore openings and opportunities, and not necessarily default to the exile community as the only means of accessing independent news and information. Participants emphasized the need to find creative mechanisms for working within existing media environments despite their restrictive nature.

Opportunities Presented by Elections in Highly Controlled Environments

- The choice to participate in an election is not necessarily black and white. The challenge is to distinguish between an election that presents an opportunity for strengthening the democratic opposition in a closed society, on the one hand, and when an election would serve to legitimize the regime and the state-controlled process itself. For example, this very question confronts the Burmese democracy movement with respect to the elections in 2010.
- In the case of Iran, people did not treat the election as an ordinary process (i.e., register, campaign, vote, etc.), but more as a tactic and an opportunity to advance the demands of various sectors, mobilize the opposition, and bolster the reformist candidate. The reaction of the government to the campaign served

to strengthen the movement and further delegitimize the regime (the message changed from “return our stolen votes” to “down with the dictator”).

► Some factors can turn elections into opportunities: Can participation serve to exploit differences and factions within the regime and provide support to an alternative candidate? Can an election be an opportunity for organizing and engaging various sectors and constituencies to strengthen the opposition movement?

Engaging in Regional and International Advocacy

While participants acknowledged that change in closed societies must come from within, international efforts play an important role in providing solidarity, raising awareness, and maintaining pressure for reform. It can force governments to make concessions, such as releasing political prisoners, implementing reforms, etc. In effect, international scrutiny can save lives and can provide activists with some protection.

► International fora, including the Universal Periodic Review at the UN, often provide the only platform for civil societies to confront their governments directly with documentation about the human rights situations in their countries. Civil society should thus use the UPR process as an opportunity to raise awareness, but it must also prepare itself to counter

regime efforts to undermine this opportunity by monopolizing discussion in the forum.

► It is important to pursue both regional and international advocacy and campaigns, since regimes often protect and support each other's interests in various fora. In some regions, the regional human rights mechanism has more teeth than the UN.

► There is no simple rule on sanctions, tourism boycotts, and other strategies for isolating authoritarian regimes. While isolation may be important in some cases, it can also prevent opportunities for tourism, trade, and student exchanges, which can help undermine a regime's monopoly on information and power.

► Businesses that invest in closed societies should be made aware of whom they are doing business with and should be encouraged to provide constructive criticism of repressive regimes while engaging with them. While they may be reluctant to discuss sensitive issues outright, such as human rights, they may be willing to tackle issues specific to their work, such as labor rights.

► Authoritarian regimes often use professional lobbyists to advocate on their behalf and to help cleanse their global images. Participants discussed the idea of getting progressive public relations firms to offer *pro-bono* services to democracy groups, much as lawyers offer *pro-bono* legal services.

Defending Civil Society: Opportunities for and Challenges to Engaging the International Community

ORGANIZERS:

World Movement for Democracy Secretariat

African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies
(The Gambia)

MODERATOR:

Hannah Forster – African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies
(The Gambia)

RAPPORTEUR:

Mandeep Tiwana – CIVICUS (India)

PRESENTERS:

Dismas Kitenge – Groupe Lotus
(Democratic Republic of Congo)

Camila Asano – Conectas (Brazil)

Mandeep Tiwana – CIVICUS (India)

Carol McQueen – Dept. of Foreign Affairs and International Trade-DFAIT (Canada)

The workshop presentations focused on four main themes:

- The need for a clear and well-defined mandate for civil society to support UN and intergovernmental initiatives;
- South-South cooperation is needed to engender democratic freedoms ;

► The problem of double standards being practiced by states at international fora; and

► Challenges faced by the diplomatic community in focusing attention on certain issues.

The need for a clear and well-defined mandate for civil society to support UN and intergovern-

mental initiatives. In some situations, civil society is constrained by the lack of an institutional role for its participation in key UN and intergovernmental fora. Given this limitation, civil society groups are forced to operate, and to advise important decision-making bodies tasked with overseeing vital human rights issues, in an informal or ad hoc manner. For instance, in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the UN's security mission does not specifically mention a role for civil society groups in mediation and capacity-building activities. Not only is this an impediment to getting civil society recommendations accepted, but it also endangers civil society security, since there is no clear mandate to safeguard it. It is thus important for the international community to outline a consultative role for civil society regarding UN mandates on pressing human rights issues as has been done regarding civil society representation at the UN Human Rights Council and the African Commission on Human and People's Rights.

South-South cooperation is needed to engender democratic freedoms. The emergence of new democracies has created new opportunities for civil society to work with the international community in carrying out human rights diplomacy at bilateral and multilateral fora. A number of "southern" governments are playing larger roles in international affairs, which presents a new set of prospects, particularly for "southern" civil society groups, to express solidarity with each other and to engage their governments to encourage them to take a firmer stand on violations of human and democratic rights in other countries. For example, civil society groups in Brazil have been able to link up effectively with groups in Zimbabwe and influence the Brazilian government to voice concerns about the situation in Zimbabwe and elsewhere. In this case, the Zimbabwean government has been denied the opportunity to label scrutiny of its record as an 'imperialist western plot.'

The problem of double standards being practiced by states at international fora. Skewed voting patterns and selective engagement on human rights issues due to geo-political and strategic considerations by states greatly weakens the response of the international community to address human rights violations. This is demonstrated in cases of addressing violations in Ethiopia and Turkmenistan, as well as by voting patterns at the UN Human Rights Council on two pressing human rights issues: continued national scrutiny

of the situation in Sudan and the adoption of the Gaza/Goldstone report by the UN. It is vital, therefore, for civil society to highlight the double standards and bloc voting being practiced by states when engaging on human rights matters at the UN and other inter-governmental fora.

Challenges faced by the diplomatic community in focusing attention on certain issues. Some of the constraints faced by the diplomatic community in seeking to take strong stands on human and democratic rights in other countries stem from the concept of "respecting state sovereignty," or the need to safeguard geo-strategic and other interests; from the blurring of the lines when undemocratic norms are introduced through seemingly democratic means; from inadequate technical information; and from the internal political standing of the incumbent government in question. Local diplomatic delegations also have to abide by the view of the government, which is based on multiple considerations.

Opportunities and Lessons Learned

- Civil society must press for UN and other inter-governmental mandates regarding protection of civilian populations, which should be linked to specific protections of human rights defenders.
- Coalition building among south-based civil society groups to advance common causes is an effective strategy. States are often susceptible to pressure from other states that they view as peers or allies.
- Scrutiny of states' human rights records can be effective for bringing their foreign policies closer to public aspirations as opposed to what the states perceive to be "national interests."
- Sustained and long-term civil society engagement with diplomatic missions has yielded positive outcomes, as seen by efforts to ensure accountability for the Rwandan genocide and the adoption of the Women's Protocol in Africa. Some useful tips in this regard include identifying the correct desk to approach in diplomatic missions; avoiding the tendency to send lengthy reports rather than summary ones with clear recommendations of language that states can use productively; forming diverse and broad coalitions that carry greater weight; and getting neighboring countries, allies, and peers to address the issues.

Observations

- Coalition building and cross-border solidarity

among civil society groups is key to achieving results.

- Southern civil society groups have a growing role and influence in support of democratic initiatives internationally.
- The proactive engagement of south-based groups voicing support for democratic reform in other southern states both directly and through their governments can be an effective strategy.
- There is a need for emerging democracies and southern countries to contribute to democracy-promotion initiatives.
- Local and international civil society groups should support each other through the sharing of best practices and mutual capacity building.
- International groups and coalitions should highlight issues identified by local groups at international fora to prevent those local groups from being persecuted in their home countries.
- A multiplicity of approaches and nuanced responses to different situations is most effective. This can include direct engagement with governments in question; making use of international and regional mechanisms to best advantage; and leveraging strategic actors with influence, including intergovernmental development and financial institutions.
- There are negative trends in international diplomacy that subsume human rights concerns to the demands of trade and security.
- We must focus not only on authoritarian regimes, but on legitimately elected governments that act in undemocratic ways.

Recommendations

- A human rights caucus within the Community of Democracies should be created to swiftly respond to emerging situations.

- More linkages should be established and sustained between civil society and human rights defenders in different regions to enable consolidated responses to situations of rights violations.
- Efforts should be made to get international and regional human rights bodies and states to endorse and promote the World Movement for Democracy principles for defending civil society.
- Greater interaction, mutual support, and the sharing of best practices should be initiated among different regional human rights mechanisms (for example, the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights, as a new body, can benefit from the experiences of European, American, and African mechanisms).
- It is important to review and strengthen the work of existing international mechanisms and institutions before prescribing the establishment of new institutions.
- Civil society should continue to engage with state structures to initiate reform.
- Civil society organizations should constantly engage states on democratic reforms at meetings of various international bodies and groupings of which they are members, such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the African Union (AU), and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD).
- Civil society should avoid duplication of efforts and unify its engagement.
- A tripartite forum of civil society, donors, and states should be established to discuss issues.
- States should be encouraged to adopt policies to support human rights defenders based on the UN Declaration on Human Rights Defenders.
- Civil society should adopt a strategy for getting states to put pressure on their peers for democratic reform.

Silencing Dissent: Libel Laws and Media Freedom

ORGANIZERS:

Press Council of Indonesia
(Indonesia)

**Global Forum on Media
Development–GFMD** (Belgium)

**International Federation of
Journalists–IFJ**

MODERATOR:

Bettina Peters – GFMD (Belgium)

RAPPOREUR:

Marguerite Sullivan – Center for
International Media Assistance–
CIMA (U.S.)

PRESENTERS:

Omar Faruk Osman Nur – Federation
of African Journalists (Somalia)

Bambang Harymurti – Press Council
of Indonesia (Indonesia)

Jim Nolan – International Federation of
Journalists (Australia)

The workshop began with discussions of country and regional case studies of media freedom, self-regulation and libel laws. A particular focus was the situation in Indonesia. Since 1945 in that country, government approaches to the media have varied. President Soekarno (1945–1967) focused on establishing an Indonesian state, and the media became a tool for nation building. Media licenses were given only to political parties and government controlled news services. President Suharto (1966–1988) focused on the economy and market building, and ensured that the media was a highly regulated industry. Private radio stations were required to relay government news broadcasts, and the Ministry of Information strictly controlled licensing. President Habibie (1998–1999) initiated decentralization. He weakened the Ministry of Information and issued nearly a thousand radio broadcast licenses. President Wahid (1999–2001) empowered civil society and abolished the Ministry of Information. His successor, President Megawati Soekarnoputri (2001–2004) focused on institution building, created a Ministry of Information and Communication, and reinstated criminal proceedings against journalists. Under current President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, there is a better environment for the media; an independent press council is well functioning; and the Ministry of Communication and Information is directed more toward regulating telecommunications.

While threats to press freedom remain in Indonesia, there are a number of achievements, including the passage of a freedom of information law and the decriminalization of press libel. The voluntary Indonesian Press Council not only handles complaints, but also considers itself a national press commission for press freedom. Its role is not to protect journalists, but to protect freedom of the press, thus placing the issue of media freedom within a larger context of civil society engagement.

In the Asia region, cyber defamation is a particular threat. For example, in Malaysia, the Official Secrets Act, Sedition Act, and harsh criminal defamation are used to impose restrictions on the press, including a potential punishment of several years in prison. In Thailand, defamation legislation under the penal code is harsh and was used by the Thaksin government to silence critics. The country's *lese majeste* laws are among the strictest in the world, with 3–15 year jail terms for “defaming, insulting or threatening” the King, Queen, Heir-apparent, or Regent. The ASEAN Charter 2008 calls for protecting human rights and individual freedoms, but press freedom and free expression are not mentioned.

In Africa, terrorism laws are often used against journalists; there has been a recent increase in defamation and libel; and the governments control many press councils. Those councils that are truly independent include those in Ghana and Tanzania. In Uganda, the state-controlled press council issues licenses to journalists, and those who don't have them can be sent to jail.

Recommendations

- Develop a guide on how to use regional courts to fight libel and defamation cases.
- Share best practices, such as those in Indonesia, on how to develop a press council that is independent of government influence.
- Develop models like Indonesia's where the press council's role is to protect press freedom, not the press or media owners.
- Highlight the importance of media literacy.

Building Strategies for Civil Society in Implementing Transitional Justice

ORGANIZERS:

Alliance for Social Dialogue
(Nepal)

IDASA: An African Democracy Institute (South Africa)

MODERATOR:

Debra Liang-Fenton – U.S. Institute of Peace (U.S.)

RAPPOREUR:

Penelope Faulkner – Que Me: Action for Democracy in Vietnam (UK)

PRESENTERS:

Sushil Pyakurel – Alliance for Social Dialogue (Nepal)

Sarah Maliqi – Kosovo Initiative for Human Rights (Kosovo)

Oupa Makhalemele – IDASA (South Africa)

To identify concrete and practical recommendations for civil society organizations (CSOs) to be more effective in transitional societies, this transitional justice (TJ) workshop endeavored to examine different contexts of transitional justice mechanisms, as well as the role civil society has played in those contexts. Participants in the workshop attended from 20 countries on four continents. Presenters provided case studies representing a variety of experiences: Nepal, South Africa, Kosovo, Peru, and Guatemala. In addition, the participants had much to contribute in terms of their own work and experiences in countries ranging from Cambodia to Zimbabwe.

Although each country has its own historical narrative, the participants agreed that there are many areas of commonality, which are reflected in the challenges and recommendations below. In all the cases, participants agreed, transitional justice serves as a bridge between the past and the future.

Challenges

- Balancing peace building and justice: Sometimes the perpetrators are brought into government in an effort to bring peace (e.g., they agree to renounce violence if they are put into positions of power), but bringing former armed combatants into government means that society must be governed by those who have committed acts of violence against it.
- Building trust among those responsible for implementing a transitional justice process and those who have suffered from abuse: For instance, in the case of Peru, there was a sense of distrust in the process as a whole because the members of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission were all white, elite, and spoke Spanish, but not the native Quechua language.
- Reconciliation between the victims' families and the perpetrators that extends beyond just coming to

the same table: Reconciliation must involve a process of healing, which means sincerity on the side of the perpetrator and the willingness of the victim or the victim's family to listen and forgive.

- Bringing to light the scale of abuse when the victims represent a segment of society that is already marginalized.
- Meeting donor expectations with realities on the ground: Transitional justice (TJ) processes take a long time, but donors often expect immediate results. Implementing a TJ process too soon or too hastily can have a negative impact on the real objectives of what a TJ process should be seeking to accomplish.
- Establishing the right timing of a formal TJ process: If it's too soon, the process can lose credibility because the foundations haven't been laid properly, but if it's too late (e.g., in Cambodia), the perpetrators will have passed away or are too old to go through the process, and the victims' families will not see that justice has been done.
- Continued monitoring: Even when there is a process that has been developed and is underway, the need for monitoring remains and should be pursued.
- Eliminating structures of abuse, such as paramilitaries: This can be difficult, but it is necessary for moving forward with a process of trust building.
- Balancing restorative and retributive justice.
- Getting victims, even when they are reluctant, to come forward and share their experiences to expose abuse.
- The rhetoric around transitional justice commissions is sometimes polarizing; it can be common among activists to be overzealous with their language about punishing perpetrators. However, it is possible that in some cases immunity can be given and the process can still move forward.
- TJ processes are complex and time consuming,

and they need the political space to be carried out.

➤ A fractured civil society: This can contribute to ineffectiveness of TJ processes; if civil society groups work together in a coordinated way, and try to reach consensus on objectives, they will have a greater impact (e.g., Zimbabwe).

Recommendations

- Civil society must be actively engaged in the research and documentation process.
- Monitor peace agreements: Make sure that a code of conduct for human rights is included, as well as space for a process for redress.
- Civil society must have the capacity to play an important role in truth-seeking activities.
- Provide legal assistance to those who cannot afford their own counsel; this helps bolster and professionalize judicial systems, and can help indigenous groups make claims upon the state and help refugees pursue their rights in recovering their land.
- Civil society should launch its own advocacy and education campaigns to counterbalance those opposed to reform, especially in cases where unproductive forces are advocating against a process.
- Involve communities (and encourage their participation) in truth and reconciliation processes; design processes that are relevant to the communities.
- Involve social scientists, psychologists, sociologists, and other professionals in the TJ process: TJ processes are sometimes left to the lawyers alone, but because of the nature of the abuse and the trauma suffered by whole populations, it is important to involve a greater mix of people.
- Identify security-sector reform issues.
- Provide psycho-social and trauma support for victims.
- Create an atmosphere of support (compassion) for victims.
- Sustained monitoring of the process once a truth and reconciliation commission has been initiated is important to ensure that recommendations are implemented.
- Ensure broad victim support, including reforms

in the judicial, police, and military sectors; the medical and legal professions; the media and school systems; and other sectors that have been used to sow division and to suppress history.

- Experience sharing: Kosovo proves an interesting example in which NGOs have brought Israeli and Palestinian mothers and fathers together to speak to victims in Kosovo.
- Seek to build coordination and consensus at the local level: Try to build consensus among fractured civil society groups around what they should be doing in the process.
- Create a sharing and networking platform for best practices: This can help in identifying where people fit within the process.
- Help convey to victims that they are not alone.
- Use new media, but prudently, especially for advocacy and new initiatives.



- Engage in UN Human Rights Council advocacy; for example, with regard to the Convention on Missing Persons, civil society can advocate for more signatories and link up victims with campaigns around these kinds of conventions.
- Campaign for reforms in domestic legislation (such as land reform) so that fundamental social inequalities can be addressed.

Global Forum for Media Development – GFMD: Networking for Media Freedom in Development

MODERATOR:

Bettina Peters – GFMD (Belgium)

RAPPORTEUR:

Roby Alampay – Southeast Asian Press Alliance–SEAPA (The Philippines)

This workshop presented the Global Forum for Media Development (GFMD) to participants and outlined its structure and activities. Accordingly, the GFMD was described as a membership network with the mandate to:

- Create a platform for media development practitioners to interact with each other, as well as with donors, governments, opinion leaders, and the wider public, to enhance understanding of the importance of free, independent, pluralistic, and viable media to human and economic development.
- Promote standards common to media assistance organisations.
- Promote exchanges and partnerships between members.

GFMD's core mission is to support the creation and strengthening of free, independent, sustainable, and pluralistic media as defined by UNESCO declarations at conferences in Windhoek, Almaty, Santiago, Sana'a, and Sofia. In line with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the GFMD believes that such media are prerequisites for creating and strengthening democratic society and human development. The GFMD currently has 198 members from 85 countries.

Activities

The following are among GFMD activities:

- Map the media development field: GFMD is developing a database of all its members and their work, using a Google map to show where they are operating, their programs, and donors. The first version of the map will be published in February 2011 and will create a valuable bottom-up view of the sector, which will help avoid duplication and foster new partnerships.
- Promote the GFMD Code of Practice, adopted in

December 2009, which outlines principles of good governance for media NGOs.

- Continue publishing the GFMD Insider, a quarterly briefing that provides members with vital information on donor trends, management tips, digital technology, and in-depth interviews with media development experts.
- Continue to organise the GFMD's Regional Forums for Media Development.
- Make the case for media development to donors and governments. For instance, cooperate with the Salzburg Global Seminar; generate debate within the African Union on a Peer Review Mechanism for Media Freedom in Africa; cooperate on research into donor support; engage with the OAS on media development.
- Publish Media Matters II, a collection of the best from the GFMD Insider, including in-depth articles on new media development trends.
- Test the GFMD assessing media landscapes toolkit, which is based on UNESCO and other indicators, and which focuses on hard data and easy-to-use tools for local media development NGOs.
- Bring together media development researchers and link them to local media development groups.

The workshop discussion focused on the arguments to use and the problems media development practitioners face when dealing with donors or policy makers on media development. Participants explained that while it is relatively easy to find support for topical training (reporting on HIV/Aids, the environment, minorities, etc), it is more difficult to find support for skills training, advocacy, media law reform, or direct assistance to media organizations.

In addition, it seems that many donors are still more interested in “media or communications for development” (i.e., using media as a channel for development messages) than for developing media directly. Participants agreed that there is a need for media development to be recognized as a sector of development in its own right, like health or education.

Participants also pointed out that GFMD can help with preparing media for transition. In several countries where there are currently repressive regimes (Burma, for instance), media should be ready for a phase of transition. GFMD can provide advice and link these organizations with media development groups in countries that have already undergone transitions to democracy.

Some participants said that donors should provide

their general development programs and the NGOs that run them (for instance, on health) with advertising budgets so they can place advertising on such issues in the media rather than expect the media simply to report on them.

Arguments for Media Development

- Having a voice and the opportunity to communicate is crucial for human development. Those among the poor and in marginalized groups consistently say in surveys that they want a voice and access to information to participate effectively in democratic decision making. Media play a key role in this respect and should thus be supported.
- Supporting media simply as a channel for development messages does not produce long-term impact. For example, in Kazakhstan, money was provided to a newspaper to cover women and health; while funding was being provided, six of eight pages of the paper focused on women and health, but once funding ended, no pages were devoted to women and health.
- Quality news and journalism become ever more

important in a changing information space. Donors can support media literacy programs that explain the role of free and independent journalism in a democracy to generate broad civil society support.

- There is much support for good governance programs, and media development should be part of the initiatives being supported. The media, as the Fourth Estate, has a key role to play in exposing corruption and promoting good governance—but we first have to create the space (that is, an enabling environment with free and independent media) *before* we can talk about how to fill that space with messages.
- As many speakers at the World Movement for Democracy Assembly have said, free and independent media are a key component of a democratic society, and you cannot have free and open debate without free media.

Participants agreed that the GFMD and the World Movement for Democracy should continue to cooperate to promote recognition of the role of free and independent media in building democracies.

Liberation Technology and its Impact on the Struggle for Democracy

ORGANIZERS:

Network of Democracy Research Institutes—NDRI

Institute for Development and Social Initiatives—IDIS, “Viitorul” (Moldova)

MODERATOR:

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

RAPPOREUR:

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

PRESENTERS:

Igor Munteanu – IDIS, “Viitorul” (Moldova)

Esraa Rashid – Egyptian Democratic Academy (Egypt)

Premesh Chandran – Malaysiakini (Malaysia)

Tinoziva Bere – Zimbabwe Election Support Network-ZESN (Zimbabwe)

This workshop focused on how different types of information technology are being used to improve democratic governance, defend democracy against autocratic threats, hold leaders accountable, and promote electoral transparency. Igor Munteanu gave an overview of the “Twitter Revolution” in Moldova, in which Twitter was used as a tool to mobilize citizens and civil society to protest against the electoral fraud committed by the ruling Communist Party during the April 2009 elections. Esraa Rashid described the techniques the leaders of the Egyptian April 6 Movement used on Facebook to call for a general strike against

price increases in her country. Premesh Chandran discussed how Malaysiakini used an opening in the media environment in his country 10 years ago to create a Web site that provides an alternative source of news and information to the state-controlled media. Finally, Tinoziva Bere explained how the Zimbabwe Election Support Network used technology and parallel vote tabulation to produce election results as an alternative to the state-controlled electoral commission in his country. He also discussed the many difficulties that those who use liberation technologies in his country face.

The four presentations thus highlighted the many useful ways that information and communication technology can be used to promote the cause of democracy: providing independent sources of information; holding leaders accountable to their citizens; serving as a means to connect citizens both from across the country and in the diaspora communities; and quickly, and relatively safely, exposing corruption.

Despite the many benefits of technology, workshop participants identified a number of challenges to using it to promote democracy. Movements and campaigns created with technology alone are not likely to be successful in the long run. Strategies based on the use of Facebook and Twitter, for example, may help win the communication battles with autocratic regimes, but they will not necessarily translate into political success. While using social media is a good way to mobilize the citizenry, it is not enough to produce political change. To be successful, these campaigns need to be connected to a political movement. Besides, the right balance between access to the various forms of technology and a country's level of political openness must also be achieved before a breakthrough can occur.

Challenges

- The lack of leadership and structure to manage campaigns using new technologies.
- The threat of arrest and harassment of participants in technology-related movements despite the relatively safe nature of the technologies.
- The need for continuous creativity and innovation to stay ahead of the autocratic regimes that also use new technologies.
- The need to ensure access to technology that cannot be monitored or interrupted by the authorities.

Recommendations

- Increase funding for projects that use technology in creative ways.
- Use open source software that circumvents government control.
- Provide legal protection to modern communication tools to guard against abuses by the state.
- Use short-wave radios in areas with limited Internet access or low literacy rates.
- Increase funding for capacity-building projects that focus on training for technology strategies.

The Role of Journalists in Democratic Development

ORGANIZERS:

American Center for International Labor Solidarity–Solidarity Center (U.S.)

International Federation of Journalists (Belgium)

MODERATOR:

Aidan White – International Federation of Journalists (Ireland)

RAPPOREUR:

Nalishha Mehta – Solidarity Center (U.S.)

PRESENTERS:

Khady Cisse – Journalists Union of Senegal (Senegal)

Pedro Benitez Aldana – Journalists Union of Paraguay (Paraguay)

Omar Faruk Osman Nur – Federation of African Journalists (Somalia)

Eko Maryadi – Alliance of Independent Journalists (Indonesia)

Worker and human rights activists, trade unionists, government representatives, and NGO representatives gathered in this workshop from multiple countries to discuss the role of journalists in democratic development. When creating conditions to allow journalists to function effectively, it is important to recognize their contribution to democracy and development. Without access to credible and ethical journalism, people are unable to make informed decisions, and corruption, for instance, often remains in place. A vibrant democracy relies on the pluralist participation of all sectors of society, including journalists, and democracy flourishes best when journalists

are able to provide civil society with the information they need to formulate informed positions on economic, social, and political matters.

Observations

It is important to look at the situation of journalism in the world today and the changes that are taking place in the way people receive and give out information. In doing so, an examination of the conditions and professional environments that journalists work in is vital. In addition, with the increase in ways in which civil society receives its information, members of civil society are no longer voiceless, but are

direct participants. Journalists are becoming more and more involved in moderating, rather than leading, a conversation. To understand the specific role journalism plays is to create an information environment that builds upon democracy. In democracies, people need to be properly informed. They need information that is credible, reliable, and truthful, and they need to know where it comes from. It is not just the quality of journalism, decent wages, and safe working conditions that are at stake, but it is also a matter of ethical journalism.

Participants therefore made the following observations:

- In Latin America, at least 50 percent of journalists are without a working contract and do not work full time; they also do not receive a minimum salary and the majority depend on other forms of income. For this reason, the quality of journalism is negatively affected.
- In Africa, journalists are constantly working in environments replete with oppression, corruption, violations of press freedom, exploitation, lack of respect and understanding, lack of freedom of expression, lack of job security (one can be fired at any time), and an inability to engage in collective bargaining.
- In Indonesia, the state policy is to ensure freedom of the press, but in reality the policy does not reach all regions of the country as evidenced by acts of violence committed by public officers (police, political leaders, extremist groups, etc.).
- In countries where democracy is still developing, there is a constant threat of fear, intimidation, violence, and insecurity. Many reporters have been killed for reporting on corruption, and there is no rule of law for journalists.
- In many regions of the world, such as in Latin America, where poverty wages are paid and many journalists only get their stories published if they sell advertising to pay for it, press freedom exists in twilight conditions. If journalists want to survive, they must adapt to working simultaneously on all platforms – radio, television, online, and newspaper. They must be skilled experts at all the technical tasks, including climbing the radio mast to repair the transmitter if necessary.
- More experienced journalists work under the threat of losing their jobs to younger, less experienced journalists who are underpaid but have multi-media skills.
- Lack of respect and ethics is a critical internal professional problem for journalists.
- There are issues of impunity concerning those

who violate a journalist's freedom to report.

- Examining ethics and anti-corruption: In many parts of the world, many journalists are resorting to self-censorship, which has a chilling effect because it denies the people's right to know and weakens the "watchdog" role of media in democracy. In addition, pressure inside the media business can be just as destructive to journalism. Poverty wages, bribery, and corruption in the job market are all part of the story in many countries. The struggle for ethical journalism is not made any easier when employers and media managers are dishonest in their political and business affairs and there is little transparency in the ownership of media.
- Trade unionism is solidarity based on principles. Unions can defend an individual and assist in her or his defense and safety, build structures for dialogue, and provide important instruments for anti-corruption efforts, such as the "brown envelope" model of not accepting bribes for reporting. Unions are also ready to denounce those who attack journalists.
- How do we confront the challenges of building unity among journalists and defend the social and professional rights of journalists where there isn't a national journalist association? Trade unions are a way to get journalists to work together, and decent working conditions have not prevailed without them.
- Journalist unions are also a way to improve the profession. They are based on work and are thus the only journalist organizations with the mentality of a worker. For example, in Indonesia, the union has been instrumental in developing a new culture of unionism within media and is convinced that collective action is the key to eradicating corruption and protecting journalists' rights.

Recommendations

- Those working in journalism must maintain the integrity of the profession.
- Coalitions between civil society and journalism should be developed to help ensure a stronger relationship of engagement.
- Promote civil society trust in the media because journalism has traditionally functioned outside of civil society and it is necessary to overcome this obstacle.
- Build coalitions within the journalism world, as well as create new links between independent journalism and civil society to build trust in media.
- Anti-corruption campaigns: build a social dialogue inside media management including

developing a new relationship with media employers. Raise awareness of the pressures on journalists and need for public support to counter impunity and corruption inside media.

- Develop new accountability systems for journalism to encourage self-rule in journalism, to mediate disputes with media, to advocate better laws and rules governing media, and to lead national campaigns for media literacy and education.
- Establish a framework for social dialogue among media management, government, and unions to provide collective agreements and protections for social rights of journalists and media staff.
- Campaign for the rule of law.
- Challenge impunity over attacks on journalists, repeal laws that restrict journalism, encourage

more investment in training and media literacy, and build respect for public service values so that state-supported media operate independently.

- Introduce programs for media development in all national development strategies to ensure that free expression, freedom of association, public rights to information, and high standards of journalism are made an integral part of economic, social, and democratic development.
- Promote ethical and professional journalism.
- Monitor the work of media and increase media literacy.
- Mediate disputes without fear of intimidation or loss of employment.
- Raise awareness of threats to journalists among NGOs and donor organizations.

Achieving NGO Accountability and Sustainability: What Works?

ORGANIZERS:

CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation

TIFA Foundation (Indonesia)

MODERATOR:

Anabel Cruz – CIVICUS (Uruguay)

RAPPORTEUR:

Mickael Hoelman – TIFA Foundation (Indonesia)

PRESENTERS:

Gabriela Muñoz – Centro Ecuatoriano de Derecho Ambiental–CEDA (Ecuador)

T. Undarya – MONFEMNET (Mongolia)

This workshop primarily discussed two topics: NGOs sustainability and NGO accountability. Accountability is a mechanism through which NGOs can demonstrate their capacity and ability. The discussion revolved around how accountability is related to the overall sustainability of NGOs, as well as why and to whom NGOs should be accountable. Participants noted that accountability is a working process that is important for NGOs to build up their legitimacy. T. Undarya addressed the issue of governance within organizations, while Gabriela Muñoz emphasized the relationship between accountability and sustainability.

In recent years, the issue of NGO accountability has caught the attention of development actors. In Mongolia, for instance, accountability means accountability within an organization itself; accountability within the NGO community; accountability to donor organizations; and accountability to the people. In 1997, Mongolian NGOs were introduced to a very simple model of accountability: having a structure composed only of a board of directors and staff. However, with such a structure it is possible for NGOs to be held hostage by their boards. Consequently, it

is easy to find NGOs that are not necessarily bad in their program implementation, but may simply have a weak accountability structure. Given this, Mongolian NGOs promoted peer accountability through mutual reviews, the results of which were published and then used for further planning. This type of peer review process is now conducted annually on January 21st, which has come to be known as “NGO day.”

Regarding NGO sustainability, like other countries Mongolia also experiences the problem of a lack of funding for institutional support, such as office rental, electricity, etc. This is a major sustainability issue. The refusal of donors to provide administrative support has spurred NGOs into pushing for their own accountability, and Mongolian NGOs are now looking to the government to produce state regulations ensuring NGO sustainability.

In Ecuador, all forms of association are legally recognized under Article 95 of the Constitution. However, in 2008, the government tried to implement mechanisms to exert governmental control over NGOs. One such mechanism was Decree 92/2008, which stipulates that NGOs must be officially registered. The government

argued that it was simply a way to avoid corruption and to allow NGOs to improve their efficiency. This led to a debate about corruption among civil society actors. Today, NGOs are trying to challenge the decree and are proposing an open accountability system that would be voluntary and inclusive. The experience has taught them that government limitations of NGOs can threaten accountability. Rather than producing laws or regulations that limit the political space for NGOs, it is better for the government to provide clear guidelines for how NGOs should be held accountable. Governmental threats can motivate NGOs to incorporate accountability into their organizations, and accountability can then become a tool to identify weaknesses and generate change at the organizational level.

The workshop presenters also described the relationship between accountability and legitimacy. Civil society often has strong ethical values, but is rarely able to apply them well in practice. How, then, can NGOs promote accountability and sustainability?

Challenges

The workshop identified internal capacity as the initial requirement to ensure NGO accountability. The nature of NGO work means that NGOs cannot compromise on this requirement easily. The practical challenges to developing sufficient internal capacity have in many ways been influenced by the wide range of governmental regulations in the domestic context. Regulatory frameworks are important for organizational governance, and there must be regulations imposing minimum standards of governance. Other practical challenges include the need for voluntary codes of conduct (required by law in many countries), donor standards, and even ways to ensure accountability for individual personal decisions.

The challenge of donor standards and the minimum requirement of NGO accountability have allegedly contributed to undermining not only NGO sustainability, but accountability as well. Tight regulations regarding the donors' finances, for instance, often prevent them from providing funds to improve an NGO's institutional system of accountability. This often creates tension between the competing priorities of pursuing projects that produce results and improving the organizational capacity of an NGO to ensure its accountability. It is therefore important for NGOs to set their own agendas for development.

There is no consensus among donors and international NGOs on how to address the need for accountability and sustainability. Due to strict standards,

NGO accountability to donors can only be undertaken by experienced or well-established NGOs, but not as well by smaller or new ones. In general, donor organizations are run by hired professionals, while NGOs are usually run by young people who simply have the ambition to help people and are not as concerned about accountability. Recently, international initiatives, such as Publish What You Fund, have been created to meet the need for donor accountability.

The imbalanced relationship between donors and NGO recipients has grown over the years. In some ways, it minimizes the ability of NGOs to become sustainable in the long term. But the general condition of donor-NGO relationships does not necessarily reflect this imbalance. In post-conflict environments, for instance, the highest paid jobs are in NGOs. This has led to suspicion that NGOs are in fact for-profit organizations, which has resulted, in turn, in governments regulating and standardizing NGOs. Apart from receiving financial support from donors, NGOs also carry out economic activities to bring in unrestricted funds for their organizational missions.

Recommendations

- Hold discussions between donors and their recipients. This is important for addressing the accountability and sustainability challenges that NGOs face.
- Conduct a comparative political economy study on civil society funding.
- All parties must develop consultative measurement indicators.
- Promote government funding, through subsidies, of NGO activism. The funds can be designated as a portion of income tax that is set aside specifically for NGOs. For instance, national fiscal legislation can mandate that 2 percent of income tax is set aside for NGOs to cover their administrative costs. A similar financing scheme can be considered for an international fiscal system, through which global financing is provided for civil society organizations.

The workshop concluded that it is important to take a holistic approach when it comes to NGO accountability and sustainability, and there are no magic solutions. NGO leaders must work at different levels with different ranges of stakeholders, and they must also gain governmental support.

Addressing Online Security Challenges

ORGANIZERS:

iBelarus.net (*Belarus*)

Southeast Asian Center for e-Media—SEACEM (*Malaysia*)

MODERATOR:

Alaksiej Lavoncyk – iBelarus.net (*Belarus*)

Sean Ang – SEACEM (*Tibet*)

RAPPORTEUR:

Alaksiej Lavoncyk – iBelarus.net (*Belarus*)

PRESENTERS:

Usha Venkatachallam – Women's Learning Partnership for

Rights, Development and Peace—WLP (*India*)

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

Ali Afshari – Iranian Democratic Students Association, George Washington University (*Iran*)

The workshop focused on the following questions, among others:

How secure is Skype for communications among activists?

It is easy to delete the history of conversations on Skype, and in this way chat messages between users will not be available to others. However, security becomes an issue if a valid “security certificate” is not available. It is thus advisable for the user to use a system that allows encryption plug-ins to be installed.

How can the issue of multiple attacks on Web sites be addressed?

One solution is to work with the Web-hosting company to reject requests according to certain limitations. Another method is to set up an alternative or “mirror” Web site, and then use that if the original site is unavailable. Appropriately managing bandwidth is another way to address the issue of a sudden Internet attack. By using “cloud computing,” that is, integrating a cluster of computers over the Internet, one can distribute requests across a series of computers to prevent the site from shutting down.

What policy interventions can be carried out by media organizations to increase the security of activists?

There is a dire need to increase awareness among activists and journalists about online security issues. This can be done by distributing written guidelines and organizing workshops. There is also a need for a concerted effort to lobby public services, such as Yahoo!, to implement the SSL standard. Furthermore, there is a need to reduce the number of security certi-

fication authorities (there are presently more than 265 companies) to one that is more manageable.

What is the best way to protect an activist on the Internet?

Activists should not use their real names and identifying information when registering online, and should consider using different Internet cafés to avoid detection. It is also advisable for an activist not to work directly on the Internet, but to type up their work at home, save it on a USB thumb drive, and then upload it into an email.

How secure is it to use the Internet in Wi-Fi areas?

It is not safe to use Wi-Fi, but compared with LAN it is safer. Activists are advised to use protection keys set to the strongest security in their browser.

How safe is it to use a fax machine?

Fax machines are not secure because fax machines can be tracked in the same way as a typical telephone. The alternative is to use fax over Skype or Miranda.

Is it true that once a mobile phone battery is drained of power authorities can still track the phone?

Tracking individuals through their mobile phones is the most common tracking technique. If the battery is drained, there is still a passive battery in the phone that enables the phone to be active. Therefore it is not safe.

How can we protect our partners who are working in hostile environments?

The most important step is to use a safe email service or encryption services. In addition, other non-technical solutions, such as using multiple identities, can also help. It is also crucial for media organizations to develop security plans for their communication strategies.



Making Democracy Work

Preparing for Transitions: What to Keep, What to Change, and What to Expect

ORGANIZERS:

People in Need Foundation
(Czech Republic)

Europe XXI Foundation
(Ukraine)

MODERATOR:

Igor Blazevic – People in Need Foundation (Bosnia)

PRESENTERS:

Nadira Eshmatova – Youth Human Rights Group (Kyrgyzstan)

Igor Munteanu – IDIS Viitorul (Moldova)

Krzysztof Stanowski – Foundation for Education for Democracy (Poland)

Yulia Tyshchenko – Ukrainian Center for Independent Political Research (Ukraine)

Melinda Quintos de Jesus – Center for Media Freedom and Responsibility (The Philippines)

Yuri Dzhibladze – Centre for the Development of Democracy and Human Rights (Russia)

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

Isaac Maposa – Zimbabwe Institute (Zimbabwe)

Emad Ramadan – Egyptian Democracy Institute (Egypt)

Orlando Gutierrez-Boronat – Cuban Democratic Directorate (Cuba)

This workshop focused on why it is so difficult to consolidate and strengthen democracy in countries after democratic breakthroughs. Why is it that in such countries we either see increasing democratic backsliding to new forms of authoritarianism or we see that they remain weak democracies in which people's expectations are not met? In either case, most citizens and civil society actors who suffer under such conditions feel disenchanted, disappointed, and betrayed.

We might, of course, conclude that the life cycle of democracy involves being born, going through childhood illnesses, and then going through an inevitable hangover after all the euphoria. We could note, for instance, that democracy building takes at least two generations (as Vaclav Havel noted on the 20th anniversary of the Velvet Revolution), or even that democracy building is a never-ending process. Recent events in Kyrgyzstan, which brought the country to the edge of civil war, the return of Yanukovich to power in Ukraine, the rise of Putin's authoritarianism, the long struggle in The Philippines to keep their democracy alive, and the power-sharing deals in Zimbabwe and Kenya, are posing serious questions, which cannot be given simple answers about democracy. Even in established democracies like the Czech Republic, we can observe deep frustrations of citizens who have been turning against all well-established parties.

Observations

The large-scale protests and violent clashes in Kyrgyzstan caused by the President's corruption and nepotism, and triggered by a dramatic increase in energy and utilities prices, led to a change in the balance of forces in favor of the opposition and put the country on the verge of civil war. Still, there is no clear answer as to why the Tulip Revolution in that country resulted in a lack of improvement from the previous regime. What should have been done differently by democrats, and what should democrats do to avoid a repeat of the scenario in the future? International financial institutions should play a stronger role, since they all refer to the need for democracy and respect for human rights in their agreements with the Kyrgyz government. International institutions should be urged to put greater pressure and conditionality on the region's governments to ensure their respect for democracy and human rights. There should be a stronger diplomatic reaction from the West calling for democratic principles to be upheld, and there should be a linkage of the dialogue between the West and the region's governments to the latter's performance on democracy.

Democratic transitions are not just the business of elites. Whole societies should be involved to ensure that transitions succeed. There is a high risk of elites coming to power with democratic slogans but then

using their access to power to gain personal wealth. In many cases, the high level of corruption in post-breakthrough countries, such as Ukraine, the political elites' inability to agree on transition goals, and their non-democratic behavior, make people ambivalent, disappointed in democracy, and more prepared to welcome back a leader with a "strong hand." People highly value democratic freedoms, and civil society should work to maintain realistic hopes and preserve the demands for change.

Democratic backsliding in countries in transition can be caused by a number of factors. In Russia, it has been caused by the failure to develop a national vision for a democratic system. The political community has lacked a plan, vision, and strategy. The focus on economic reforms has led to a neglect of building democratic institutions and the rule of law. Governing by decree has created the temptation to solve problems fast and single-handedly. Reforms were initiated in the name of democracy, but implemented in non-democratic ways. As a result, the people have become alienated from the process. They have seen political leaders being inefficient and neglectful of the rule of law, and are disappointed with democracy. The people have been falsely told that the non-democratic manner of implementing reforms is part of building a democratic state.

Indeed, following transitions the freedom in many countries declines. The problems that characterize this trend are extensive corruption, weak rule of law, poor constitutional designs that do not allow problems to be addressed, inadequate protection of minority rights, and a very heavy concentration of power. By anticipating such possible problems and proposing ways to address them in designing or reforming constitutions, civil societies can better prepare themselves to ensure that functioning institutions and instruments are in place when the democratic breakthrough occurs.

Recommendations

- There should be a clear vision among democrats of what they want to achieve. They should discuss this vision with the people and gain their support. They also should have a clear plan on how to implement that vision.
- A contract between civil society and the broader population is needed before a breakthrough, which demonstrates how the leaders who come to power afterward will take responsibility and deliver.
- Democrats should prepare for post-transition

problems they are likely to face. There should be broad analysis and consultation in advance of a democratic breakthrough.

- Democrats should be prepared for a long transition and for the possible disillusionment of the people, and should strive to keep momentum and the spirit of the transition alive.
- The return of authoritarianism is made easier by the decline of democratic political voices and political parties, which leads to the emergence of anti-party politics. Strong democratic political parties are thus crucial for maintaining democratic political processes.
- High moral values among those in the opposition and democratic leaders are critical for maintaining credibility when the opposition gets into government, pursues the necessary reforms, and brings the people together.
- Time may be limited; therefore, democrats should think long-term, prepare well in advance, and have draft proposals and policies ready to present to the people as soon as the window of opportunity opens.
- Democrats should develop scenarios of how a transition can happen, how to have an impact on pressing problems in the country, and the logical steps that can be taken toward reform.
- The creation of a democratic constitution with a clear system of checks and balances is crucial for successful transitions. Civil society can develop generic types of constitutions to offer choices among different institutional designs.
- Those in oppositions should learn from the lessons and examples of others, and should read the literature on post-transition constitutional designs, since understanding best practices in constitution making can be of great help.
- Early institutional reform should be on the agenda of a transition. This would include creating institutions for accountability, elections, the monitoring of public finances, fighting corruption, and the monitoring of government performance to mobilize public support for transparency and good governance. To reduce the chances of possible backsliding, institutions should be established to safeguard post-transition democracy, such as a strong and independent judiciary and bodies to protect human rights.
- Democrats should make the local population aware of the causes and consequences of the failing transformations of their states, and prepare them for a transition to a modern democratic state.

Scholars and students are key target audiences for awareness-building efforts.

- New technologies and new forms of accountability should be learned and used to monitor government.
- Capacity-building is important for maintaining and enlarging the ranks of civil society with new activists, especially if leading activists move into post-breakthrough government positions.
- Realistic time-frames are needed for transitions, and reform agendas should be carefully structured to respond to different possible scenarios.
- It is important to keep the people engaged after a breakthrough occurs and to give them some decision-making powers. In particular, at the local level, decision making on many practical issues should devolve to the local people. Communities should be organized around issues that matter to them, such as water, education, health care, etc. There should be no false expectations that “good” democratic authorities will take care of everything.
- To prevent the risk of having the whole opposition movement destroyed by repression, several sets of institutions and movements, operating independently but communicating extensively, should be engaged to ensure continuity of the efforts.
- The people should understand that freedom is something you cannot get for free, and citizens should thus be prepared to pay for it, even the price of an underground leaflet. Democrats should explore ways to support people who lose jobs as a result of their involvement in protests and the families of those who are jailed.
- A genuinely multiparty system should be developed, including capable political parties that are ready to compete for power.

- Strong enticements to democratize, such as the promise of European integration for East European states, can be used to improve the performance of government and restore constitutional order.
- Civil society should update and develop its role in transitions, not only as a watchdog but also as a generator of policy ideas and monitor on whether and how government delivers.
- It is important to help the media remain impartial and to serve as a mechanism to channel different voices throughout a transition. The role of professional public information work is crucial to keep the government accountable and to make people feel that they are involved. In addition, journalists should learn about the very complex processes that are undertaken throughout a transition and should feel responsibility for the media influence on society. The media should undertake particular tasks, including educating journalists about democracy and democratic transitions, as well as specific policy issues; developing “context reporting”; and developing the analytical function of the press (in addition to news reporting about the transition).
- The media should network, and journalists should talk to each other, if possible in fora where exchanges are more likely. There is also a need for self-regulatory mechanisms through which journalism is reviewed, the media is monitored, and those in the media can engage with the broader society.
- Geopolitics matter, and timely action is very important, since windows of opportunity for successful reform can be very short.
- The problems of a country can only be solved by the citizens themselves; outsiders cannot accomplish the transition for them.

Workshops

Making Democracy Work : How to Ensure Citizen Engagement in Policy Making?

ORGANIZERS:

Yappika: Civil Society Alliance for Democracy (Indonesia)

Mouvement Citoyen (Senegal)

MODERATOR:

Abdi (Yenni) Suryaningati – Yappika (Indonesia)

RAPPORTEUR:

Sulastio – Indonesian Parliamentary Center (Indonesia)

PRESENTERS:

Mutmainah Korona – Women and Children Care Community of Central Sulawesi (Indonesia)

Penda Mbow – Mouvement Citoyen (Senegal)

Inna Pidluska – Europe XXI Foundation (Ukraine)

Salah Aziz – American Society for Kurds (Iraq)

Why is public engagement in policy making important? What do we expect to see?

By participating in policy making, citizens help ensure that their needs and interests are taken into account in decision-making processes that affect their lives at both the national and local levels. Citizens should participate because in many countries political parties are not effective enough to voice the needs and interests of their constituents, and in such cases the public should engage directly in policy making. Candidates' promises during elections are often set aside after they are elected, and only through public engagement can the public actively demand the fulfillment of those promises. Although not all citizens wish to join political parties, or to become a political party's constituents, they still need opportunities to voice their interests and needs through various channels and mechanisms.

Public participation also enhances citizens' recognition of their responsibility to take action to improve their lives and the provision of basic social services. Furthermore, public engagement improves the political position of marginalized or vulnerable groups, such as women, youth, and minorities that are often not taken into consideration. Public engagement is also a process for educating decision makers (in parliament and government) about important social issues and citizens' pressing needs that parliaments and governments must address. Parliaments also need information from communities about their needs and interests as members of parliament seek re-election.

Not all policies, laws, regulations, procedures, and decisions made by government officials are made in consultation with parliament, and many policies are

made in between election cycles. Therefore, public participation enhances citizens' control over decision-making processes that affect their lives.

When the public participates in policy making, power becomes decentralized; public engagement brings access and control over local development to local citizens. Public participation also enhances citizen ownership of development processes, increases the sense of citizenship, and results in better implementation of development programs.

What has been done to encourage public engagement? What should civil society do to bring about greater public engagement in policy-making processes? What are the forms, models, and mechanisms for participation? What are the contributing factors for, and challenges to, meaningful engagement and participation?

Public engagement can take various forms, such as acting as a watch-dog, lobbying and advising the parliament and government on policy changes, developing and implementing alternative models of development, analyzing budget and expenditures to ensure they include gender analysis, and holding consultation sessions (such as bringing members of parliament together with their constituents in regular public meetings to discuss emerging issues).

Civil society organizations (CSOs) are equipped with the knowledge and skills to conduct civic education and capacity development for communities (including contributing to community empowerment); to mediate dialogues among government, political leaders, citizen groups, the private sector, etc.; to monitor development



programs and publish the results; and to develop and promote policy recommendations. It is also evident that CSOs have better capacity to engage with the government in comparison to political society. In some countries, CSOs have a better understanding of the community's development priorities, since they are working at the community level and often facilitate community-led assessment processes and development planning. Therefore, their recommendations to governments are often based on empirical data and information from the communities. In addition, due to their wide networks (including international NGOs), CSOs are usually more equipped with various instruments to promote good democratic governance than political parties. Therefore, they often can suggest concrete agendas and mechanisms to governments to improve democratic practices.

Challenges

- Apolitical societies. Most members of society are reluctant to be political and acts of public engagement are often seen as political. In several countries, participation in general elections alone is perceived to be public engagement rather than participation in all aspects of policy-making processes with the goal of effecting change. Furthermore, it is often difficult to relate engagement to positive change in everyday life.
- Lack of capacity to engage. There is usually only limited knowledge within society of policy-making processes and limited knowledge and skills to communicate constructively with decision makers. Exercising policy engagement is thus an important strategy to enhance capacity.
- The commitment and continuity to act to effect intended changes is usually limited, since creating an environment for meaningful participation can

be a long struggle with few resources.

- It is difficult to be creative and to adjust strategies to change the political environment.
- CSOs need to remain neutral and not be pushed into political power.
- CSOs need to maintain independence from donor agencies, ensure accountability, and build strong constituencies.
- Low public trust in government for not fully taking into consideration community ideas on priority areas for development; not fulfilling promises they have made in community meetings; the corruption of development budgets by state and local government bureaucracies; and bidding processes designed to maintain accountability resulting in government projects being contracted to the allies of those in government, etc. There is also growing skepticism towards participation as a means to deliver change. Citizen participation often means mobilizing attendance; community members or representatives of community groups are invited to meetings only to fulfill the requirement of consultation with communities, but not really to obtain input to improve government priorities.
- Exclusion of most marginalized and vulnerable groups, which are often left out of political processes.

Recommendations

- Create policies and formal mechanisms for public engagement.
- Ensure strong and accountable political parties and political leaders.
- Secure media freedom.
- Make civic education inclusive.
- Support constituency building for political parties and political leaders.
- Establish creative ways of engagement, such as promoting a circle of learning that involves various actors (government, CSOs, political society, etc.).

Informal Education for “Home-Grown” Democracy

ORGANIZERS:

Indonesia Community for Democracy—KID (Indonesia)

Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy—NIMD (The Netherlands)

Idasa: An African Democracy Institute (South Africa)

MODERATOR:

Ratih Hardjono – KID (Indonesia)

RAPPOREUR:

Olmo von Meijenfeldt – Idasa (South Africa)

Sugeng Bahagijo – KID (Indonesia)

PRESENTERS:

Noxolo Mgudlwa – Idasa (South Africa)

Ignas Kleden – KID (Indonesia)

In his opening presentation, Ignas Kleden explained the history and work of the Indonesia Community for Democracy (KID) and its schools for democracy. It has five locations throughout the Indonesian Archipelago, including three new schools; the rationale of the schools is that optimum democracy equals a high quality of participation and quality of discourse; the schools’ content includes knowledge, values, and skills; the methodology is carried out both in class and out of class; participants represent business, civil society organizations, political parties, and government bureaucracies, and women comprise 30 percent; there are nine modules; there are some 400 alumni of the schools, a number of whom were elected to local parliaments in the 2009 election at the district level; and the main strategy is to reform from below to strengthen democracy in the country.

Noxolo Mgudlwa described the background of civic education and the struggle for democracy and the challenges faced during the current consolidation process in South Africa. She then introduced Idasa and its iLEDA Schools for Democracy program. The iLEDA program consists of the Academy for Political Leadership and the School for Democracy (or citizen leadership), which has been in operation in South Africa for 10 years; iLEDA Schools also operate in Malawi, Zambia, Swaziland, Mozambique, and Angola. Ms. Mgudlwa also remarked that democracy should be nurtured and maintained, because it is not just given as a final product. Citizens should play their role actively on a daily basis. She also pointed out that many of the alumni of the Schools have already occupied important roles, for instance, as representatives in local government, among others.

During the workshop discussion, a participant from Afghanistan generated discussion of concerns about how democracy education is viewed as outside inter-

ference by foreign forces, and that it is sometimes seen as an attempt to change people’s religion and harm Islam.

The issue of how to ensure understanding and acceptance of the Schools for Democracy among local authorities was also discussed. Buy-in and acceptance by local authorities is important for civic education for democracy to ensure sustainability of the trainings; local authorities can be stumbling blocks and work against the training implementation if they perceive the trainings as a threat to their positions or power bases. Both Idasa and KID Schools therefore engage in confidence building measures in direct interaction with such authorities. The media is also used to promote and provide information about their work, but this still remains a challenge: getting local authorities to understand and support the Schools for Democracy.

Several practical stories were presented as examples of the challenges KID has faced in implementing Schools for Democracy in areas where conservative Islamic groups have worked against the program. In response, KID has worked with a senior Islamic scholar to formulate concrete responses to questions such as “If Islam has the same values as democracy, why do we need democracy?” Again, local media are used to assist in broadening the understanding of the values of democracy.

Similar experiences and approaches were shared from Afghanistan, where Mullahs are involved in broadening the scope for increasing popular acceptance of democracy.

Post-Training Challenges

Idasa spoke about the challenges in providing post-training support for trainees. One question is whether there is a need to provide further support to trainees, or whether the training itself is enough. In answer to

this question, both KID and Idasa believe it is important to provide follow-up support for trainees to strengthen the impact of their training, but both organizations are confronted with challenges in doing so:

- Continued support might impede the initiative and resourcefulness of trainees;
- Should trainees be bound organizationally to the School as alumni? What would this mean if they begin to use alumni structures for their own purposes?
- Does such an alumni structure work to ensure that people adhere to the principles of the Schools? (KID is of the opinion that social peer pressure and internal control mechanisms can be created through the alumni network.)

General Challenges

- How to make the best use of alumni as a pool of change makers and potential democracy ambassadors?
- It is necessary to ensure that local democracy is seen and appreciated as home-grown.
- How can the fear that seems to persist among some authorities about the Schools be mitigated and

how can we guarantee their participation and support?

- It is important to ensure safety, sustainability, and participation in conservative or anti-democratic environments.
- The Indonesian Schools face the challenge of presenting modules that are often deemed too intensive and thus exclusionary for some participants. (Both schools have selection criteria, including literacy).
- Can business and politics go together if business influences governance so it is used in favor of business?

Conclusion

Schools for Democracy provide critical support for strengthening participation, initiative, and dialogue for democracy on the local level in both southern Africa and Indonesia. They use a bottom-up approach, including local participation of CSOs in the implementation of courses, which caters to local specificity to strengthen home-grown democracy. This home-grown aspect of the Schools for Democracy ensures that democracy is not seen as a foreign and imposed doctrine.

How Can Business Foster Civic Leadership?

ORGANIZER:

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

MODERATOR:

Jean Rogers – CIPE (U.S.)

RAPPOREUR:

Eric Hontz – CIPE (U.S.)

PRESENTERS:

Jesus Estanislao – Institute for Solidarity in Asia (*The Philippines*)

Daniel Cordova – Instituto Invertir (*Peru*)

The consolidation of democracies remains one of the key challenges for the development community. Increasingly, reformers are turning to the concept of “democracy that delivers,” which means that having democracy on paper is not enough; we must put into place institutions that make democracy work on a daily basis for ordinary citizens. Democracy that delivers means that citizens must realize tangible outcomes of democracy; electoral promises must translate into policies; public officials should be held accountable for their action or inaction; and citizens at all levels of society must have opportunities to participate in public policy.

Democracy is more than a matter of elections; it's also about how decisions are made in between elections. The objective of public decision making is to

create transparency, understanding, and debate, as well as genuine cost-benefit analysis. When that does not happen, authoritarian leaders can simply make the legislature rubber-stamp their decisions. This has been the case in many Latin American countries; for instance, a culture of low expectations for democratic governance has become the norm, poisoning economic policy making and the delivery of basic services to citizens. Without effective economic policy, markets cannot take root and deliver growth and prosperity on a widespread, sustainable basis, and democracy is put at risk as a result.

The most recent *Freedom in the World 2010* report from Freedom House concluded that, for the first time since the fall of the Berlin Wall, more countries have seen a decline in political freedom than an

increase. What this reveals is a global political crisis intertwined with the global economic recession. New challenges to stability are emerging around the world, especially in the newest democracies. But along with these challenges come new opportunities to support democratic development and connect it to the broader development debate.

A democracy that delivers is one in which governance institutions work hand-in-hand with the marketplace for sustainable economic growth. No matter the size of their share of economic growth, citizens become stakeholders in their political and economic institutions. From the rule of law to educational systems, citizens have an interest in the mechanisms that inform decision making and generate economic growth. Stakeholders are also invested in the peaceful resolution of disputes when they have something to lose. Economic growth thus builds stakeholders in peace and stability.

Challenges

- How can a government, faced with rampant corruption and an inheritance of decades of poor governance, meet the demands of the citizens who elected them? The government must work together with the private sector to deliver the goods and services that are expected of them. Business and society share the same aim, which is to deliver growth and personal fulfillment through access to meaningful employment. Democracy and markets are like yin and yang—each must balance the other and needs the other to survive.
- A challenge in Latin America is that democracies are seen as populist and these governments fail in economic management while authoritarian regimes are perceived to manage economies better (e.g., under Pinochet, Chile had a frightening authoritarian system of governance that smothered democratic institutions and personal freedoms, yet the country consistently posted strong economic growth). The challenge facing those who wish to promote democracy is to change the perceptions of democracy among citizens and business people. For example, civil society in Latin America is becoming splintered by false democratic governments, as in Venezuela. These governments are elected in a “democratic” manner, but then dismantle the institutions that are vital to a sustainable democracy. The idea held by some in business, that “a little corruption is okay” or a strong hand is necessary to guide economic growth, needs to be disputed in

public in a forceful manner.

➤ Corruption is a problem in both authoritarian regimes and in Latin America’s “social democracies.” Social democracies often place increased regulation on business, which gives power and incentive to bureaucrats to engage in rent seeking activities, while authoritarian regimes concentrate wealth and opportunity in a select few. Autocratic regimes may be perceived as “efficient,” but there is a hidden price to pay in cronyism that is often hidden from the public view. The East Asian experience of authoritarian capitalism, however, is not as clear-cut as many pundits would make it out to be, and further investigation into the true economic successes and costs of this system is needed.

➤ We need to bring ourselves down from the lofty ideals of democracy to focus on the day-to-day operations of society. If we, as active agents of change in civil society, only work on these issues at the ideological level at the top, we ignore the basic fundamentals of a democracy that delivers to citizens at the more practical level. Instead of criticizing and fence sitting, we must move toward involving more people in their local government. This is vital for making elected politicians more accountable. The business community also needs a strong partner in local government to move forward on resolving conflicts and disputes at all levels of society, which, if left unresolved, threaten to undermine democracy.

➤ The rhetoric of politicians and the realities of policy are often far apart. The economic policies that are implemented are often prohibitive to local enterprise development without the input and attention of the business community. Business associations and chambers of commerce need unanimity and consensus to play a role in bringing economic issues to the attention of governments and to influence decision-making processes.

Recommendations

- Adopt some best practices from the private sector, such as score cards, to create accountability and transparency in local government, and, consequently, trust between citizens and their governments. The business community must see the cause of democratic governance less as a “risk-based” system of management with the private sector playing a passive role, and more as a system of management “engaged in change.” The story of microfinance and products designed for “poor people” are demonstrating to businesses and governments that often the most effective

way to fight poverty is with business.

- Civil society should work with young leaders to encourage a perception that both democracy and a free market economy are necessary for sustainable growth. Youth should see that markets give them opportunities to succeed, and that only a free and democratic government can protect them and their way of life.
- The private sector and civil society must work with the local governments that touch the daily lives of people and gain citizen input into what type of city they would like to see. By gaining local input early in the process the core principle everyone can agree on can be identified and progress can be made. Local governments need help in clarifying their visions, and only then can they lock governments into a contract (i.e., governance scorecards) that holds the government accountable.
- Without local government involvement, the business community is subject to the whim of political ambition and rent-seeking officials. By broadening the base of information through the creation of local committees and greater public-private dialogue, and by tracking progress, there can be tangible results of democracy for citizens. We always need to operate on a tri-partite basis, including business, government, and civil society. Involving only the business community and government means the

impact on the individual citizen is often lost.

- Democracy activists need to make a “business case” by demonstrating that democracy is indeed a more efficient allocator of resources (and is thus better for business). Borrowing from the business world, civil society should outline the roles of individual stakeholders, identify the risks involved, and quantify the rewards in real terms. Just as the Chinese language symbol is the same for “problem” and “opportunity,” we as activists must recognize that with each additional problem there exist new opportunities.

Additional Observations

- Women business leaders play an important role in their societies and are natural future political leaders. Women business owners can use their independence and leadership skills and transfer them to political life to broaden the concept of leadership and bring new voices into the political discussion.
- There are really three actors involved in corruption: the person who gives the bribe, the person who takes the bribe, and the society that turns the other way and allows the corrupt transaction to continue.
- Microfinance represents a very democratic process. It moved from an unregulated informal practice into a regulated formalized institution that allows people to grow their microenterprises.

Promoting Democratic Rights in the Informal Economy: The Case of Domestic Workers

ORGANIZER:

The American Center for International Labor Solidarity—Solidarity Center (U.S.)

MODERATOR:

Ana Avendano – American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations-AFL-CIO (U.S.)

RAPPORTEUR:

Nalishha Mehta – Solidarity Center (U.S.)

PRESENTERS:

Ip Pui Yu – Asia Migrant Domestic Worker Alliance (Hong Kong)

Marcelina Bautista-Bautista – International Domestic Worker Network (Mexico)

Vicky Kanyoka – International Domestic Worker Network (Tanzania)

Lita Anggraini – Network for Decent Working Conditions for Domestic Workers (Indonesia)

Worker and human rights activists, trade unionists, government representatives, and NGO representatives gathered from multiple countries to discuss the role and rights of domestic workers in democratic development. It is important to recognize that the present condition of domestic workers has an

impact on the future of democracy in individual countries. In addition, respect for domestic worker rights and the participation of domestic workers in democratic processes expand democratic space and is a powerful force in development.

Observations

- Freedom of association and the right to bargain collectively were noted as being essential for a fair and free society.
- Prevailing conditions for domestic workers include low wages, long hours, social isolation, and being invisible to the society at large.
- Domestic workers are physically invisible because they work for private homes “behind closed doors” and are economically invisible because domestic work is often considered to lack productive value, which also leads to being invisible to the rule of law.
- Domestic workers are often excluded from laws regarding decent pay, overtime, occupational safety and health, etc.
- Workers are now challenging these issues and want to be recognized as workers and human beings.

Examples

- In Hong Kong, a woman migrated from Nepal to work for a family as a housekeeper and cook. She was taught by the family how to cook and was then expected to cook and clean for up to 20-25 family members each day.
- In Tanzania, a child worked for a family caring for the children, cooking, cleaning, and doing any other task her employer demanded she do. The child was earning approximately US\$9 per month, but was never given the money. Due to the harsh chemicals she was using to clean, her fingers began to rot and this child domestic worker was in constant pain. However, her employer refused to allow her to see a doctor. Neighbors saw how much pain the child was in and notified a domestic worker organization that got help for the child. The child ended up losing her finger, and the domestic worker organization then began to work with the police and brought the employer to court for never paying the domestic worker her earned wages and for restricting her right to education and access to social and medical services.

Conditions of Work for Domestic Workers

- Domestic workers are often considered to be a member of the family, which is seen as a justification for not paying them decent wages or limiting working hours.
- Jobs entail caring for young children, cleaning, cooking, etc.

- Many workers are abused, poorly paid, and forced to sleep in poor living conditions.
- Employment can be terminated at any time; many child workers are let go from employment when they reach adult age.
- In Hong Kong, many domestic workers are part-time with multiple employers, thus creating unstable employment. Women often work in factories at the age of 12 or 14 and when they become older they work as domestic workers.
- Migrant workers migrate not because of personal choice, but because of economic needs. Many countries have a set policy of not providing citizenship to these migrant workers. They find jobs through agents who impose enormous fees that may take years to pay back, and consequently create a situation of debt bondage.
- Workers have no freedom of association, freedom of speech, or access to healthcare, and they are barred from political participation. If a worker gets pregnant, she may lose her job.

Challenges to and Benefits of Organizing

- It is difficult to gather workers and educate them about their rights because they often cannot go out of the home due to their long working hours, and they do not have frequent social interactions.
- Advocacy organizations have been going door to door to speak to workers about their rights and getting them to understand that they have to organize themselves.
- Workers talking to other workers and sharing their experiences has helped to build networks. Potential leaders and trainers have also been cultivated.
- In Hong Kong, migrant workers have been able to form trade unions by organizing themselves, registering with the government, and receiving formal recognition. For example, every Sunday, workers will socialize in parks, streets, and other public places, and organizers will hold events and activities where the workers meet.

Examples of Local, National, Regional, and International Initiatives

- In Kenya, organizations identify strategic towns and streets where domestic workers work and form committees to train the workers on human rights issues.
- In South Africa, organizations have been training workers, developing a unified organizing strategy,

and have been utilizing media outlets, such as radio, to educate workers while they are at home working.

- Grassroots committees are being trained on health issues in Africa

- The International Labor Organization (ILO) is a governing body that has a tripartite process of government, employers, and trade unions to address decent work issues. Trade unions have access to the ILO to advocate for domestic workers, making sure the concerns for domestic workers are addressed and they also have the ability to exercise pressure on government. At the ILO's International Labor Conference in June 2010, the issue of decent work for domestic workers was placed on the agenda. The conference discussed and proposed a convention for a new labor standard aimed at addressing the working conditions of the estimated 100 million or more domestic workers worldwide. An anticipated challenge is that receiving countries will be resistant to ratifying the convention. Trade unions and domestic worker organizations want to encourage a social dialogue.

- Addressing temporary migration: the focus for workers who temporarily migrate is to send remittances to their home countries. However, there is no consideration for the rights of temporary migrant workers, since receiving countries view them solely as labor and not as playing a critical role in sustaining the economy of their sending or receiving country, thus creating a need for a rights-based framework that includes dialogue at the regional and national level. A problem with migration laws is that countries train their workers to go abroad with the expectation that they will return, but the workers get stuck in situations of being indebted to their employers. There is a need to create a development model that will provide decent jobs to migrant workers.

Recommendations

- A democracy development model requires the building of democratic institutions for a stronger civil society.
- There is a need to look outside traditional collective bargaining and organizing models.
- Leadership development through training should be encouraged.
- Workers should come together to share stories; they become their own best advocates when they meet at their churches, in parks, in meeting halls, and when they plan how to improve their own

working conditions.

- Build networks for job training because workers often do not have the skills for their jobs, but they are excluded from training programs, and they then suffer indignities because employers criticize them for not doing their jobs properly, creating a lack of self-esteem.

- There should be a formal structure for handling disputes; workers need to have somewhere to go to have their complaints heard and addressed.

- Domestic workers and employers and public officials should be educated about rights, on why there is a need to improve working conditions, and on how such improvement relates to democratic development.

- Utilize radio, television, texting, etc. to inform workers about their rights.

- Develop new organizing models to connect with worker organizations, trade unions, and other social movements.

- View domestic work from a regional perspective; many workers become migrant workers not because they want to, but because they have little choice but to do so.

- When workers express grievances concerning their working conditions they often live in fear of losing their jobs or being deported. For this reason, many workers will not file complaints against their employer, regardless of the violations and abuses. Labor ministries and security ministries need to work together so that workers can file complaints without automatically being sent back to their home country.

- Fight against trafficking for domestic work.

- Engage in campaigns to sensitize governments and make recommendations to governments that they can adopt and create programs that will inform and educate employers in their countries.

- In examining the international labor standard setting process, the needs of domestic workers should be recognized as worker rights.

Technology Innovations for Accountable Governance and Women's Participation

ORGANIZER:

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs—NDI (U.S.)

MODERATOR:

Chris Spence – NDI (U.S.)

RAPPOREUR:

Meredith Katz – NDI (U.S.)

PRESENTERS:

Oscar Salazar – iCuidemos el Voto! (Mexico)

Clay Johnson – Sunlight Foundation (U.S.)

Trisanti Mitayani – iKNOW Politics (Indonesia)

The Internet, mobile phones, and related technologies have become integral components of politics and political processes, the development of democratic institutions, and the efforts of citizens to participate meaningfully in their democracies around the world. This workshop enabled presenters to demonstrate some of the innovative online tools they have developed, and presented an opportunity for participants and presenters to discuss those tools and best practices for using new media to influence democratic change.

Trisanti Mitayani described the iKNOW Politics Web site (www.iknowpolitics.org) and its ability to connect women globally to participate in political discourse across cultures and countries. iKNOW Politics has promoted peer-to-peer discussion among women involved in politics across the globe and allows them to access resources and information on the site. The iKNOW site not only serves as a networking platform, but has also used a number of other key technological innovations, including digital libraries, video posts, translation services, and discussion circles, to facilitate a conversation about people's experiences across cultures and languages.

Clay Johnson reviewed the idea of transparency and how it can generate honesty in government, save money, and create opportunities for business. Although his organization focuses on improving transparency and good governance in the United States, its multi-tiered model of activism and parliamentary monitoring can be replicated in the international community. Sunlight Labs (www.sunlightlabs.com) works on tackling governance through various means: influencing legislation; conducting advocacy work through citizen partners; and translating daunting government data into easily digestible information. Finally, the organization assists citizens in building platforms that can help fill voids in governance monitoring. "Legistalker" (<http://legistalker.org/>) is one example of a platform that was created by a Sunlight citizen-partner.

Oscar Salazar presented his Web site, iCuidemos

el Voto! (<http://www.cuidemoselvoto.org/>), which was one of the first platforms that allowed citizen reporting on the elections in Mexico using "crowd-sourcing" on the Ushahidi platform in Latin America. His goal was to allow Mexican citizens and NGOs to report violations of the electoral code during the July 2009 elections to increase their level of engagement and participation. Mr. Salazar also discussed his work with Internet Necesario (<http://in.santana.axiombox.com/>), a project that began after an Internet tax was levied in Mexico. Internet Necesario's work to gather Twitter posts about the issue on a centralized platform ultimately led to the repeal of the proposed Internet tax.

Challenges

- Promoting transparent governance is a problem around the world that has been increasing in the digital age; governments often come into office accusing the previous administration of a lack of transparency, but then fail to uphold transparent practices themselves.
- How do we engage political networks and link them to social media networks?
- In closed societies, many technologies are blocked, monitored, or are difficult to access due to high costs or other factors. How do activists communicate effectively and safely in such situations?
- It is important that activists and organizations employ technology-enabled solutions that address political goals by enhancing well-established organizing methods, and avoid employing technology-driven solutions for which technologies are built without being designed to support an established approach, and thus do not advance larger political objectives or become sustainable.
- Many areas around the world do not have the infrastructure and level of connectivity for Web-based and mobile campaigns; it is important to always employ technologies that are appropriate to the environment in which they'll be used.

- It is a challenge to adapt and adopt technologies and approaches from very different political, infrastructural, and cultural environments.
- Financial restrictions, as well as a lack of software developers, make it difficult for some organizations and individuals to create the tools they need.
- It is a challenge to explore innovative approaches to support democratic or political goals in risk-averse environments in which funders or implementers may be unwilling to invest the needed resources and take on the associated risk of failure.

Recommendations

- Technologies themselves do not usually solve the problem of creating good governance or effective political organizing; they are often best used to encourage traditional offline organizing activities.
- To attract members and/or viewers, Web site and online platform builders cannot forget the importance of design and using good visualizations. Making information accessible through tools, such as maps, charts, graphs and other creative approaches, can clarify and enhance messages. Some sites can even use “flashy,” “cool,” or humorous approaches to engage visitors, especially youth.
- Using icons and even colors that are relevant to the local context can increase interest in a site or project. For example, the ¡Cuidemos el Voto! project used the colors of the Mexican flag on its Web-mascot’s costume. Calling on local individuals and NGOs to be involved in creating tools can also promote buy-in and build capacity.
- It is important to understand which technology tools and platforms are used in a given country and use them as opposed to creating new tools. For example, different social networking sites are widely used in countries around the world, and in some countries text messaging for data collection may be more appropriate than call centers because of mobile service costs
- Identifying local bloggers, activists, journalists, and people of influence can help bring more informal reporting into the mainstream media. Integrating social media tools (such as Facebook, Twitter, Myspace, etc.), as well as blogs or Web site tools, such as custom widgets, can help political network sites or platforms reach a larger audience by driving traffic from a third-party source. Including different types of tools on a single platform (such as videos, RSS feeds, blogs, etc.) can also help to raise interest.
- To increase transparency, governments and organizations should make their data available to the public and it should be complete, raw, and available in real-time. This approach can help citizens hold their governments accountable and can increase oversight. If one lacks the skills to put this data on the Web and local Web developers are not available, seeking technical support from a community of open source developers for a project can be an effective way to get people from different countries to volunteer to help.
- Data from governments is often dense and therefore daunting. It can be helpful if organizations can sift through the data and develop tools and visualizations, such as maps, graphs, or charts, which make the information more accessible. Putting this information on the Web can easily increase the number of people who can access it.
- In systems in which technologies are being used to report fraud or a lack of transparency, such as a crowd-sourcing application, it is helpful to have a feedback mechanism so people know what issues are being responded to and how. Ultimately, this will help individuals to understand if the reporting process was effective.
- Tools, such as short wave radio, satellite television, cell phones, etc., can be used in democracy work in situations where there is low infrastructure and/or political challenges to operating.
- The international community should help political parties, NGOs, civil society, human rights defenders, etc. to own the media in societies where it is not free.
- Using humor is a way to make Web sites seem less threatening in closed or semi-closed societies.
- Connecting people through global networks can help the democratic experience through a cross-cultural sharing of ideas. Having translation services available for cross-cultural exchange can be especially helpful.
- In citizen reporting, one needs to rely on administrators to cull through incoming reports to ensure that information has been verified. A certain amount of inaccuracy is to be expected, but to be as accurate at the outset as possible, and to have guidelines for the kind of information that should be allowed on a site, is essential.

The presentations and resources from this panel (and others) are available at www.ndi.org/wmdpublications.

How Can Civil Society Effectively Influence Government to Help Ensure Its Responsiveness?

ORGANIZER:

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

MODERATOR:

Ibrahim (Ben) Suffian — Merdeka
Center for Opinion Research (Malaysia)

RAPPORTEUR:

Tina Mufford — IRI (U.S.)

PRESENTERS:

Sally Dura — MDC Women's Assembly
(Zimbabwe)

Hailana Ka'abneh — Rusaifeh
Municipality Citizens' Committee (Jordan)

Biljana Janeva — Ohrid Institute
(Macedonia)

Civil society typically operates in the intermediate space between the individual in the public arena and the state in the political arena, serving as a conduit between the two. The objective of this workshop was to explore the role of civil society organizations (CSOs) in ensuring the responsiveness of government, especially through the power of effective issues-based activism to increase citizen interest and involvement in decision-making processes. The premise of the discussion was based, in part, on the distinction between “governance” and democratic “good governance.” Governance can simply denote the delivery of government or public services, either with or without the active participation of citizens in decision-making processes. On the other hand, “good governance” describes a system in which citizens participate democratically in government planning and decision-making processes, while those in office exercise responsiveness to citizen needs with accountability and transparency.

Looking at this topic from a number of perspectives and contexts—historical, geographic, and political—the workshop discussion focused on the strategies and tactics of interaction with government at various levels to solicit action and ensure follow-up on the commitments made by the government.

In her presentation, Sally Dura discussed the challenges of equal representation for women in the Zimbabwean constitution-making process. While the government acknowledged that women were underrepresented, the ultimate blame fell to political parties for submitting party candidate lists that were disadvantageous to women. After meetings with the parties proved unfruitful, women activists had to rethink their advocacy strategies in getting their issues heard. The process taught Ms. Dura's organization several important lessons: first, while it is valuable for CSOs to coordinate their efforts, such collaboration requires

careful management to maximize its usefulness; second, key individuals across interested groups should be identified to ensure that all issues of concern are acknowledged; and, third, strategic planning is needed to establish effective targeting and follow-up strategies.

Hailana Ka'abneh outlined the creation, tactics, and challenges of a municipal-level effort in Jordan to resolve an environmental problem stemming from phosphate mining residues. The Rusaifeh Citizens' Committee is a non-registered organization, meaning it is an ad-hoc arrangement among municipal citizens organized for a specific purpose. The Committee offered a citizen-designed approach to address the negative health and environmental impact of the mining industry. It conducted research to assess the effects of phosphate mining in the community and with data in hand collected 5,000 signatures on a petition that was delivered to the governor requesting that public parks be built. The petition was a risky tactic in a country where citizens often shy away from signing petitions because they are afraid that they will be viewed as an anti-government activity. In fact, the local government and other relevant authorities initially promised to construct the parks, but were slow to respond. Following persistent efforts by the Committee, the municipality eventually began providing venues for parks to be established, logistical support, and access to other research on the health and environmental impact of mining. The governor, too, was supportive, and the municipality ultimately established new public parks. The Committee's parks campaign was groundbreaking in Jordan because it helped shatter the fear among citizens of lobbying for issues that concern them.

Another element explored by the workshop involved the monitoring of governmental policies by citizens. In the case of Macedonia, Biljana Janeva out-

lined her organization's three-year-old "Monitoring of Leadership" project. This effort involves citizen monitoring of the Macedonian government in 10 fields of public life, including financial affairs, foreign policy, education, health, agriculture, and transport and construction, among others. The project seeks to introduce the principle of holding a government responsible for its actions, to open up government policy making to public input, and to make the government accountable to its citizens by measuring what is delivered against what was promised. In its first year, the project met with difficulty in obtaining official response to its requests for information; despite a law allowing for freedom of information, the responses were neither timely nor transparent. However, after the organization became more visible the government became more accustomed to the idea of being monitored and measured, a result aided by the organization's strategic use of the media and public opinion. In time, the organization began assessing the quality of information provided by the government, determining whether any government money was wasted through poor management, and whether elected officials implemented or failed to implement their promises.

Challenges

- Getting the government's attention without appearing threatening is a key challenge. Governments are often suspicious of CSOs, at times dismissing or criticizing their efforts as part of the opposition. CSOs should proceed slowly, deliberately, and openly to reassure government that the organizations' efforts are not intended to be hostile and are transparent, with nothing to hide. Involving the media and public opinion is an effective way to become more recognizable and establish credibility, as is the use of innovative technology to increase message dissemination.
- Responsiveness should not be a one-way street; CSOs should invest in educating the public about what they should demand from government, rather than solely focusing on getting government to deliver on its promises. If what the government delivers is not what the public needs, then the government's response is still ineffective. CSOs can play the key role of interlocutor(s) in managing these expectations within both the public and political arenas.
- Civil society often operates in restricted environments; its actors may experience threats, physical violence, or even imprisonment. CSOs should carefully assess these risks before taking action.

Recommendations

- Persistence! All three workshop presenters emphasized the need for CSOs to be persistent and vigilant in their efforts. Such techniques should not be viewed merely as repetition, but rather as positive reinforcement. CSOs need to exhibit patience and willpower in achieving their objectives.
- It is important for CSOs to build relationships with the government. This inherently builds trust and rapport, encouraging government to be more forthcoming and transparent.
- Likewise, it is also imperative for CSOs to build relationships with each other. Coalitions are a valuable advocacy tool that can boost efforts in many respects. As different organizations have different strengths and areas of expertise, CSOs can cover more advocacy ground when they work together.
- CSOs should also learn to work more strategically with political parties. Those in government typically originate from and reach their positions through membership in political parties; if CSOs have taken steps to initiate relationships with parties, those who are elected from those parties will likely be easier to work with.
- For CSOs to influence governments effectively, they should also learn to influence society at large. Again, CSOs operate in the space between the public and political arenas; to improve government responsiveness, they must engage both sectors.
- Finally, while advocacy is most effective within a context where there is both good governance and democracy, it can also achieve results where political space is less than ideal.

Network of Democracy Research Institutes – NDRI: Translating Research into Policy

ORGANIZER:

Network of Democracy Research Institutes–NDRI

Ghana Center for Democratic Development–CDD-Ghana
(Ghana)

MODERATOR:

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

E. Giymah-Boadi – CDD-Ghana
(Ghana)

RAPPORTEUR:

Diego Abente-Brun – International Forum for Democratic Studies
(Paraguay)

PRESENTERS:

Aasiya Riaz – Pakistan Institute for Legislative Development and Transparency–PILDAT (Pakistan)

Orazio Belletini – Grupo Faro (Ecuador)

Sook Jong Lee – East Asian Institute
(South Korea)

In her opening presentation, Aasiya Riaz explained that in the few years since its establishment, the Pakistan Institute for Legislative Development and Transparency (PILDAT) has become a prime center to strengthen the Parliament and to monitor its activity. Its support activities include a number of capacity-building initiatives to help the Parliament and its members improve the quality of their work. Stakeholders see PILDAT as consistently working in a nonpartisan way to strengthen the role of committees and the performance of MPs by providing them with accurate, unbiased legislative briefs on important issues and proposed bills.

At the same time, PILDAT plays an active monitoring role, mainly generating “media noise”; explaining the problems or limitations of bills is as important as the struggle against corruption and civil-military relations are to the mainstream media. Formal and informal talks with relevant government officials and parliamentarians reinforce this effort. PILDAT has also served as a key bridge between civil society organizations and the Parliament. Given many years of military rule, Parliament has not been seen as a significant locus of policy making. This is being reversed thanks to the strengthening of the institution and continuing efforts by PILDAT to encourage social stakeholders to bring their grievances and concerns to the Parliament.

In short, PILDAT’s success rests on its credibility, which is derived from maintaining a consistently high level of quality in its research and its uncompromising nonpartisan position, and from its ability to bring together civil society actors and the Parliament.

Orazio Belletini described in his presentation the experience of Grupo Faro in Ecuador in terms of four

stages: The first is to generate the right evidence concerning a policy issue by finding the right researcher and targeting the right audience. The right evidence is presented in clear and understandable terms, not overloaded with complex and abstract technical terminology. Finding the right researcher means teaming up with other national and regional NGOs, as well as with the Ecuadorian diaspora. This is particularly important given the limited capacity of Ecuadorian NGOs. Concerning the right audience, Grupo Faro emphasizes reaching not only policy makers but civil society organizations and ordinary citizens as well, to ensure that decisions evolve, to a degree, from below.

The second stage is to generate an informed public dialogue, present policy proposals, and accompany them with good recommendations for implementation.

The third stage is influencing the actual policy-making process. In this regard, Grupo Faro prioritizes the quality of the process over the nature of the outcomes. Due to the strengths (and weaknesses) of the process, Grupo Faro emphasizes ensuring plurality, transparency, and inclusiveness. The assumption is that ensuring a good policy process significantly increases the chances of ensuring good policy outcomes.

The final stage centers on the formation of policy entrepreneurs, individuals who have good research and managerial skills and the ability to communicate clearly and who know how to network. These skills may not necessarily be combined in one individual but they can be in one institution.

In her presentation, Sook Jong Lee described how the East Asian Institute (EAI) has quickly become a preeminent institution in Korea and has earned the respect of the government, the Congress, the business community, and civil society. EAI is a knowledge net-

work that produces policy ideas and studies and networks scholars. There are several dimensions to its work. First, it conducts some research at the request of the government. This in itself reflects its respectability. Second, it successfully disseminates its products, mainly through its Web site and newsletter, but also through private meetings with government officials and the media. Third, EAI organizes frequent public exchanges between researchers and government officials. Fourth, it reaches out to foreign governments through their embassies in Seoul. A fifth area of activity is to conduct public opinion polls both on purely electoral issues and on issues of public policy and public attitudes. A sixth dimension is networking with overseas scholars, an activity that gives EAI a truly global character. Finally, EAI works to develop a policy agenda for public consideration to promote public interest in key policy issues.

The EAI has a small endowment, but finances the bulk of its activity with private donations and grants from public and private institutions. In a country where almost all think tanks are financed either



by the government or by the big conglomerates, this model of financing has positioned the EAI as a truly independent think tank.

Following these opening presentations the participants engaged in a rich exchange of ideas. The ensuing discussion served to increase understanding of the activities of PILDAT, Grupo FARO, and EAI, and enabled a comparison of their experiences and the realities and challenges that institutions face in other countries.

How Can the Party Internationals Help Develop Democratic Parties?

ORGANIZERS:

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

MODERATOR:

Ivan Doherty – NDI (Ireland)

RAPPORTEUR:

Sef Ashiagbor – NDI (U.S.)

PRESENTERS:

Alberto Ruiz-Thiery – Centrist Democrat
International (Spain)

Emil Kirjas – Liberal International (Macedonia)

Luis Ayala – Socialist International (Chile)

The workshop presenters described the party internationals as networks or clubs/associations that allow like-minded political parties to learn from one another and to promote their ideology at the global level. Each party international has its own membership application process, as well as various mechanisms for ensuring that member parties respect and embody the principles of the grouping. Each international also has associated regional and youth groupings that may have separate but overlapping membership.

The presenters provided brief histories of the establishment and evolution of their respective internationals.

While the internationals originally began with a primarily European membership, all of these associations now include members from various regions of the world. The presenters also provided examples of the different mechanisms they use to engage their respective members and others on issues of concern. For instance, the Liberal International has used its observer status at the UN Human Rights Commission to raise concerns about human rights abuses in Singapore. Through Socialist International meetings in Africa and on other continents, member parties from emerging democracies have engaged each other on various aspects of social democ-

racy and democratic development. Centrist Democrat, because of its transformation from Christian Democrat, is now able to engage political parties in a wider range of countries than previously.

Although the party internationals have limited funds and are not party development institutes, through party-to-party relationships and coordination with institutes and other organizations that are engaged in party development, they have supported member parties in such areas as candidate training, policy formulation, guidelines development for ethical fundraising and financial management, and procedures for leadership selection. The youth groups associated with the various internationals organize activities to raise awareness about threats to freedom in such places as Belarus and Cuba, and to help young activists develop their political organizing skills.

Presenters recognized that while there are differences among the various ideological families, there is much more that unites them, including their support for the development of democracy more broadly and democratically inclusive political parties more specifically. In today's globalized world, in which people have many of the same aspirations for freedom, there are more reasons and opportunities than ever for the party internationals to work together on issues of common concern.

Finally, while all members of the party internationals are not perfect, politics is a club, and the inclusion of various parties in these internationals provides a way to influence their behavior. In many cases, member parties are also able to use the positions and values of their internationals to advance democracy in their respective countries.

Challenges

- There remains a disconnect between civic and political activists. Among nearly 600 participants at the Sixth Assembly, for instance, only a handful were elected representatives or political leaders. In addition, there is often a misperception that politicians or political parties are the enemy and primarily a cause of, rather than part of the response to, the challenge of building democracy.
- In too many countries democratic institutions, including political parties, remain extremely weak. In addition, where elections are flawed opposition groups may feel that *coups* or other undemocratic options are their only recourse. The lack of independent media and/or opposition access to media is also a challenge in many countries.

- There is very little comparative data on how political parties have developed over time and in different regions. This makes it difficult for parties and activists in emerging democracies to identify and apply lessons learned from other experiences.
- Party internationals are sometimes too slow and not sufficiently firm in sanctioning or distancing themselves from members who do not abide by democratic behavior or the principles of their ideological family.
- Party internationals must strike a balance between constructive engagement and public declarations or other forms of public criticism. Engagement can sometimes be more difficult, yet more effective, at influencing behavior than ostracism.
- The party internationals have limited resources and are membership associations rather than super parties. As such, while they can have significant influence over the behavior of their members, each member party ultimately makes its own decisions.
- In many countries, distinctions among political parties are ideologically fuzzy, nonexistent, or based on ethnicity, regions, or personality.
- It is difficult to develop a one-size-fits-all approach to the development of democratic and inclusive political parties.
- The rise of populism in certain countries poses a threat to democracy more broadly, but also to the development of democratic political parties in particular.
- China's growing role as a donor to governments in many emerging democracies is another challenge.

Recommendations

- Through the World Movement for Democracy, the party internationals and other appropriate mechanisms, civic activists, and political leaders who are committed to democratic development should find ways to engage each other more effectively.
- The youth groups associated with the various party internationals should explore opportunities to work together to encourage political participation of youth; engage civil society on various issues; promote nonviolence; and draw attention to human rights abuses of youth activists around the world.
- The party internationals should develop more effective mechanisms for monitoring their members' compliance and respect for broad democratic principles, as well as their commitments as members of each international.
- The party internationals should develop a

coordinating mechanism (e.g., annual meetings) that would allow them to discuss various issues of common concern, including ways to raise with each other concerns about their respective members' behavior.

➤ Through structured engagement, civil society can help the party internationals pressure their respective members to address issues of concern.

Since the Jakarta Assembly, NDI has met with Centrist

Democracy International, Liberal International and Socialist International to explore the development of a coordinating mechanism that would allow the internationals to discuss various issues of common concern. The Institute is currently working with the internationals to schedule what will hopefully be the first in a series of annual coordination meetings.

Candidate Schools during the Indonesian Election Campaign

ORGANIZER:

**Friedrich Naumann
Stiftung–Indonesia**
(Indonesia)

MODERATOR:

Ripana Puntarasa – University
Rakyat Merdeka–PRM (Indonesia)

RAPPORTEUR:

Sebastian Braun – Friedrich
Naumann Stiftung (Germany)

PRESENTERS:

Warsito Ellwein – Friedrich Naumann
Stiftung–Indonesia (Indonesia)

Wazir Wicaksono – Consortium for Peace
and Justice (Indonesia)

Tjatur Kukoh Surjanto – Santiri Foundation
(Indonesia)

Indonesia is a young democracy. Reform began in 1998 when Suharto fell from power in the wake of the Asian Financial Crisis, and the first democratic election took place in 1999, the second in 2004, and the third in 2009. Direct election of the President first occurred in 2004. Democratic and political party structures, therefore, are not yet in perfect functioning condition. The Candidate School was initiated by the Friedrich Naumann Stiftung to contribute to the consolidation of Indonesian democracy and political party structures.

The quality of members of Parliament was quite poor at the beginning of the reform era, because most of them had been politically cultivated by the authoritarian and corrupt Suharto regime. The image of politicians was negative and still poses a serious problem today. Political parties, however, are essential to the functioning of democracy.

The assumption that without money there is no way to win an election is still quite prevalent in Indonesia, and candidates thus need to learn that strategy can also be instrumental in winning elections.

Objectives of the Candidate School

- To build capacity of individual candidates;
- To help increase candidates' efficiency, so they are less dependent on financial resources; and
- To help campaigns become more rational and realistic.

Steps in the Candidate School Program

- Produce a module on strategy for winning elections;
- Establish a facilitator team;
- Select and ensure the participation of local partners for implementation; and
- Test the content and method of the training.

Candidate School Methodology

- Active participation by the candidates;
- Sharing of information and experiences;
- Establishing working groups; and
- Presentation of work accomplished by individuals and working groups.

Content of the Candidate School Training

- Candidates should know themselves first: Who am I, and what experiences, abilities, strengths, and weaknesses do I have? How do voters see me?
- Candidates should know about their competitors: What are my competitors' strengths and weaknesses? Have they won elections before, and, if so, how? What are their political platforms?
- Candidates should know their playing field: Who makes up the electorate (the electoral district, the ethnicity of the people, the political issues, etc), and what does the election law allow or prohibit?

Thus far, there have been 1,630 participants from 33

parties, and of those 150 were elected. An evaluation survey of participant candidates was implemented, with 300 respondents, of whom 53 were elected; an independent assessment was also undertaken.

Demand for Candidate School trainings is higher than supply, and the sponsor cannot accommodate every candidate who wishes to take part. Participants have to pay for their participation in the training to help ensure their sincerity in wishing to participate and to raise their expectations of the training outcome.

Challenges

- Participants often think they already have enough experience and that they cannot win without money politics.
- There is limited time for the training.
- The backgrounds of candidates can often pose a challenge because they might be more interested in furthering their business interests than in becoming competent and clean politicians.
- There is a general incompetence due to bad educational systems and internal party selection processes, which are often based on clientelism rather than on meritocracy.
- The quality of state regulations and internal party rules regarding elections is often low.
- The local culture and political atmosphere often leads to, or is characterized by, clientelism, and politics is consequently seen as a way to make money.
- There are difficulties implementing the strategy

in the field; for instance, voters asking for money.

- Voters care more about popularity than the capability of the candidates.
- Implementing the strategy taught by the Candidate School admittedly takes time and is more difficult than simply using money to win an election; candidates often think they only need money (for legal and/or illegal or vote-buying activities), but the Candidate School tries to teach them that they can use strategy and thereby reduce their dependency on money, although this is more difficult and requires an effort on the part of the candidate that can be more time-consuming and difficult than just using money to win an election.

Recommendations

- Participation in the training should be planned by the participants at least several months before an election.
- Local culture should be taken into greater consideration by the workshop facilitators.
- The Candidate School may be too exclusive and should broaden participation.
- Political education should be added to the curriculum.
- Participants should be taught not only how to win elections, but how to be good politicians as well.
- School participants should include more women to increase the number of women in Indonesian politics.

How Can Civil Society Help Ensure the Effectiveness of Anti-Corruption Efforts?

ORGANIZERS:

Transparencia Colombia
(Colombia)

Indonesian Corruption Watch
(Indonesia)

MODERATOR:

Manfredo Marroquin – Acción Ciudadana (Guatemala)

RAPPORTEUR:

J. Danang Widoyoko – Indonesian Corruption Watch (Indonesia)

PRESENTERS:

Orazio Bellettini – Grupo FARO (Ecuador)

Elisabeth Ungar – Transparencia por Colombia (Colombia)

J. Danang Widoyoko – Indonesian Corruption Watch (Indonesia)

Corruption is both a major cause and a result of poverty around the world. It occurs at all levels of society, from local and national government, to the judiciary, to civil society, to large and small businesses, to the military, etc. Corruption tends to affect the poorest sectors of society the most, regardless of whether it takes place in rich or poor nations.

Civil society plays an important role in controlling

and preventing corruption. There are many challenges facing anti-corruption movements because corruption was built systematically by parties who seek profit only for themselves. Corruption can be defined as a strategy to control public resources and the ability of the oligarchy (defined as a social alliance among the bureaucracy, the military, and cronies) to gain state concessions.

Challenges

- It difficult to control corruption where there is limited access to mass media.
- If the local government is distant from the central government, and is therefore not under the central government's direct control, it has greater freedom to carry out corrupt practices. This is the case in Liberia.
- Corrupt practices are difficult to control in conflict areas, such as Afghanistan, because corruption tends to fall by the wayside as an issue to be addressed as the central government views the restoration of security as a higher priority.
- Elections tend to be rife with corruption because they open the door to bribery, and they can also allow a corrupt politician to gain a government position and thereby entrench corruption even further.
- Political corruption can be seen as a marriage between politics and business. Corrupt political practices can develop when politicians and businessmen are in a symbiotic relationship.
- Those who engage in corruption often work hard to block anti-corruption measures. For instance, in Indonesia the Corruption Eradication Commission (KPK)'s authority can be weakened through the legislative process, particularly during deliberation of the Anti-Corruption Court Bill.
- Corruption is deeply rooted in politics and cannot be eradicated only through good governance prescriptions or technical solutions. Institutional reform is important, but it is not enough to eradicate corruption.
- The fight against corruption is part of a much larger battle against entrenched, predatory actors. In Indonesia, these actors have learned to insulate themselves from many of the post-Suharto institutional reforms, since they have repositioned themselves within Indonesia's new democracy. A genuine victory over corruption can only take place, therefore, as part of a larger and more fundamental process of confronting predatory elites at both the



national and local levels with sustained and effective social action.

- Limited access by civil society organizations (CSOs) to information about the use of public funds, such as taxes and the budget, presents a substantial challenge to civil society action.
- CSOs have limited power to influence anti-corruption policy making.

Opportunities

- Anti-corruption is a universal value. Since society often condemns corrupt practices, it is easier for civil society organizations to develop an anti-corruption movement.
- Free media can support efforts to eliminate corrupt practices. Unrestricted and readily available news about corrupt practices can push society to be more actively engaged in issues surrounding public officials' use of public finance budgets.
- Technology and widespread Internet access make it easier for societies to build anti-corruption movements. For instance, access to social networks, such as Facebook, creates opportunities for those in society to spread information about corruption issues. A Facebook movement against the criminalization of a member of the KPK in Indonesia is an example.

How Can Civil Society Help Meet the Challenges of Constitutional Reform?

ORGANIZERS:

Human Rights Monitor
(Nigeria)

Partnership for Societal Initiatives (Georgia)

MODERATOR:

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

RAPPORTEUR:

Siti Nurjanah – Center for Religious
and Community Studies (Indonesia)

Festus Okoye – Human Rights
Monitor (Nigeria)

PRESENTERS:

Davy Khechineshvili – Partnership for Social
Initiatives (Georgia)

Aasiya Riaz – Pakistan Institute for Legislative
Development and Transparency-PILDAT
(Pakistan)

Tom Kagwe – Kenya Human Rights
Commission-KHRC (Kenya)

This workshop principally focused on how civil society can help meet the challenges of constitutional reform. The participants agreed that democratic transition processes in most countries do not sufficiently attend to the business of constitutional reform. In addition, in promulgating new constitutions, concessions have been made that have created bottlenecks when it comes to implementing those constitutions. These were important strategic and tactical concessions. Part of the challenge has been that some of the civic actors who promoted constitutional reforms were sometimes inexperienced and thus could not exert the requisite impact on those reforms. This has led to deficiencies in constitutionalism and liberalism.

The participants also agreed that constitutional reforms are essential where there are deficiencies and imperfections in the constitutional framework, and that it is essential to keep constitutions flexible to meet the challenges of the times and the demands of constitutionalism.

The workshop discussion identified several opportunities presented by constitutional reform processes. They include:

- Entrenching provisions and values missing from earlier constitutions and/or adopting appropriate new values.
- Instituting proper checks and balances.
- Strengthening the rights of citizens to demand accountability.
- Developing adequate forms of facilitation and participation in the constitutional process itself.
- Deepening the people's political and civic education.

Challenges

- Constitutional reform can be hijacked by the

military or other governmental power, which could terminate the reform process.

- Popular demands for constitutional reform can push a country into the trap of enacting vague and ambiguous changes.

Recommendations for constitutional reforms:

- A constitution should contain a statement of social values on which there is consensus that should be short, not subject to different interpretations, and universal.
- A constitution should enshrine a political system that best suits the values, history, and culture of a people.
- A constitution should ensure checks and balances among the branches of government.
- Constitutional reforms should reflect secular principles and respect for the liberties, rights, pluralism, and dignity of the people.

Recommendations to ensure that society is consulted on constitutional reforms:

- Freedom of access to information and expression should be guaranteed.
- Constitutional courts should be created to hold leaders accountable.
- Dialogue and debate among people should be encouraged.
- Public opinion polls should be conducted to gauge the mood of the people.

Recommendations of what CSOs should do in the process of constitutional reform:

- Learn to build consensus on thematic issues across sectors.

- Pay attention to the core principles of constitutionalism.
- Educate the public on key constitutional issues.
- Engage in a multi-stakeholder reform process and a multi-party approach.
- Share experiences in constitution making.
- Engage and inform the media.
- Share experiences before, during, and after the reform process.
- Think tanks should measure the implementation of the reform process and the success of the strategies adopted.

- Assess the meaningfulness of the reform process before engaging in it.
- Encourage local ownership of the reform process.

Recommendations of what civil society groups should not do in the process of constitutional reform:

- Don't duplicate efforts and compete unnecessarily.
- Don't forget institutional arrangements.
- Don't be antagonistic to the government and other stakeholders throughout the reform process.

How to Institutionalize Democratic Civil-Military Relations?

ORGANIZERS:

Institute for Defense, Security and Peace Studies—IDSPS
(Indonesia)

Human Rights Research Association (Turkey)

MODERATOR:

Ertugrul Cenk Gurcan – Human Rights Research Association (Turkey)

RAPPORTEUR:

Claudia Pineda – Institute for Strategic Studies and Public Policy (Nicaragua)

PRESENTERS:

Birame Diop – Partners for Democratic Change (Senegal)

Rocío San Miguel – Citizen Watch for Security, Defense and National Armed Forces (Venezuela)

Mufti Makaarim – Institute for Defense, Security and Peace Studies (Indonesia)

The presenters and participants in this workshop agreed that civil-military relations in the context of defense and security policies depend on the democratic conditions of each country. In fact, this was reflected in the variety of countries represented by the presenters. There can be no democratic relations in non-democratic states.

Militarized nations often consider civilian populations as human resources for military purposes, but in democratic nations military forces are professional and there are legal and institutional frameworks that define the relationships between governments and the armed forces of the countries and between the civilian population and the armed forces.

It is necessary to talk about a “security” sector, rather than a “defense” or “military” sector because the concept of security is more comprehensive, although it carries the risk of being overly broad. Still, it is important to relate this concept to national defense matters, including the need for international collaboration on new transnational threats, such as trafficking in arms, people, and narcotics; pandemics; and addressing environmental challenges in which military forces have been involved.

Democratic civil-military relations can be defined as control over the armed forces, but this definition should convey certain qualities:

- that they are voluntarily accepted by the parties based on consensus;
- that they are not based on abuse or fear;
- that the structure of those relations is ownership by the parties;
- that they are governed by constitutional requirements; and
- that they can be revised whenever necessary.

Observations

- Democratic control of the security sector: Given the participation of civil society in defining national defense strategies, military expenditures must be under the control of parliaments. Parliaments obviously play a major role in defining a set of rules governing the relationship between civilian authorities and the military, and balancing the financial needs of defense and security with the needs of other sectors. Civilian control of the military should also be regulated, however, because civilian authorities also tend to want civilians to control the military

for their own political purposes. In addition, the application of military justice should be limited to military offenses.

➤ **Tension between the principle of free access to information and the confidentiality and secrecy of the military:** The necessary discretion associated with military and intelligence issues has often been exercised with no accountability. Depending on the situation, military secrecy should thus be regulated by the government and should be subject to citizen demands for information. The exception should be cases that are identified as secret, but even then the government must regulate declassification.

➤ **Gender:** A democratic society should discuss the issue of integration of women into the armed forces and preventing discrimination.

➤ **The function of the military in development work and internal security:** War is unpredictable, but in the meantime, the armed forces are often compelled to participate in non-military tasks related to national development, poverty reduction, environmental protection, and the development of political processes and elections. However, these tasks must be regulated, especially those related to internal security and when the military share roles with the national police, to avoid remilitarizing national development.

Recommendations

- Military forces must be professionalized and civilian control must be made supreme.
- Build inclusive relationships among the parties.
- There must be respect for human rights as well as a set of mechanisms to guarantee transparency and accountability.
- There must be a two-way respectful relationship, formalized in a legal and operational framework, to ensure civilian oversight of the military.
- Create a framework for collaboration and cooperation between the civilian government and the military.
- There must be a global vision to confront transnational security threats.
- There must be a multidimensional vision to define the civilian-military agenda against new threats.
- There must be a strong commitment to respect the constitution, ensure the rule of law, protect human rights, and institute good governance.
- There should be comprehensive discussion of the military function of the general population as part of the civil society agenda.
- There must be accountability regarding non-military activities of the armed forces, especially its business affairs.

How Can Provincial and Local Governments Promote Human Rights and Democratic Practices?

ORGANIZERS:

Global Network on Local Governance—GNLG

Democracy Development Programme—DDP
(South Africa)

MODERATOR:

George Mathew – Institute of Social Sciences-ISS (India)

RAPPORTEUR:

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

PRESENTERS:

Jafar Al-Shayeb – Qatif Municipal Council (Saudi Arabia)

Rama Naidu – DDP (South Africa)

Jesus Estanislao – Institute for Solidarity in Asia (The Philippines)

Gina Romero – OCASA (Colombia)

Workshop participants discussed how provincial and local governments can promote human rights and democratic practices. The participants considered case studies in diverse country environments, ranging from highly restrictive, national governments (Saudi Arabia) and internal conflicts (Colombia) to more successful examples in The Philippines and South Africa.

Jafar Al-Shayeb described how community councils

have been used to promote civic education and form a democratic culture in Saudi Arabia despite the existence of an absolute monarchy and a highly repressive national government. In 2004, a law was implemented that allowed the creation of municipal councils with 50 percent of members chosen by election and 50 percent appointed by the King. These municipal councils then created community councils whose members were selected through elections and whose man-

dates include proposing projects in their communities, monitoring community services, and setting priorities for community budgets. Through these activities and their interaction with citizens, a democratic culture and democratic practices are being fostered.

Rama Naidu described the situation in South Africa, where the Constitution contains strong provisions for commissions and institutions at the national, provincial, and municipal levels to protect human rights and promote democratic practices. Despite these provisions, the structures of these entities are so complex, bureaucratic, and often duplicative, that they are not accessible to the citizenry. Furthermore, these institu-

tions are highly politicized, resulting in local leaders being more responsive to party leaders than to the citizens themselves.

Jesus Estanislao explained the successful use of performance scorecards in The Philippines to rate many sectors of society—such as business, civil society, and government—to promote local governments that deliver and that meet the demands of the citizens.

Finally, Gina Romero described the situation in Colombia, where a long-running internal conflict prevents local and provincial governments from being very active in protecting human rights and promoting democratic practices.

Global Network on Local Governance-GNLG: Agenda for 2020

ORGANIZER:

Global Network on Local Governance—GNLG

MODERATOR:

George Mathew – Institute of Social Sciences-ISS (India)

RAPPORTEUR:

Rama Naidu – Democracy Development Programme-DPP (South Africa)

Ash Narain Roy – Institute of Social Sciences-ISS (India)

PRESENTERS:

Rama Naidu – DPP (South Africa)

Ash Narain Roy – ISS (India)

The moderator introduced the Global Network on Local Governance (GNLG) and provided information about its founding and background (it was launched in Durban, South Africa, in 2004 at the Third Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy in partnership with DDP). Recalling the Second Assembly in São Paulo, Brazil, in 2000, where, for the first time, a workshop was devoted to local governance, he referred to new regional initiatives that have been created: IBSA – Local Government Forum (India-Brazil-South Africa Local Governance Forum) and the South Asian Forum for Local Governance. He also briefly indicated the issues that concern local governance worldwide, including gender issues, corruption and the need for transparency, accountability, and social audit (a process by which the people work with the government to monitor and evaluate planning and implementation of a scheme or policy).

In his presentation, Ash Narain Roy referred to three major developments to explain why the GNLG will continue to be relevant and have a role to play. First, the rapid strides made by democracy across the globe (notwithstanding some reverses here and there), and how networking among democracy activists has

gone a long way to advance democracy.

Second, the world is moving towards what he called more global *governance*, not global *government*. At the same time, he referred to the new challenges that many democracies, primarily newer ones, are facing in the current “democracy recession” and their inability to perform well economically.

Third, the “end of geography” and the power of the information revolution have created opportunities and mechanisms for those at the regional and global levels to learn from each others’ experiences. Several democracies are thus benefiting from the best practices available in other democratic systems to make themselves relevant and self-sustaining.

GNLG’s continuing relevance is therefore based on the agenda of the new democracies: democratization and decentralization. Its agenda for the next 10 years raises the following questions:

- Will democracy and local government remain relevant and vibrant or will the centralization of power return?
- Not everyone today is convinced that maximum devolution of power would mean greater democratization at the grassroots level, so the question is,

does maximum devolution of power translate into maximum democracy?

- Will the Internet improve democracy or will it accelerate its decline?
- Is digital democracy (that is, direct democracy by using information and communication technologies as strategies for political and governance processes) leading to a new democratic divide between the haves and the have-nots, that is, between those who are empowered and those who are not?
- Will global governance and global networking be eclipsed by the formation of local online discussion spaces on public issues?

In his presentation, Rama Naidu spoke about the South African experience and the work of the Good Governance Learning Network (GGLN), an example of a country network that was set up through an initiative of donors and civil society organizations that share their common experiences, undertake collaborative research, engage local government together, learn best practices from each other, and undertake regional activities around certain defined thematic areas. The lessons from the GGLN relate specifically to issues of sustainability and relevance of the network as a major national player on issues of local governance. The existence of both national and local networks is necessary for any global network to be both relevant and useful to a wide range of stakeholders, ranging from citizen groups and civil society organizations to practitioners and elected local government representatives.

Recommendations

- The steering committee of the GNLG should be dramatically expanded to at least 100 countries by 2020.



- The GNLG should organize regional workshops to improve networking.
- As a global network, the GNLG will only be effective if there are effective local networks, which must be established and functional, even if only on a small scale.
- The GNLG should work to improve citizens' access to information where it is strictly limited or nonexistent. This can be done through petitions and resolutions that can be circulated to relevant governments and other stakeholders.
- There is a need to formulate ways to promote exchange visits at the regional and global levels to widen the horizons of elected representatives. Greater emphasis should be placed on sharing experiences and best practices.

Assessing Democracy and Democracy Assistance

Panel Discussion on World Movement for Democracy Project on “Assessing Democracy Assistance”

ORGANIZERS:

World Movement for Democracy Secretariat

FRIDE (Spain)

MODERATOR:

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

RAPPORTEUR:

Michael Allen – Democracy Digest (UK)

PRESENTERS:

Richard Youngs – FRIDE (UK)

Joel Barkan – Center for Strategic and International Studies (U.S.)

Larry Diamond – CDDRL (U.S.)

DISCUSSANTS:

Inna Pidluska – Europe XXI Foundation (Ukraine)

Paul Graham – IDASA: An African Democracy Institute (South Africa)

The Assessing Democracy Assistance project includes a variety of country case studies carried out by FRIDE and an online survey of democracy assistance recipients about their experience with donors and processes. According to Joel Barkan, who has managed the online survey, democracy assistance recipients want more money with fewer strings attached, a hands-off approach from donors, political support when necessary, and a more experimental and less risk-averse attitude from funding organizations. Most of the respondents to the online survey are well-educated urban elites who work in organizations that are highly financially dependent on foreign funders and who possess a realistic view on what democracy assistance can and cannot do.

The single “most potent message” that has emerged from some 600 interviews with activists and other stakeholders in connection with FRIDE’s country case studies is that democracy assistance should take a more holistic approach, according to FRIDE’s Richard Youngs. Funding is great, they say, but it should be buttressed by other foreign policy instruments, such as aid, trade, and diplomacy. There is no crisis in donor-grantee relations, Dr. Youngs assured the workshop participants, but alongside traditional concerns of short-term funding horizons, poor coordination, rigid funding requirements, and donor bias towards favored civil society organizations (CSOs), deeper issues emerged. For instance, donors are missing the

best access points to promote democratic reforms because they are reluctant to cede control of the agenda, activists claim.

On the other hand, according to Joel Barkan, the online survey reveals that assistance recipients are realistic about the capacity of external actors to make a difference. Assistance can facilitate change, for example, by helping enable local actors and organizations, but it is ultimately local factors and forces that determine prospects for democratization.

According to Inna Pidluska, Ukraine’s experience reflects donor sensitivity to local ownership. The amount of funds is less important than the quality and strategic focus of a donor-recipient partnership, she said. In his remarks, Paul Graham emphasized that the key is to create incentives for local actors to choose a democratic path and ensure a robust legacy of democratic institutions and entrenched values. The ultimate aim must be to establish politically-rooted partnerships rather than financial transactions, that is, to “find friends, not financiers; companions, not contractors.”

Recommendations

- It would be instructive to disaggregate the online survey data by region, country, and regime-types.
- Encourage strategic, long-term approaches to democracy assistance so that consolidating but still-fragile democracies (like Mongolia) aren’t left in the lurch.

- Factor in the issue of timing; at what points in a democratic struggle or transition is assistance most effective?
- Ways should be found to guard against the survey data's suggestion that some groups are overly dependent on foreign funding because they do not have local support or constituencies.
- Democracy assistance organizations should be wary of following civil society activists into government in their funding strategies—in other words,

losing their independence and being seduced by the prospect of government funds from former activist colleagues.

- Develop checklists of good practices (or codes of conduct) in donor-grantee relations.
- Ensure that democracy assistance organizations break out of their “comfort zones” of dealing with urban, well-educated elites and also engage with popular or community-based groups in rural or peripheral areas and those in marginalized or impoverished communities.

Workshops

Democracy Assistance Foundations

ORGANIZER:

National Endowment for Democracy—NED (U.S.)

MODERATOR:

Barbara Haig – NED (U.S.)

RAPPORTEUR:

Michael Allen – Democracy Digest (UK)

PRESENTERS:

Vera Rihackova – EUROPEUM Institute for European Policy (Czech Republic)

Peter Manikas – National Democratic Institute for International Affairs-NDI (U.S.)

Roland Rich – UN Democracy Fund-UNDEF (Australia)

Tim Ryan – Solidarity Center (U.S.)

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

Democracy assistance foundations are proliferating and, alongside other donors and institutions in the field, adapting—albeit with varying degrees of speed and innovation—to a challenging environment marked by newly assertive authoritarian regimes. But donors and grant recipients don't always see eye to eye on how to best balance accountability, transparency, and efficacy.

The European Union (EU) and its democracy assistance flagship—the European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights (EIDHR)—have been criticized for opaque and onerous regulations that deter activist groups from applying for funds. That is starting to change, however, according to Vera Rihackova, who summarized a new report produced for the Prague-based PASOS think-tank network. The EU's new approach to what it now calls democracy support puts democracy on an equal footing with development and human rights, while the EIDHR is now prepared to fund activists working within authoritarian states, no longer insisting on the previous requirement for host-government approval.

According to the workshop moderator, the study and

the EU's approach raised issues with which practitioners have been struggling for over 25 years. How can assistance be delivered to democracy activists operating in closed societies? How should donors relate to host-country governments?

The UN Democracy Fund has grappled with many of the dilemmas confronting democracy assistance donors, according to Roland Rich in his presentation, including whether to insist on online-only applications (it does, due to resource constraints); whether to give small or large grants to widen or deepen civil society (it opts for the latter); whether to fund local or international NGOS (UNDEF almost exclusively supports grassroots groups); and how to determine what role governments should play (advisory rather than holding a veto).

In his presentation, Peter Manikas remarked that Asia currently exhibits a diverse set of challenges to democracy assistance groups, from post-conflict reconciliation in Sri Lanka and Nepal to acute security challenges in Afghanistan and Pakistan; from the intimidating prospects for changing closed societies like North Korea and Burma to the highly-polarized polities—and civil

societies—of Thailand and Bangladesh. The overriding challenge, however, is the threat of the China model, which holds out the autocratic promise of economic growth and social stability without democracy. The much-neglected Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) presents the threat of an authoritarian axis at the regional geo-strategic level.

Democracy assistance actors have arguably neglected the socio-economic dimensions of democracy, leaving a vacuum for populist and anti-democratic forces to exploit by feeding off the material insecurity that poverty breeds. In his workshop presentation, Tim Ryan explained that labor unions are in the democracy business because workers tend to perceive their interests in the round, since it is hard to divorce political concerns from issues of economic security. The plight of Asia's migrant workers provides a case in point; their social and economic marginalization often leads to their political disenfranchisement.

John Sullivan endorsed Indonesian President Yudhoyono's call for "democracy that delivers," but he insisted that democracy isn't worth the name without property rights, which underpin the distribution of income and the pluralist dispersal of power. He cautioned against subsuming—and thereby diluting—democracy under the rubric of development, and insisted that misleading references to "good governance" be exposed for the euphemistic evasions that they often are; *democratic* governance is the only meaningful way to frame decision making and leadership selection, which are central to any genuine concept of democracy.

Recommendations

The workshop discussion resulted in the following recommendations:

- A regional, geo-strategic, and ideological counterweight to the China model and SCO is needed.



- Donor demands for transparency and accountability should also pay heed to the security of activists operating in authoritarian regimes.
- Don't unduly accentuate the tensions between democracy and development, since they are interdependent.
- Democracy assistance isn't enough; funds matter, but activists and NGOs need the political support of democratic states, which should employ other foreign policy instruments—related to aid, trade, and diplomacy—to defend activists and to pressure autocrats.
- Insist on property rights as an essential element of democracy, and demand democratic governance to avoid the bland evasiveness of good governance.
- Don't underestimate the force of religious sentiment as a factor in political allegiance and mobilization, or focus too much on secular elites.
- Donors should help build small, local NGO capacity to meet the demands of auditing and other forms of accountability that donors demand.

Citizen–Led Democracy Assessments: The International IDEA Methodology and Practical Experiences

ORGANIZERS:

International IDEA

**Philippine Democracy
Assessment Network**
(The Philippines)

MODERATOR:

Andrew Ellis –
International IDEA (UK)

RAPPORTEUR:

Amina Rasul-Bernardo –
Philippine Council for
Islam and Democracy
(The Philippines)

PRESENTERS:

Keboitse Machangana –
International IDEA (Botswana)

Krishna Hachhethu –
Tribhuvan University (Nepal)

Tsetsenbileg Tseveen – Academy of
Science of Mongolia (Mongolia)

Edna Co – Philippines Democracy
Assessment Network (The Philippines)

The fundamental reason for a democracy assessment is not only to determine how democratic a country and its government are, but to contribute to democratic change. The IDEA methodology for democracy assessment relies on citizens, since they are the best source of experiences on how their country's history, culture, and realities shape its approach to democratic principles. The assessment assists in identifying priorities for reform and monitoring progress to achieve it. IDEA's criteria for assessments are derived from clearly defined democratic principles and allow assessors to choose priorities for examination according to local needs. The assessments are qualitative judgments of strengths and weaknesses in each area of priority, complemented by quantitative measures where appropriate. Benchmarks or standards for assessment are chosen based on the country's history, regional practice, and international norms. The assessment process involves wide public consultation.

Keboitse Machangana presented the general framework of the IDEA methodology, according to which the focus of citizen-led assessment is to build democracy from within. Citizens should be at the forefront of democracy building and reform. The assessment focuses on four pillars: citizenship, law, and rights (nationhood and citizenship, rule of law and access to justice, civil and political rights, economic and social rights); representative and accountable government; civil society and popular participation; and democracy beyond the state.

The methodology has been applied in more than 20 countries, and a network has been developed among its users. Feedback from local groups has been useful to revise the methodology and to adapt it to new realities. Today, governments are beginning to use the assessments.

Krishna Hachhethu spoke about democracy assessment in conflict and post-conflict situations. Nepal, a landlocked, ecologically diverse, multicultural nation with 101 castes and/or ethnicities, an underdeveloped economy, and an exclusionary state dominated by Hindu high castes (Brahmin/Chettri and Newar), began assessments in 2003. Before April 2006, Nepal was monarchical, unitary, unilingual, and exclusionary, and used assimilation of minorities as a strategy. Today, it is a republic, federal, secular, multilingual, and inclusive, and uses accommodation as a strategy.

The Nepal assessment was part of a regional study that covered a combination of global democracy barometers for South Asia, as well as specific indicators for Nepal (republicanism, federalism, inclusion, protection of minority rights, and resolution of armed conflicts). The 2004 assessment survey included 42 polling centers. To facilitate the survey, the organizers obtained approval of the study from all actors. The next assessment survey, in 2007, covered the political transition and post-conflict situation. These assessments relied on a cross-national citizen survey, local dialogues, expert assessments, and field observation reports. The assessment included a survey of 300 of 329 members of Parliament, as well as in-depth personal surveys of 46 citizens and 30 "elite." The findings were disseminated to political parties, the Parliament, members of the interim legislature, NGOs and civil society, the international community, electronic and print media, public libraries, and bookshops. The assessments, and the surveys in particular, showed changing public opinion in favor of a republican form of government based on inclusive democracy, peace, federalism, and ethnic/regional identity and minority rights. The findings have been adopted for the main agenda for Nepal.

Tsetsenbileg Tseveen described the assessments of Mongolia's democratic governance. The objective of the first assessment was to develop core and peripheral democratic governance indicators (DGIs), the first of which represent common values of democratic governance, while the latter reflected the national characteristics of Mongolia's democracy. Mongolia is a landlocked country with a harsh climate, an economy dominated by pastoral cattle-breeding, and a nomadic lifestyle. It is homogenous in terms of language and culture, with the Mongols the major ethnic group. Mongolia's small population has a high level of education with a gender balance of more educated women. Its small-scale economy is dependent on foreign aid, and there is a wide income gap between urban and rural areas resulting in increased migration from rural to urban areas. The country is in political and economic transition, and has a semi-presidential political system, with communism now in a state of inertia. Knowledge of democracy and democratic values is superficial; the economic crisis has resulted in social polarization, high unemployment, and poverty; and corruption has worsened.

The second assessment of democratic governance resulted in a national plan of action to consolidate democratic processes. However, Tseveen noted the limitation of the methodology, which did not fully incorporate the point of view of citizens nor the specific realities of the Mongolian situation. She suggested that the DGIs be disaggregated by population, and geography, and reflect government structures.

The state of democracy is faced with several challenges: making information open and accessible to the public; lack of monitoring mechanisms for the accuracy of information; and lack of action on the rights of citizens to information, since the government "owns" the data and uses the assessment to protect its position. In addition, bureaucratic systems prevent the free flow of information to all groups who need the data. Even faced with these challenges, Mongolia's DGIs and National Plan of Action are steps towards consolidating democracy. The assessments have contributed to the development of a culture of evidence- or data-based decision making. However, there is a need to improve the quality of available national information, including information related to the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Democracy Governance Indicators (DGIs). There is a need to raise public awareness of the DGI outcomes, to include the role of civil society organizations, as well as the State.

Key lessons learned from the assessments include the following: the process should be inclusive, involving all stakeholders; while drawing on international experiences and expertise, the process should be "owned" by the local stakeholders; the assessment should reflect Mongolian realities and specificity; and the assessment should be improved to include a multi-disciplinary approach and be institutionalized.

Edna Co reviewed the history of democracy in The Philippines. While it obtained its independence in 1946, it has gone through authoritarian rule introduced by former President Ferdinand Marcos whose rule was ended by the People Power revolution led by former President Corazon Aquino in 1986. Aquino reinstated democratic institutions. However, democracy has been eroded over the past 10 years for a variety of reasons. The democracy assessment served as a significant exercise among citizens to look into the challenges and inadequacies of the governmental system. The assessment helped inform and educate the citizens on the quality of democratic processes, as well as on the progress and weaknesses of democracy in the country. It identified challenges for strengthening democracy and the areas of reform that need to be addressed. In addition, it helped citizens and stakeholders navigate through the process of reform. The assessment relied on the following processes: documentary review and e-research of agency and official documents; in-depth interviews with key informants; focus group discussions with representatives of stakeholder groups and networks; analysis of previous polls, surveys, and case studies; and validation of the assessment with the stakeholders in an inclusive public forum, which also serves as a forum to launch the assessment to the media.

The assessment questions were open-ended, non-judgmental, and designed to measure the quality of democracy. The findings were disseminated to academia, social scientist organizations, NGOs and civil society, partners and sponsors of the assessment, the media, practitioners, and advocacy groups. The Commission on Elections, policy makers, legislators, political parties, and party list groups also received the findings. The assessment has led to workshops, discussions, and fora for various stakeholders, and has been mainstreamed and included in optional courses in universities on electoral administration and reform, corruption, and administration of social development. It has led to more research on topics related to elections, such as campaign and political finance.

The challenges in carrying out the assessment pres-

ent opportunities for future work, including more widespread and accessible dissemination of the findings; more public fora to pursue a specific democracy reform agenda; improved involvement of the media; linking specific local assessment issues to the national assessment, such as concerns of Muslim communities; and informing policy making and institutions with the results and recommendations, thus providing a wider impact and more sustainable and institutionalized outcomes.

Challenges and Recommendations

- Assessments should feed into donor assistance. In Nepal, donors have gradually shifted focus, perhaps due to the change in the political scenario, and this change was captured by the assessment survey; in Mongolia, the assessment impacted work on MDGs; in The Philippines, several donors believed that democracy had been restored, but the assessment showed that citizens disagree and what they recommend to donors as the direction for further reform.
- The assessment should also educate respondents and citizens. Findings have been widely used in Nepal through local dialogue and focused group discussions; in Mongolia, outreach projects were utilized through TV, targeted programs like translations of books, and training civil servants to become sensitive to accountability; in The Philippines, the assessment team was composed not just of academics but also of media, political actors, and CSOs, which enabled them to use data and the assessment to educate their communities.
- Assessments should be bottom-up, not just “top-down.” The local and national foci should be combined. In The Philippines, the system is integrated, and there are no distinctions between global, national, and local.
- Local assessments provide a national snapshot, which is crucial, especially when trying to take account of the concerns of ethnic and religious groups and other sectors of society.
- When starting at the country level, there are several methodologies and frameworks. The assessment should draw from all of them and integrate the relevant features into a consistent framework. Global and regional issues should tie in with national and local issues. However, there should also be space to differentiate and look into homegrown democracy and its problems. Local requirements may be lost if the focus is on global indicators.
- Economic governance reforms are missed in

democracy assessments and should be incorporated. In The Philippines, social justice is intertwined with assessments. In assessing the rule of law, the study is not just legalistic, but looks into institutions that are responsible for social justice. In examining democracy, considering adherence to economic and social rights is important because it tests how democratic a country is at a practical level.

- The role of religion should be highlighted in assessments.
- National progress, measured by GDP, is not enough. Indicators should include health, social connection, participation, and education.
- Democracy assessments should not just be *about* democracy, but should be democratic themselves by not being monopolized by academia or government; they should be in the first instance citizen-led.
- There is a need to ensure that democracy grows from within by building capacity. Citizen-led assessments are one way to build from within by allowing citizens to evaluate democratic progress in their own countries.

How Civil Society Can Engage with the UN Human Rights Council's Universal Periodic Review Mechanism

ORGANIZERS:

Conectas (Brazil)

Forum Asia

MODERATORS:

Camila Asano – Conectas (Brazil)

Swee Seng Yap – Forum Asia (Malaysia)

RAPPORTEUR:

Camila Asano – Conectas (Brazil)

PRESENTERS:

Camila Asano – Conectas (Brazil)

Swee Seng Yap – Forum Asia (Malaysia)

This workshop was focused on the Universal Periodic Review (UPR), the most innovative mechanism of the United Nations Human Rights Council (HRC), which provides possible opportunities for civil society to strengthen its struggle for human rights and democracy. The UPR requires that all UN member states periodically undergo a human rights review (48 countries per year in four-year cycles). According to General Assembly Resolution 60/251 and Security Council Resolution 5/1, the objective of the review process is to determine the fulfillment by all UN member states of their international human rights obligations and commitments.

Following a brief overview about the HRC within the UN system, the possibilities for civil society engagement were explored. The UPR process is composed of four phases: Phase 1 – elaboration of the reports to be considered by HRC's member and observer states; Phase 2 – interactive dialogue, a three-hour session in Geneva during which the state under review presents its report orally, answers questions, and receives recommendations; Phase 3 – adoption of the outcome report containing the recommendations to be implemented by the state under review; and Phase 4 – follow up to the recommendations and preparation for the next review.

Lessons Learned

The following lessons based on experiences were shared by the presenters in the workshop:

- There is no formula for civil society engagement with the UPR.
- Civil society participation is not restricted to formal spaces established in the mechanism; there is room for lobbying and advocacy.
- The UPR is an important mechanism, but it is not the only one through which to engage the UN.
- Have realistic expectations; the UPR offers

opportunities, but its effectiveness depends on commitment at the national level and whether and how the recommendations made are implemented.

- The UPR has served as a portal for southern NGO engagement with the UN.
- Cooperation among NGOs and the identification of best practices are very important; the coordination of civil society groups is also important, both to facilitate joint submissions and to avoid duplication among all submissions.

Challenges

- There is a lack of knowledge of the UN human rights system, including the UPR.
- There is the threat of reprisals against human rights defenders who engage with the UPR mechanism.
- There are precedents of cases in which states have not cooperated with the UPR.
- There is often solidarity and complicity among allied states during the review of countries with bad human rights records.
- The increase in the number of recommendations made to states over the first three years does not mean that they were good recommendations; in fact, they have often been vague and intangible.
- There is a need for resources for civil society groups to work with the UN and the UPR, including long-term resources, since it takes time to achieve results.
- There are language barriers in the UPR process, since only Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish are UN official languages.
- Civil society faces short deadlines to submit information for reviews, as opposed to the more generous deadlines given to states to send their official reports.
- It is difficult to prioritize issues to be included



in submissions, since the number of pages is limited (five pages for individual, and 10 pages for joint, submissions).

- Since the compilation of stakeholder contributions to the UPR is 10 pages, the OHCHR, which is responsible for elaborating the document, faces the challenge of choosing which pieces of information to include, whether from local or international organizations, for instance.
- Consultations by states to elaborate their reports sometimes do not include the presentation of a draft text, and, in nondemocratic countries, only non-independent civil society organizations are invited to the consultations.
- NGOs can take the floor on the UPR at the UN Human Rights Council meetings only after recommendations have already been made and very limited time remains for their oral interventions.

Recommendations

- The UPR should be seen as a means, and not an end.
- The UPR should be an ongoing *national* process, and the moment in Geneva should not be seen as the main phase.

- There is no need for civil society to work during all phases of the UPR process; it can choose whenever best to engage.
- Raise awareness among governments and those in the donor community of the need to support cross-regional training and knowledge sharing on the UPR process for civil society groups, especially in the global south.
- Promote systematic links between groups working on specific issues and those dedicated to broader work with the UPR.
- The Webcast that the UN HRC provides online can be used as a tool to “bring the UPR to the national level.”
- Disseminate UPR recommendations across society.
- Governments should create interdisciplinary coordination among their ministries for the implementation of UPR recommendations.
- Organize briefings for parliamentarians, especially on those recommendations that require reform of legislation.
- In addition to undergoing the UPR itself, a country can participate in the review of other countries, and it is thus important not only to work on the review of one’s own country, but to influence one’s country to be effective in reviewing others.
- Make use of cross-regional advocacy among civil society groups to break South-South negative solidarity.
- Use the lack of cooperation by some states with the UPR process as a criterion in HRC elections.
- Make use of the 2011 review of the HRC’s functioning and methodology to improve the UPR, especially its capacity to require states to cooperate with the process and to establish an implementation progress-reporting system during the HRC’s regular session.
- Include independent experts to check the compliance of UPR recommendations with international human rights standards and instruments, since some states make recommendations to other governments with bad human rights records that are not informed by the promotion and protection of rights and freedoms.
- During the four years of each UPR cycle, civil society groups should systematically use other UN human rights mechanisms (e.g., sending cases to Special Rapporteurs) in their efforts.

The Contribution of the Community of Democracies to Global Democratization: The Second Decade

ORGANIZER:

International Steering Committee of the Community of Democracies Nongovernmental Process

MODERATOR:

Paul Graham – Idasa: An African Democracy Institute (South Africa)

RAPPORTEUR:

Carlos Ponce – Justice Consortium (Venezuela)

PRESENTERS:

Dorota Mitrus – European Institute for Democracy (Poland)

Michael Ying-Mao Kau – Taiwan Foundation for Democracy (Taiwan)

Ted Piccone – The Brookings Institution (U.S.)

Roel von Meijenfeldt – Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy-NIMD (The Netherlands)

The workshop moderator introduced the Community of Democracies (CD) and its non-governmental International Steering Committee (ISC). The CD is an intergovernmental organization of democracies and democratizing countries with the stated commitment to strengthen and deepen democratic norms and practices worldwide. The ISC is a global committee of civil society organization representatives committed to democracy and human rights. Established following the 2005 Santiago CD Ministerial Meeting, the ISC represents the views of civil society to governments within the CD framework. ISC members include representatives from all regions of the world.

Ten years after its first Ministerial Meeting in Warsaw, Poland, the CD has been facing a number of challenges, one of which is to be more effective and really fulfill its goals. For its next Ministerial Meeting, in Vilnius, Lithuania, in 2011, the CD has been engaged in efforts to be more effective through creation of its Permanent Secretariat in Warsaw and the implementation of a Global Action Plan with input from eight working groups to develop a common strategy in priority areas. The Working Groups, which include both governments and ISC representation, include:

- Enabling and Protecting Civil Society
- Promoting Democracy and Responding to National and Transnational Threats to Democracy
- Gender Equality and the Promotion of the Rights of Women
- Poverty, Development, and Democracy
- Regional Cooperation
- Education and Training for Democracy
- Methods of the CD and its Convening Group
- Grassroots Democracy and Local Governance

In his presentation, Ted Piccone described the process of issuing invitations to governments for the CD's biennial Ministerial Meetings, which is supposed to reflect the democratic criteria for membership and thus sustain the legitimacy of the CD and advance the founding principles in the Warsaw Declaration. The invitation process has developed over time from the first Ministerial, to the creation of the Convening Group, which is composed primarily of governments and that alone made decisions for invitations to Ministerial Meetings, to the inclusion of an International Advisory Committee (IAC) on invitations, composed of prominent democracy experts and leaders. The IAC has provided better and more specialized criteria for invitations with the added benefit of expert credibility. The IAC role has thus added great value because it provides a global forum on democracy with criteria for the participation of governments.

The CD Convening Group, however, does not always accept the recommendations of the IAC, and we have observed a large number of deviations from those recommendations. Some decisions of the Convening Group included countries as "observers" from the IAC's list of those that should not be invited, or full participant invitations to others recommended to only be observers. This has contributed to providing a more favorable status to governments that are at least questionable regarding their commitment to democratic values and practices.

One of the key questions that has emerged is how to increase pressure at the international level to improve the invitation mechanisms and thus to prevent the Convening Group from including governments that are not democratic from being invited to Ministerial

Meetings as full participants or observers. There is now an opportunity for improvement, and the IAC has been building greater trust with the Convening Group to improve better understanding of the IAC's role and contributions.

In her presentation, Dorota Mitrus provided an overview of the then-upcoming CD High Level Democracy Meeting in Krakow in July 2010 to mark the tenth anniversary of the CD's founding. The meeting was an opportunity to develop a common effort for civil society and governments to focus on ways to improve the CD. It also featured a number of CD innovations, including a Young Diplomats for Democracy meeting to encourage young diplomats to recognize the work of democracy and human rights NGOs using the Diplomats Handbook, produced by the Council for the Community of Democracies, as a reference and tool.

In his presentation, Michael Kau suggested that the CD may be more important than the UN because as a political organization, rather than a democracy-promotion organization, the UN cannot take actions to promote democracy. The CD, on the other hand, can play a key role in promoting democracy worldwide. Of course, there is frustration due to a lack of efficiency and there is a tendency to issue declarations without action, but recently there have been some advances and signs of hope given the establishment of a Permanent Secretariat and more serious financial commitments. Another improvement is the inclusion of the ISC into the structure of the CD. Over the past 10 years, the CD has institutionalized itself through regular Ministerial Meetings and a formalized invitation process, which has fostered regular global dialogues on democracy among governments and non-governmental actors. We are thus making progress, but concerns remain, and a key question is what can be done to make the CD more effective. The creation of eight working groups on leading challenges to democracy, which have been approved by the Convening Group, represents an opportunity for civil society to provide its recommendations.

Mr. Kau asked whether it is time for the CD to develop its own procedure for assessing the democratic credentials of governments as the primary condition for CD participation. The invitation process should serve not just for evaluating and ranking governments regarding their level of and commitment to democracy, but also as an instrument to put pressure on governments to reform, improve their behavior, and thus respond to the evaluations. It would be valuable to publish the results of the evaluations, because the

invitation process can then serve as a mechanism to put pressure on countries in terms of accountability and because every country wants to show its best face to the world. Evaluation and pressure for improvement must thus go together.

Mr. Kau added that a fundamental recommendation for the CD is to engage in concrete projects to promote democratic values and institutions, including the promotion of global education on democracy, because its long-term sustainability rests on people's belief in, and personal commitments to, the values at its heart. One idea is to compile and publish a series of basic democracy education guidebooks. Much work has been done, but the CD and the ISC can improve this area of work.

In his presentation, Roel von Meijenfeldt expressed concern about the evolution of the CD over the last 10 years and how efforts to meet the goals of the founding Warsaw Declaration have not been very successful despite our continuing expectations. The High Level Democracy Meeting in Krakow provided an opportunity to re-launch the CD, and one of the key questions concerns the role of the CD within the UN and its coordination efforts. The CD should keep its commitment to assist countries without democracy, improve democracy in countries where it is fragile, and exchange knowledge and best practices between more established democracies and others. The CD should also do more to bring together civil society and political society, and should create links among democratic states, civil society, and political society. The CD's new Parliamentary Forum is a good idea, and political parties should be active participants. It is also necessary to include professional organizations that work on democracy with specific expertise. It is fundamental to bring as many institutions into the common effort as possible.

In his presentation, Yuri Dzhibladze expressed optimism about the improvements in the CD regarding civil society participation. The Santiago Ministerial was a breakthrough given the inclusion of civil society at the same table as governments, and the new working groups have given civil society an opportunity to become equal participants in the CD. Of course, it is in the nature of civil society to always want more, and we should explore ideas for elevating NGO participation in the CD further, not to assist the CD, but as an equal partner in the process. We also need more substantive commitments of governments to include the protection of civil society and activists in the CD's mandate and to make governments more responsible.

Recommendations

During the workshop discussion, participants provided some general recommendations:

- There should be more stable infrastructure and institutional reforms inside the CD to ensure that it is able to fulfill its goals.
- Enhance the role of countries other than those in the European Union and the U.S., which alone cannot promote democracy. The CD should engage more countries, and both European countries and the U.S. should launch a fresh effort to do so.
- We should re-launch the CD with effective working groups and demonstrate that civil society and governments can work together; this requires engagement and brainstorming.
- Improve civil society involvement as an equal partner in the CD.
- It is important to obtain greater clarity about the goals of the working groups.
- A concept paper for each working group would help ensure proper procedures, membership, missions, goals, baselines and benchmarks, and demonstrations of political will.

Recommendations for national-level action

- NGO fora for democracy should be a priority in all countries.
- Every CD member government should raise its level of representation at CD meetings (Head of State).
- Ensure and monitor implementation of CD recommendations and agreements.
- Implement strategic plans for civic education in democracy.

Recommendations for regional-level action

- Regional meetings and working groups should be organized to improve regional mechanisms to advance democracy.
- Develop regional democracy charters where they do not yet exist.
- Strengthen partnerships and cooperation between governments and intergovernmental organizations, on the one hand, and regional civil society networks, on the other, to address common concerns.
- Train diplomats using the *Diplomat's Handbook* at the regional level.

Recommendations for global-level action

- Link the CD with the UN Democracy Fund and the UN Democracy Caucus.
- Initiate a global campaign to promote the CD.
- The CD should produce periodic reports on “the state of democracy.”
- The CD and its member governments should provide assistance to countries in transition to improve their democracy (capacity building, civil society empowerment, rule of law, technical assistance, etc.).
- Convene meetings of democracy organizations in all global regions with a view to creating regional mechanisms to advance democracy.
- Ensure that civil society is an equal partner in the CD.
- Engage political society, parliamentarians, and the business sector in the CD's work.

Actors In Democracy Assistance: What Have We Learned from the Asian and European Experiences?

ORGANIZERS:

Taiwan Foundation for Democracy–TFD

European Partnership for Democracy–EPD

MODERATOR:

Michael Ying-Mao Kau – TFD (*Taiwan*)

RAPPORTEUR:

Bo Tedards – TFD (*Taiwan*)

PRESENTERS:

Roel von Meijenfeldt – Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy–NIMD (*The Netherlands*)

Maureen Aung-Thwin – Soros Foundation (*U.S.*)

I Ketut Putra Erawan – Institute for Peace and Democracy (*Indonesia*)

Anselmo Seonghoon Lee – Korea Human Rights Foundation–KHRF (*South Korea*)

The opening presenters began by acknowledging the great differences between the two regions of focus: Europe has vast financial resources, and all European Union (EU) members are democratic, whereas Asia has a wide range of both economic and political conditions. The official promotion of values by European countries, as well as the EU, is positive, since democracy and human rights are core values in that region. In Asia, on the other hand, “values” are usually used to counter democratization, and there is a potent and growing force for “democracy obstruction.”

Despite these differences, both regions have recent experience of transitions, and the newer democracies in Europe have recently launched democracy assistance or solidarity initiatives. These appear to be similar to recent efforts in Asia in their emphasis on solidarity and mutual learning. Indeed, one workshop participant cautioned against too much generalizing by region, and argued that individual variation among countries is more important, since every country is unique. For example, although EU countries are all democratic, there is no one model, but 27 different ones. In Europe, the most powerful tool for democratization has been the EU enlargement process using the Copenhagen Criteria; however, European efforts to reach the rest of the world are much less focused.

During the workshop discussion, participants described the various approaches of their own organizations, as well as their countries and regions. It was recognized early in the discussion that the idea of democracy promotion is spreading around the world, although perhaps not as swiftly as World Movement participants might like. Participants also noted that democracy promotion organizations in newer democracies, including Asian ones, such as Korea, Taiwan, and Indonesia, place a higher emphasis on sharing

experiences than on providing funding. One participant described democratic development as “more like gardening than designing.” European participants pointed out that their programs are also not trying to promote specific models, but to assist local democrats to achieve their goals.

A wide range of types of organizations were represented in the workshop, including political foundations (i.e., those with close ties to one or more political parties), non-partisan public foundations, private foundations, and one new intergovernmental initiative, the Bali Democracy Forum. Each was considered to have different strengths and weaknesses. For example, political party foundations find that political compatibility with partners yields a high comfort level for in-depth, honest discussions; on the other hand, it can be difficult to work in countries where parties are not clearly distinguished by ideology, which includes many Asian countries.

The European Partnership for Democracy (EPD) was launched in 2008 to try to advocate a more coherent approach to democracy assistance, and to provide a “flexible funding” mechanism. The “European Network for Political Foundations” was also established in 2006 to strengthen coordination. In November 2009, the European Council adopted the “Conclusions on Democracy Support,” which is a positive step. This document sets out basic principles for EU action in this area and includes the “EU Agenda for Action on Democracy Support in EU External Relations” as an annex.

Private foundations operate under a different set of regulatory issues than other assistance institutions; in addition, when the major donors are well known individuals, a new set of operational pros and cons emerges. In Europe, the Open Society Institute was able to

spin-off local foundations in many countries, which can run their programs autonomously to fit local priorities, but this model has not been easy to extend to Asia (with the partial exception of Indonesia). The OSI partners in Europe were described as adding a lot of value to the work in other regions, both politically (to dilute the impression of promoting an American agenda) and because they have rich experiences in democratic transitions.

All of the Asian presenters in the workshop described their democracy support work as still being in the learning stage, with the various experiences of European countries serving as valuable reference points. They also explained their need to balance their efforts to provide support in other countries with recognition of the flaws in their own new democracies. Although Indonesia has listed democracy promotion as a top priority of its foreign policy, it is being made operational cautiously, and by keeping firm roots in the country's own historical experience in anti-colonialism and nonalignment. The most important Indonesian initiative so far is the Bali Democracy Forum, which was launched in 2008 as a summit of all Asian countries on the principle of inclusiveness with the idea that even non-democratic countries are welcome to participate in the hope of raising their awareness of democratic principles and their practical application in other Asian countries.

Korea has two tracks in their assistance efforts. On the one hand, since Korea became a donor country in the 1990s, and joined the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 2009, it has been increasingly considering how to make democracy support a significant aspect of its overseas development assistance (ODA) program. At the same time, the Korea Democracy Foundation and the May 18 Foundation are special public institutions that receive public funds but operate close to Korean civil society, and are thus largely focused on domestic activities. Both have begun to organize solidarity, networking, and training activities in the region.

Recommendations

- Assistance institutions should focus not only on the quantity of democracy assistance being provided (i.e., funding budgets), but on the quality, especially through “cross-learning processes” to achieve a deeper sharing of experiences and best practices.
- Special emphasis should be placed on interaction between Central and Eastern Europeans and

Asians to share their relatively contemporary transition experiences and their new efforts to support democracy outside their own countries.

- Outreach should be increased to raise public awareness of the importance of democracy promotion and to urge democratic governments to be more forthcoming with political support for the goals of democracy movements and activists under pressure.
- Stronger efforts should be made to minimize the stigma of receiving assistance, or at least to counter the efforts of many regimes to maximize that perceived stigma.
- The gap between, and the prejudice toward, civil society and political parties should be addressed.
- Assistance institutions should learn the lessons of integrating democracy into ODA programs by new donor countries, such as Korea and Taiwan, while encouraging the OECD to develop guidelines to encourage ODA to address democratic development directly, since it has often been considered too political.
- In special circumstances, such as Singapore, there is a need to consider extending democracy assistance even to countries that are not eligible for regular development assistance.
- EU mechanisms should be strengthened to bring the EU's enormous potential influence to bear; however, in the meantime, more nimble actors should be active by strengthening informal coordination and networking as much as possible.
- Ways should be identified to apply the positive lessons of European integration, such as the enlargement process, into ASEAN and other Asian regional organizations.
- Since one reason why the argument about the incompatibility of Asian values and democracy is reappearing—alongside an increasing confidence in China—is the significant tarnishing of moral authority among many Western countries, such tarnishing should be recognized as a kind of threat to global democratic development and addressed with urgency.

Regional Networking

Africa: Safeguarding Democratic Institutions

ORGANIZER:

**African Democracy
Forum—ADF**

MODERATOR:

Hannah Forster –
African Centre for Democracy and Human
Rights Studies (*The Gambia*)

RAPPORTEUR:

Emmanuel Abdulai –
Society for Democratic Initiatives
(*Sierra Leone*)

PRESENTERS:

Ayo Ogunsola Obe –
Ogundola Shonibare (*Nigeria*)

Anthony Kuria – Movement for Political
Accountability (*Kenya*)

Francesca Bomboko – BERCI
(*Democratic Rep. of Congo*)

The opening presentations highlighted several assumptions underlying the topic of the workshop, as well as a number of observations and general recommendations:

- The subject assumes an inability in Africa to manage democratic institutions, but there are a number of success stories, so it is unwise to lump all of Africa together as unable to manage democratic institutions. For example, Sierra Leone has organized very good elections and there are good practices that can be learned from them, and in some cases, corruption and the lack of business ethics contribute to the inability to manage institutions. So there is no general picture about the status of democratic institutions in Africa.
- There is a tendency for human rights and democracy activists to emphasize problems but not accomplishments. There are, of course, problems to be solved, but there are also success stories that should be highlighted. The electoral process has not failed in Sierra Leone and Senegal; Nigeria is a good example of how energy and determination has been devoted to protecting democracy; there are also regions in the world where the situation is worse than in Africa. So we should stop talking up the problems and give ourselves a pat on the back for the successes. Democratic systems are not perfect anywhere, and we should be aware that solutions to problems evolve and take time. For many years, African countries did not even think of themselves as individual countries, since nationhood was lacking. Imperfection is something that we should work on, but not something over which to despair.
- Some participants argued that any subversion of

the electoral processes should be a crime against humanity, and that violators of such processes should be brought to the International Criminal Court in The Hague. However, other participants disagreed because of the nature of elections. It was pointed out, for instance, that the conduct of elections is often assisted by international experts, and that the people are often excluded from the electoral process. This makes it extremely difficult to make a strong legal case of a crime against humanity.

General Observations and Recommendations

- There is an international law on the conduct of elections, and Article 25 of the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) addresses electoral processes. It is important, therefore, for our democracies to ensure that free choices do not undermine, or are not perceived to be biased in favor of, whichever parties or individuals win.
- The composition of an electoral commission should represent a country's ethnic and geographic balance, because conducting elections is a very sensitive issue. The Ivory Coast is an example in which an election led to the eruption of violence, and the impact has created political instability, since the electoral commission is not representative in the country.
- The government should not attempt to control the electoral process, since in many instances the government reacts with great force.
- Ethnicity is becoming a bigger factor in Africa, and is thus connected to the issue of elections and must be addressed in a positive way.
- Governments tend to suppress the media, so it

must be defended.

- Lack of investment in a country leads to unemployment, which affects the ability to sustain democratic institutions.
- Once elections are mismanaged there is a great tendency for crimes to be committed, and this compromises people's safety. There is thus a question as to whether electoral laws in each country should address post-election violence as crimes against humanity.
- The major threat to democratic institutions is not weak civil leadership, but weak security sectors because they are often politicized and personalized, and the personnel badly trained. Security sectors should thus be improved and professionalized.
- Citizens often get concerned that elections will lead to a breakdown of law and order. It is therefore important to strengthen civil society groups and organizations in African countries. If civil society is very weak there is no foundation to support democratic processes. There is no need to appeal immediately to regional bodies to address violations of election standards; we should first look to domestic remedies.
- It is very important to recognize that there are local solutions to local problems, and that each country is different. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) has been able to put some pressure on governments to respect democratic processes, but in Kenya, for instance, the government was impervious to pressure from regional bodies.
- Many African leaders don't want to hear about democracy because they come from backgrounds of being chiefs, so they feel that they have a right to succeed themselves.

Sub-Regional Challenges and Recommendations

East Africa

Challenges

- As Sub-Saharan Africans, we often do not understand the issues in North Africa.
- Lack of freedom of association, expression, and press is a major challenge.
- There is mismanagement of electoral processes.
- There is a need to move beyond the mechanics of elections.
- Elections are not issues-based or nationalism-based, but ethnic-based.

- There are too many expectations from states.
- There is insufficient participation among youth.

Recommendations

- Insist on participatory democracy in all of its aspects, not just elections.
- Regional electoral commissions should be established.
- Citizens should control elections by advocating for electoral reforms, being educated about the electoral process and candidates' positions on various issues, encouraging healthy debates among candidates, and organizing domestic monitoring.
- There should be early warning systems regarding elections-related violence.
- Civic education should be enhanced.
- There should be greater socio-economic empowerment.
- Put an end to "negotiated" democracy through which political parties conveniently agree to power-sharing arrangements, as we have seen in Kenya and Zimbabwe in 2008.
- Create face-saving ways for leaders to step down, including pension schemes.
- There should be stronger media coverage focused on African realities.

West Africa

Challenges

- There is instability due to military coups.
- There are high levels of poverty in West African populations.
- There is a strong trend toward identity politics—ethnic and regional—and an abuse of human rights by security sectors.
- There is a serious lack of political awareness.
- There is political and religious extremism.

In Memory of World Movement for Democracy participant, Floribert Chebeya Bahizire, executive director and founder of Voix des sans Voix (Voice of the Voiceless), one of the largest human rights groups in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Mr. Bahizire was a victim of foul play that resulted in his death after a meeting with the Inspector General of the Congolese Police. He was known as one of the leading human rights defenders in the DRC and in Africa, and his death has resulted in worldwide outrage and calls for a thorough and independent investigation.



Recommendations

- Engage in massive political education for civil society.
- Reform or, in some countries, transform security sectors.
- Enforce anti-corruption laws.
- Protect human rights defenders.
- Increase advocacy for governmental accountability.

Southern Africa

Challenges

- Cabinet institutions are often politicized.

- SADC itself is a problem because it lacks democratic institutions.

Recommendations:

- Increase active participation in political processes.
- Mobilize grassroots support for political reforms.
- Provide civic education for all.
- Sorting out electoral-related issues should be a priority.
- Ratification of the Democracy Charter by a sufficient number of countries should be a priority.
- International electoral standards should be developed and applied in the sub-region.

Asia: Labor and Migrant Workers' Rights

ORGANIZERS:

Task Force on ASEAN Migrant Workers

China Labour Bulletin (China)

MODERATOR:

Sinapan Samydorai –
Task Force on ASEAN Migrant
Workers (Singapore)

RAPPORTEUR:

Sinapan Samydorai –
Task Force on ASEAN Migrant
Workers (Singapore) with support
from Joseph Chueng.

PRESENTERS:

Ip Pui Yu – International Domestic Worker
Network (Hong Kong)

Dina Nuriyati – Indonesian Migrant Workers
Union (Indonesia)

Han Dongfang – China Labour
Bulletin (China)

The workshop focused on the rights of migrant workers in Southeast Asia, Hong Kong, and Mainland China. The opening presenters provided their analyses of the conditions of migrant workers in their countries, as well as their recommendations.

In discussing Hong Kong, Ip Pui Yu emphasized that more workers are going to Hong Kong because of the policies of their home countries, which encourage their people to work overseas to send remittances back home. In addition, women migrant workers bear more family burdens; family responsibilities are given over to migrant domestic workers by urban citizens; more female Filipino migrant domestic workers experience family problems; and Indonesian migrant domestic workers are mostly unmarried. More democratic states receiving migrant workers provide those workers with the right to organize, but they do not recognize them as domestic workers, so there is no protection for them under national labor law.

According to Dina Nuriyati's presentation, the laws

in Indonesia do not adequately protect nationals going overseas to work. Law No. 39, which regulates the overseas placement of migrant workers, only provides for limited protections of migrant workers rights. There is also a limit on the reintegration of returning migrant workers. Policy making lacks civil society and trade union involvement. For example, the Indonesian government has memoranda of understanding (MOU) with eight countries, but Indonesian migrant workers organizations are not even invited to monitor the implementation of such MOUs.

There is also weak and inadequate implementation of labor rights protection for the six million Indonesian overseas migrant workers, about 60 percent of whom are domestic workers who are recruited by private recruitment agencies to work overseas. Moreover, the Indonesian government does not recognize local domestic workers as workers, but sees them as informal-sector workers with no protection under the national labor law. Government-to-government arrangements,

however, are reserved only for formal-sector workers. The Indonesian government is also pushing for more workers to go overseas to seek employment.

Ms. Nuriyati's recommendations thus included the need to recognize the importance of civil society and trade union involvement in support of migrant workers; the need to ratify the 1990 UN Convention on the rights of migrant workers and their families; and the need to amend Indonesia law No. 39 on migration to provide greater protection for migrant workers.

In his presentation, Han Dongfang described the conditions of migrant workers in Shenzhen, China, where in one case a company rejected any compensation for workers affected by occupational disease. In addition, the Labour and Health Bureaus often failed to implement safety standards according to labor laws. Even if the laws are there, they are often inadequately enforced, so while the workers are provided with humanitarian support, no legal remedy is provided for their occupational diseases. There must also be greater recognition of internal migrant workers in China, since their social welfare is locked into the place of origin and determined by their place of origin, and those moving from rural to more urban areas are seen as temporary workers with no social protection.

Recommendations

- Recognize and implement fundamental and basic rights, and provide welfare for all workers, including all migrant workers and their families.
- Recognize and implement International Labor Organization (ILO) core labor standards for all workers, including all migrant workers.
- Both origin and destination countries have the responsibility and obligation to protect and promote the rights of migrant workers, as follows:
 - Through non-discrimination;
 - By promoting decent, humane, dignified, and remunerative employment;
 - By providing fair and appropriate employment protection, payment of wages, and access to decent working and living conditions, minimum wages, etc.;
 - By providing migrant workers, who may be victims of discrimination, abuse, exploitation, and violence, with access to legal and judicial systems of origin and destination countries;
 - By regulating the recruitment of migrant workers and by adopting mechanisms to eliminate recruitment malpractices, such as legal contracts, regulation of recruitment agencies

and employers, and blacklisting of negligent and unlawful agencies;

- By recognizing domestic work as work under labor law with the right to organize;
- By providing social protection and insurance for all workers, including informal-sector workers;
- By protecting the basic rights of all undocumented workers and regularizing them when they are undocumented;
- By recognizing and protecting victims of labor trafficking and punishing the traffickers;
- ASEAN Plus Three should work on developing a regional instrument to improve the condition of migrant workers;
- Migrant worker groups, civil society, and NGOs have the responsibility to support and protect workers in a destination country, including ensuring decent and responsible employers and the ability of trade unions to work with employers to address the issue;
- Establish union-to-union arrangements to support migrant workers through worker organization;
- Initiate exchanges of information about migrant worker realities.

Goals for 2010 – 2011

- Establish trade unions and worker associations, particularly where labor rights violations are increasing;
- Promote public awareness of the situations of migrant workers and their rights;
- Get employer associations to respect and implement decent working and living conditions;
- Arrange tax policies in origin and destination countries so as to avoid double taxing;
- Get domestic work recognized as work and national labor laws to provide protection for domestic workers.

Recommendations for the Asia Region

- Campaign for a legally-binding regional framework instrument or agreement to protect and promote the rights of all migrant workers in both origin and destination countries in Southeast and Northeast Asia.
- Establish contacts with existing networks of organizations conducting policy research on migrant workers in Southeast and Northeast Asia (ASEAN Plus Three countries).

Asia: Human Rights Mechanisms

ORGANIZERS:

Human Rights Working Group–HRWG (Indonesia)
Forum Asia

MODERATOR:

Egoy Bans – Initiatives for International Dialogue
(The Philippines)

RAPPORTEUR:

Yuyun Wahyuningrum – Oxfam-Hong Kong (Indonesia)

PRESENTERS:

Yap Swee Seng – Forum Asia (Malaysia)
Rafendi Djamin – HRWG (Indonesia)
Adilur Khan – Odhikar (Bangladesh)

The establishment of the ASEAN Inter-governmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR) is said to be one of the small victories of civil society engagement with ASEAN. Human rights and civil society participation were not on the agenda of the member states of ASEAN for more than 35 years, from 1967 to 2002. The discussion in ASEAN on human rights emerged when its Charter was being drafted. In 2007, under the network of the Task Force on ASEAN and Human Rights, civil society decided to engage with the inter-governmental processes of ASEAN in a more systematic and coordinated way to push for an effective, credible, and independent ASEAN human rights body.

The discussion of human rights in ASEAN began with a focus on protecting women and children in the future of ASEAN. In fact, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was ratified by all 10 member states of ASEAN. The discussion on the rights of women and children had been placed under social-cultural cooperation, but was later moved to political and security cooperation.

In 2009, while taking note of the development in the region of establishing a regional human rights mechanism like AICHR, the World Forum for Democratization in Asia (WFDA) stressed that AICHR can be the vehicle to implement universal democratic principles, which is essential for sustaining democracy in Asia. To do so, the WFDA identified eight actions that had to be taken within the next two years (the list is available on the WFDA Web site: www.wfda.net).

The presenters in this workshop shared the experiences of civil society activists appointed to be government representatives to AICHR from Indonesia and Thailand. The representatives come from civil society, but they were selected through a transparent process to be AICHR representatives. This raised the question

whether it is healthy for the promotion and protection of human rights for civil society activists to represent governments in AICHR. The effectiveness of having civil society activists in the inter-governmental institution, although yet to be seen, could largely depend on how civil society effectively uses the mandates of AICHR to uphold human rights in the region.

What we learned from the process within these three years of engagement in developing the AICHR is that the willingness of ASEAN to engage with civil society on the promotion of human rights is a reflection of democratic maturity at the national level among countries in the region. It is imperative, therefore, to improve democracy at the national level, because the stronger it is at that level, the stronger will be the regional institution.

AICHR has had many flaws from its birth, such as a lack of independence, the requirement of consensus in decision making, more of a mandate to promote human rights than to protect them, selective NGO participation, a lack of resources, and an inability to receive cases and act to address the issues they raise. In the first meeting of the AICHR, in Jakarta in 2010, some organizations tried to bring human rights cases to the attention of the representatives, but the cases were rejected due to the absence of individual complaints as required in the Rules of Procedure.

Challenges

While welcoming the establishment of the ASEAN Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC) in Hanoi, Vietnam, on 7 April 2010, to complement the regional human rights architecture in ASEAN, the participants in the workshop listed the following challenges that will be faced by AICHR:

- With the limitations on civil society in six countries in ASEAN, the work to improve the

performance of the AICHR will be very difficult.

- Most ASEAN member states are still hostile to civil society participation and have a different perspective on the word “people.”
- Although there is a mandate for AICHR to draft the ASEAN Declaration on Human Rights, there is a concern that the process of drafting the Declaration will exclude civil society and will thus water down the universal standards of human rights.
- Civil society participation very much depends on the chair of ASEAN, which is a precarious situation, since it does not guarantee a people-oriented ASEAN process.
- ASEAN has been operating as a club of dictators who make decisions without consulting the people, which means the people in ASEAN countries know little about this body, which makes decisions that have far-reaching impact on their daily lives.

Recommendations

To continue to advance the agenda of AICHR, civil society should include demands for:

- A more transparent and participatory process of selecting AICHR representatives;
- The inclusion of a mandate to protect, not just promote, human rights, including complaint procedures, preventative procedures, public hearings, and protection of human rights defenders and victims working with the AICHR mechanisms;
- Working relationships with other human rights mechanisms; and
- Institutionalized civil society participation.

In addition, civil society should implement actions as follows:

- Annually monitor and report on the performance of the AICHR;
- Influence the process of drafting the Rules of Procedures, including its final outcome;
- Influence the process of drafting the ASEAN Human Rights Declaration;
- Identify and submit cases to the AICHR;
- Organize capacity-building activities and raise awareness of AICHR’s mandate and functions;
- Establish and maintain inter-regional networking.

The South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), which includes eight countries, has a social charter of principles and values of democracy and human rights and a convention against trafficking in

women and children. However, the participants in the workshop were not optimistic about SAARC upholding human rights because of a lack of political will among the member states, the conflict between India and Pakistan, and its obscure decision-making process (if one country does not appear for a decision-making meeting, it will not take place). This way of working has depleted enthusiasm among civil society organizations to engage with SAARC. Nonetheless, participants urged that some groups should take the lead on initiating engagement.

Additional Recommendations

- Explore the possibility of creating a mechanism through which civil society in other global regions can be involved. For example, a Brazilian organization has been granted observer status by the African Union. This has been seen as a good practice to accelerate the process of transparency among regional systems and their cooperation.
- Any stakeholders, including civil society, should be mindful of procedures, since ASEAN respects protocols.
- In addition to the relationship between regional and national mechanisms, there should be interaction and cooperation between regional and global human rights mechanisms.
- While encouraging South Asia to have a sub-regional human rights mechanism in place, as in Southeast Asia, there is also the possibility of having one broad Asian Human Rights Mechanism. In fact, there are existing regional architectures already in place, such as ASEAN Plus Three, ASEAN Plus Six, the East Asia Community, etc.
- The European Union process, which started from 10 member countries, but then expanded to 47 as of now, may be relevant.
- Establishing a court in AICHR is necessary and has been one of civil society’s main objectives in its campaign since 2008. However, the response has been that ASEAN governments are not ready for such a mechanism. Nevertheless, this can be a future goal of civil society as it advocates for a possible optional protocol on a regional human rights court.

Asia: Media Freedom

ORGANIZER:

**Southeast Asian Press Alliance—
SEAPA**

MODERATOR:

Roby Alampay –
SEAPA (*The Philippines*)

RAPPOREUR:

Roby Alampay –
SEAPA (*The Philippines*)

PRESENTERS:

Melinda Quintos de Jesus –
Center for Media Freedom and
Responsibility (*The Philippines*)

Premesh Chandran –
Malaysiakini (*Malaysia*)

Owais Aslam Ali – Pakistan Press
Foundation (*Pakistan*)

This workshop began with three opening presentations focused on obstacles faced by journalists in Pakistan, Malaysia, and The Philippines. Some journalists have not only been mistreated, but their lives have also been put in jeopardy because of the content of their reports; therefore, journalists are often unable to report the truth safely due to political sensitivity, ideology, and other factors. On the other hand, the Internet has revolutionized the media, giving rise to new problems, such as the need to define the line between public and private.

Challenges

The workshop discussion identified the following areas in which challenges need to be addressed:

- National Security
- Religion/race/ethnicity/"social harmony"
- Internet
- Impunity for violence against journalists
- Funding
- Self-censorship
- Independent Journalism
- Media literacy
- Media training, including in ethics
- Independent judiciary
- Civil society
- Laws on blasphemy, insult, defamation of religion, *lese majeste*, etc.
- Privacy
- Capacity building for technical security
- Media defense
- Citizen journalism and community-generated commentary
- Cross-border susceptibility
- Journalism in crisis situations
- Rule of law
- Police capacity
- Media ownership

- Independent media development
- Weak markets
- Economic conditions for media

Recommendations

Taking into consideration the framework for action on "Defending Civil Society in Asia through Media," adopted on 18 September 2009 at the third biennial conference of the World Forum for Democratization in Asia (WFDA) in Seoul, South Korea, the participants emphasized the need for greater engagement between civil society and media NGOs. They agreed that civil society organizations, the media, and media NGOs share common concerns regarding the rule of law; media literacy; and the need for more linkages and engagement between and among different sectors, including government, media, and civil society. As an overarching concern, the workshop participants agreed to recommend greater engagement on the promotion of the rule of law, as well as the need to explore possible activities to promote the rule of law to benefit, strengthen, and protect civil society and independent media simultaneously.

Central Eastern Europe and Eurasia: Building Regional Solidarity: How Can Democracy Activists in the Region Cooperate in Response to Backsliding in Democracy and Attacks on Rights and Freedoms?

ORGANIZERS:

**Centre for the Development of
Democracy and Human Rights**
(Russia)

Europe XXI Foundation (Ukraine)

**Educational Society of
Malopolska** (Poland)

People in Need Foundation
(Czech Republic)

MODERATORS:

Yuri Dzhibladze – Centre for the
Development of Democracy and
Human Rights (Russia)

Marek Svoboda – People in Need
Foundation (Czech Republic)

RAPPOREUR:

Inna Pidluska – Europe XXI
Foundation (Ukraine)

PRESENTERS:

Hikmet Hadji-zadeh – Center
for Political and Economic
Research (Azerbaijan)

Vyacheslav Mamedov –
Civil Democratic Union of
Turkmenistan (Turkmenistan,
based in The Netherlands)

Roza Akylbekova – Kazakhstan
International Bureau for
Human Rights and Rule of Law
(Kazakhstan)

Mikael Danielyan – Helsinki
Association of Armenia (Armenia)

Vladimir Milov – Solidarity Movement
(Russia)

Ala Derkowska – Educational Society
of Malopolska (Poland)

Andrej Dynko – “Nasha Niva”
newspaper (Belarus)

Devi Khechineshvili – Partnership for
Social Initiatives (Georgia)

Jana Hybášková – Evropska
Demokraticka Strana (Czech Republic)

Scott Hubli – National Democratic
Institute for International Affairs-NDI
(U.S.)

Goals of the Workshop

The following general goals were identified for the workshop discussion:

- To understand how the situation in the region, particularly in those countries where democracy deficits are strong, can be influenced.
- To develop concrete plans and recommendations on cross-regional cooperation.
- To identify ways to assist democrats in countries where the challenges are the most formidable (that is, in autocratic countries to the east of the European Union border).
- To share ideas on how to lobby the EU, the U.S., and international bodies?

Challenges

- The region in general can be divided into several segments with respect to human rights and political freedom: While new EU member states and Eastern Europe are doing relatively well, the shift from democracy to authoritarianism and severe limitations on fundamental rights and liberties has strengthened in Central Asia, Russia, Belarus, and the Southern Caucasus.
- There are now doubts about the sustainability and impact of recent democratic breakthroughs—the

color revolutions that inspired us two years ago—because the expectations have not been met.

- The Balkans are still in the process of overcoming the Yugoslav war. The people still suffer from the post-war psychological aftermath and traumas caused by social and political hazards of the 1990s, including cases of resurgent nationalism.
- The region is diverse in terms of democracy and human rights records, but we must not allow new walls and divisions to emerge in the region. Rather, we need to see how we can work together to cope with the problem of division.

On the subject of **building regional solidarity with political prisoners and persecuted activists**, the workshop heard from presenters from Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan who shared their lessons learned.

Recommendations

- A democracy activist for whom a campaign is launched should be morally clean and a person of high values.
- It is better to use existing networks and connections, rather than form new ones, to help protect victims of persecution.

- It makes no sense to speak only in legal terms to repressive governments.
- Creative approaches are needed; legal reports are not enough and do not substitute for vivid language in communicating with broader societies.
- Given new communication technologies, inter-regional cooperation has few boundaries; therefore, there is no need to limit actions to one region only.
- Solidarity and inclusion of people living in the broader region's less democratic areas is crucial for making them visible and thus less vulnerable. Activists in the region can help by linking the person(s) they seek to protect to some important emerging global process, such as the Internet, TV, or blogging.
- Democracy activists should be constantly vigilant, since governments and security services have become more skillful in countering the "threat" of civil society, particularly when civil society is donor-funded and linked to opposition groups.
- The self-protection and safety of civic activists requires keeping any information about grant-funded work away from governments and preventing information from being captured by authorities in cases of arrest.
- It is very important to create regional "rapid reaction groups" that can gather information about activists and share it with international counterparts and those engaged in protecting activists who can then advocate for those being detained.
- Time is crucial when joining forces in support of victims of repression, including creating international committees for protection; hiring lawyers; disseminating relevant materials and information to judges and prosecutors, as well as to the international community and decision makers and the media.
- Meetings in support of those being persecuted should be organized at leading international institutions, such as the Council of Europe, the European

Parliament, UN Human Rights Council, and the OSCE, and morally strong and recognized personalities should be enlisted to speak on the victims' behalf.

- The involvement of observers from respected organizations and statements and appeals for fair trials from the international community are necessary to prevent cases from being forgotten. In addition, political prisoners should be engaged in human rights advocacy, visited by international groups, and involved in pro-democracy work.
- It is important to issue targeted and personally addressed communications, petitions, and appeals.
- To defend activists and political prisoners, it is important to address as early as possible shortages of time and resources, language barriers, and false information disseminated by government.
- It should be made clear to democratic governments that their silence about human rights abuses in their "partner" states for political and economic reasons makes them accomplices in persecution. Civil society organizations and civil society generally should seek to create an atmosphere in which it is difficult for a government to keep human rights activists in prison.
- Those in the region and those within the EU should jointly organize an annual live Freedom Concert to highlight imprisoned human rights advocates and journalists; such concerts should be made available on TV and via the Internet when live concerts are not possible. Leading figures should be enlisted to back such an initiative.
- An All-European Day should be established—for instance, an Anna Politkovskaya Memorial Day—to commemorate independent journalists and activists killed and missing in the region. Civil society groups can also lobby governments to name streets after such activists, and encourage other signs of recognition.
- Networks of friends and neighbors of imprisoned activists should be established to support activists' families and to ensure the possibility of the prisoners' return to normal life. In addition to humanitarian assistance to prisoners' families, such support can also help people survive in critical conditions—to stay alive rather than to become dead political heroes. The biggest success would be to enable people to return to normal lives.

In Memory of World Movement for Democracy participant, Ilko Kucheriv, founder of the Democratic Initiatives Foundation, who sadly passed away soon after the Sixth Assembly. Mr. Kucheriv was known for building democratic values through the work of his organization and personal activities. He is perhaps best known for creating an exit polling system that contributed to the Orange Revolution and exemplified his deep dedication to the struggle for freedom in Ukraine.



On the subject of **protecting fundamental freedoms** (assembly, speech, and association), the workshop

heard from presenters from Armenia and Russia on what has been done and how to move forward.

Recommendations

- Networks for the protection of fundamental freedoms should include not only human rights advocates, but media, sociologists, and minority groups as well, which makes their voice stronger.
- Media freedom plays a key role in creating people's demand and capacity for changing authoritarian regimes in post-Soviet countries, since those regimes skillfully use their monopoly on the media for their propaganda, and to discredit the opposition. The more people know about the failures of current authorities, which are usually concealed from the public by the official media, and the proposals of the opposition to improve the situation, the more people will be interested in alternatives to the current governments. Therefore, a wide spectrum of techniques is necessary to get the truth to the people. The Internet alone is not enough; other innovative and creative ways of spreading information should be employed.
- Civil societies in democratic countries should lobby their governments to withhold political and diplomatic support, as well as financial aid, from non-democratic governments and to demonstrate their recognition in other ways that those governments and their leaders are not democratic.

On the subject of **building popular support for democracy movements** and to develop active citizenries, the workshop heard from presenters from Poland, Belarus, and Georgia.

Recommendations

- Education is important for reaching young people, politically active citizens, and the community in general. There are civil society organizations in the region that have successful programs they can share to teach people how to organize themselves and work more effectively.
- It is important to reach out to people who are not engaged in the opposition. Since values motivate opposition to nondemocratic regimes, we should thus focus on values. Working with young people, particularly through new media, is critical, since democratic movements should not be "veteran movements." Opportunities for partnerships between eastern and western parts of the region should be created for youth and students who are

not active and not yet exposed to European practices, and freedom of speech and assembly.

- When registration of NGOs and movements is obstructed by governments and work of unregistered NGOs is illegal, individuals can organize campaigns in their private capacities on significant issues that have no official leaders or infrastructure. Such informal civic campaigns can be carried out at both the national and local levels, with the local ones focusing on community problems. Local Internet sites and Web communities can be instrumental in integrating opposition-minded people into ad-hoc issue-based initiatives.
- The development of think tanks and generation of knowledge is important for reaching out to the government and the media.
- Better targeting of donor support is required to ensure that opposition-minded people are able to work in their communities and at the national level rather than leave their countries because of inability to work and express themselves. International assistance should not be re-oriented from civil society organizations to support state institutions even in cases where democracy seems to prevail.
- A vibrant political process should be developed and maintained through inclusive public debates on issues that are relevant to the government, the opposition, the media, and the broader society. Radio programs and the Internet can be fundamental to bringing professional discourse to broad public audiences and to enabling discussions that are interactive and can attract input from the public.

On the **role of the EU and U.S. in the region**, the workshop heard from presenters from the Czech Republic and the U.S.

Recommendations

- Existing instruments of cooperation with the EU should be used to protect democracy activists and free political prisoners. European institutions, such as the European Parliament, can put pressure on governments for democratic change.
- There is very little room to change the treatment of the governments of the region with respect to the EU Commission and Parliament, but issues need to be raised with the European media and the public to encourage them to put pressure on their governments demanding clear signals to the oppressive regimes to stop infringement of rights and freedoms.
- The Eastern Partnership is an important

instrument, but it requires greater attention and thinking on how it can be used in the best way to strengthen civil society. Partnership with European organizations should be maintained, but the U.S. should also be more actively involved in multinational civil society initiatives.

➤ Future new Association Agreements between the EU and the Eastern Partnership states should include civil society dimensions and require respect for European standards on human rights and dialogue between government and civil society. This approach needs to be used more effectively by civil societies, since they are the only frameworks through which civil societies can talk to the EU about human rights. Elements of economic cooperation can be used by civil society, including people-to-people contacts, work with the business community and investors, and developing partnerships between domestic stakeholders and the EU to advocate for the observance of environmental standards.

➤ Tools, such as the EU's instrument for environmental dialogue, constitute good platforms for the region's civil societies to engage with Western NGOs and movements. The European Parliament's Human Rights Committee and the Cross-Border Cooperation Project are other tools that can be used.

➤ Creative ideas can be explored to attract public attention within the EU and in the U.S, such as developing and disseminating an annual list of the top 10 best and worst foreign leaders and diplomats who travel to the region. Such a tool can help encourage European leaders to abide by their declared

values and principles. Also, an annual assessment can be done on how democracy assistance programs of the EU function and what impact they have on civil societies in the region.

➤ Freedom of movement is fundamental to democratic transitions and should be a subject for lobbying at the EU. To protect those who have suffered from repression or who are current or potential asylum seekers, a group of NGOs has developed a model based on addressing the European Court for Human Rights. This model is applicable to all Council of Europe member states; for instance, the issue can be framed as preventing extradition to a country where there is the risk of torture. Also, information about the situations in receiving countries is fundamental for potential refugees making decisions.

➤ Civil society groups can put pressure on current and future EU presidencies and home ministers in individual countries to alert them to the impact of readmission agreements between the EU and the region's countries (demanding return of asylum-seekers to the first "safe country" that they pass through) on human rights. Complaints to the European Court can be initiated if political activists and human rights defenders who have left their countries reside in Council of Europe member states and face extradition. Two factors are critical in such cases: speed and appealing to international human rights courts of justice.

Latin America and the Caribbean: Full Democracy: The Democracy We Had, the Democracy We Have, and the Democracy We Want

ORGANIZER:

**Latin American and Caribbean
Network for Democracy—LAC
Network**

MODERATOR:

Anabel Cruz – CIVICUS: World
Alliance for Citizen Participation
(Uruguay)

RAPPORTEUR:

Yader Loza Jarquin –
Projusticia (Nicaragua)

PRESENTERS:

Elisabeth Ungar –
Transparencia por Colombia
(Colombia)

Rosa Quintana – Human
rights activist and unión leader
(Uruguay)

Sergio Balladares – Movimiento Puente
(Nicaragua)

Oscar Armando de la Parra –
Fundación de Apoyo al Parlamento y a la
Participación Ciudadana (Bolivia)

Joel Brito – Grupo Empresarial para la
Responsabilidad Social (Cuba)

The opening presentations at this workshop underscored the need to conduct a democracy development index in the region. The presentations also examined the particular character of countries that subscribe to the Bolivarian Alliance for the Americas (ALBA), an economic and political bloc launched by Hugo Chavez in 2004 as an alternative to the U.S.-sponsored Free Trade Agreement of the Americas. ALBA countries include Antigua and Barbuda, Bolivia, Cuba, Dominica, Ecuador, Nicaragua, St. Vincent and Grenadines, and Venezuela. The bloc unites countries in the belief that poverty can be eradicated through far-left policies. The workshop participants agreed that the ALBA countries suffer from a deterioration of democratic institutions, including policy and constitutional changes that completely disregard legal restrictions on those changes. Countries with established democratic governments, on the other hand, have experienced institution consolidation and respect for their constitutions.

Participants also discussed common challenges to democracy in the region, including the existence of authoritarian governments, fragile democracies (whether in crisis or not), and the frequent abuse of democratic rhetoric. They agreed that these threats underscore the obligation to return to democratic governance where it is lacking. The participants thus identified the following key democratic principles: separate but equal powers; free elections; periodic rotation of power; respect for minority rights; and respect for political, social, and economic rights. These

essential principles have suffered great abuse in many countries within the region. Moreover, participants identified specific challenges and objectives for the region that include: restoring the value of politics and public space, strengthening institutions, and creating a dialogue on the differences between representative and participatory, also known as direct, democracy.

Other challenges participants identified include: strengthening political stability; maintaining professional institutions headed by officials who are less likely to be swayed by partisan interests; building civil society by developing the capacity for participation and advocacy; providing human rights civic education; encouraging the rotation of leadership positions; strengthening the rule of law; and revisiting the role of regional organizations that monitor democracy, as they are currently seen as inactive.

Participants also discussed the concept of “full democracy.” To this extent, they addressed the concept of democracy generally, its principles, and how they are applied, or not applied, in the region. The participants noted that deepening the development of democracy requires a fundamental role for civil society organizations (CSOs). They expressed concern that despite the intentions of states to promote democratic participation, they have failed to move the public to take advantage of this opportunity by instilling a sense of understanding of their right to organize and demand their rights. It was thus noted that CSOs must fill this void by reaching out to the public themselves.



Participants therefore discussed specific ways for CSOs to help engage the public. They suggested that CSOs design ways to democratize information, stimulate dialogue, advance education, and initiate cooperation with approaches more attuned to human needs than ideologies. Participants also stressed the need for civil society to address the State's shortfall and provide alternatives to address the problem of public apathy. As a starting point, participants proposed that the Warsaw Declaration of the Community of Democracies be adapted to create an "Inter-American Declaration on Full Democracy" that would contain the same essential elements, around which there would be consensus in a country or region to help ensure true and full democracy. To the extent possible, such a declaration should be used as a basis upon which to develop an annual index on the state of full democracy in the region's countries.

In addition, participants examined the impact of the current economic crisis on workers in the region, which they stressed has generated increased unemployment, thus leaving unions vulnerable to constant harassment. Currently, the majority of the region's jobs are in the informal sector in which economic activity is not taxed or monitored by the government.

They also noted that job recovery has been slow, and that this requires increased focus on job creation.

In conclusion, workshop participants agreed that there is a shortfall in democracy in the region and that certain issues should thus be addressed by civil society. Among others, these include the relationship between governments and the public, since a kind of anti-politics attitude among the public has been increasing. This has resulted in many people abandoning politics, which has led, in turn, to tensions between public officials and citizens. Consequently, it is important to redefine the relationships between citizens and government and between citizens and political parties. It is crucial to reflect on what democracy activists are doing and not doing to consolidate democracy in the region. It was therefore recommended that working groups be created to analyze the challenges to democracy in the region, including the protection of citizen rights and the need for greater civic responsibility, and to propose ways to address them.

Latin American and the Caribbean: Networks in Action: How to Build True Solidarity

ORGANIZER:

**Latin American and
Caribbean Network for
Democracy—LAC Network**

MODERATOR:

Gina Romero –
OCASA (Colombia)

RAPPOREUR:

Oscar Alvarez –
Fundación para el Pacífico
Democrático (Costa Rica)

PRESENTERS:

Enrique de Obarrio – LAC Network (Panama)

Andrea Sanhueza – Participa (Chile)

Rommel Gonzalez – Representative of several
indigenous movements (México)

Daniel Cordova – Invertir (Peru)

Recommendations for Regional Solidarity

- Identify civil society networks and networks in other sectors with agendas for promoting and strengthening full democracy.
- Create a working group to establish a mechanism for coordination between civil society networks, on the one hand, and the private sector, unions, academia, political groups, etc., on the other. Work toward full democracy and for social cohesion on the basis of common objectives and agendas.
- Establish a working group to elaborate an Inter-American Declaration on Full Democracy taking into account the Warsaw Declaration of the Community of Democracies.
- Based on the proposed Inter-American Declaration on Full Democracy, elaborate an index or ranking of full democracy in countries within the region.
- Form a working group to conduct a SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats) analysis of civil society in the region.
- Elaborate and attract signers to a joint declaration of networks aimed at OAS member governments to put into action the strategy that already exists in the OAS system on the participation of civil society organizations.
- Establish an international fund for natural disasters and crisis situations that can help build solidarity for democracy.
- Establish a capacity-building school for democracy activists and training for reconstruction leaders in Haiti, and organize a workshop on public support for nonviolence.
- Create a regional network of research centers on democracy.
- Establish a regional virtual library on democracy and human rights.

- Create a hemispheric atlas on the state of democracy in the region.
- Form working groups on citizens' rights, due process, and access to justice and information.

Recommendations for the LAC Network

- The LAC Network should be registered as a civil society network in the OAS.
- Create commissions of the LAC Network to broaden civil society advocacy in the following areas:
 - The Inter-American Democratic Charter
 - The Inter-American Convention on Corruption
 - The UN Convention on Corruption
 - The International Penal Court
- The LAC Network should carry out its own projects with international funding.
- Create a working group on Haiti, and strengthen the presence of the LAC Network in the country to unite and coordinate civil society organizations.

Middle East and North Africa

ORGANIZER:

Arab Democracy Foundation–ADF (Qatar)

Center for the Study of Islam & Democracy–CSID (U.S.)

RAPORTEURS:

Laith Kubba – National Endowment for Democracy–NED (Iraq)

Radwan Masmoudi – Center for the Study of Islam & Democracy–CSID (Tunisia)

This regional workshop divided up into several subgroups focused on a variety of leading issues in the Middle East/North Africa (MENA) region, and formulated recommendations to meet various challenges.

Observations and Recommendations on “Building Coalitions between Islamists and Secularists”

- Dialogue and coalition-building between pro-democracy Islamist and secularist groups in the MENA region is a necessary and critical issue, not only to realize peaceful transitions to democracy, but also to determine a democratic future for the region in general.
- It is necessary to push both Islamists and secularists to be self-critical and to re-evaluate many of their political and ideological positions.
- It is important to build upon the common denominators of Islamists and secularists, that is, defending basic freedoms and human rights while also generating a dialogue on long-term issues and strengthening the concept of citizenship.
- Produce a variety of programs on self-criticism, dialogue, and coexistence between Islamists and secularists by organizing various workshops whenever possible.
- Organize fora on the practical experiences in developing productive relationships between religion and politics in non-Arab Islamic countries, such as Turkey, Malaysia, and Indonesia.
- Develop and implement seminars and conferences on the issue of religious reforms, and disseminate texts and articles that support renewal, realism, and pragmatism in Islamic culture.
- Encourage media projects undertaken by

Islamists and secularists together.

- Support dialogue among civil society groups, political organizations, and leaders, both Islamist and secularist, and highlight and document success stories in building coalitions between Islamists and secularists to support democracy.

Recommendations on “Local and National Elections”

- In the short term, focus electoral reform campaigns on improving local elections and on enhancing technical applications.
- Sustain grassroots campaigns on institutionalizing good electoral practices and ensuring wide-scale “buy in” before, during, and after elections.
- Advocate for the active participation of local and international election monitors.
- Advocate for the adherence to international electoral standards and the establishment of independent electoral commissions comprised of retired senior judges and former presidents of bar associations and media syndicates.
- Build a regional network of groups and activists working on enhancing elections in Arab countries.

Recommendations on “Honoring Human and Civil Rights”

- Replicate regional and international best practices on ways to reconcile the differences between civil rights that are stipulated in constitutions, laws, and regulations, on the one hand, and actual practices that violate those rights, on the other.
- Replicate regional and international best practices on effective ways to monitor and pressure institutions to defend civil rights.
- Adopt international conventions and declarations as frameworks for human and civil rights.
- Revise national curricula in the schools and introduce civic education in democracy.
- Establish and empower national commissions on civil rights to monitor violations and ensure follow up to prevent them in the future.

Technology Training Sessions

Educate! Using IT in Civic Education

ORGANIZER:

**Microsoft Partners
in Learning**
(Indonesia)

TRAINER:

Deny – Mitrasoft
(Indonesia)

This session focused on “e-learning” using the example of Microsoft’s Live Meeting and Virtual Classroom and Learning programs (<http://www.microsoft.com/education/pil/partnersInLearning.aspx>) and their practical applications for civic education training. The trainer explained that Live Meeting allows for a virtual classroom experience in which students can submit questions and receive answers. It also has recording capability for participants who cannot attend sessions, and survey features to provide feedback to the teacher immediately after the session ended.

The Learning Portal (<http://www.microsoft.com/learning/en/us/training/office.aspx>) is another common technology to deliver e-learning. It relies on a Content Management System (CMS) through which everyone can share articles, documents, images, videos, and audios.

Learning Management Systems are complex and sophisticated systems that provide “end-to-end” e-learning services. Technologies include the Blackboard Learning System (<http://www.blackboard.com/>), Joomla (<http://www.joomla.org/>), Moodle (<http://moodle.com/>), and SharePoint LMS (<http://bit.ly/dozwFS>).

Adobe Presenter (www.adobe.com/products/presenter) is a tool to create rapid e-learning, which can employ animations, although it requires weeks to months to create an e-learning course.

The training session concluded with an explanation of how teacher learning portals are used in Indonesia to improve teacher skills across the vast archipelago of the country. Through this type of e-learning, teachers can upload learning resources and use discussion fora to collaborate with one another.

Building a Digital Resource Center

ORGANIZER:

**Democracy Resource
Center, National Endowment
for Democracy—DRC/NED**
(U.S.)

TRAINER:

Allen Overland –
DRC/NED (U.S.)

This session was based on the experience of NED’s Democracy Resource Center (DRC; <http://bit.ly/drccenter>), including the creation of a Digital Library on Democracy for the World Movement for Democracy’s Network of Democracy Research Institutes (NDRI; www.ndri.ned.org/). It covered five specific topics: “Effective Research Strategies for Activists”; “Steps to Create a Digital Library on Democracy”; “Practical Considerations in Building a Digital Library”; “Rights Management and Copyright Considerations”; and “Creating Your Own Digital Library.”

Effective Research Strategies for Activists (or online searching)

This portion of the training covered the use of boolean logic on search engines, identifying effective information sources, and ways to get the best results from Web searches.

Steps to Create a Digital Library on Democracy

This discussion was based on the experience of the Network of Democracy Research Institutes (NDRI), which included a description of the project, the model for the NDRI database, exploration of Columbia University’s CIAO Database (<http://www.ciaonet.org/>), and sources of funding for digital library projects.

Practical Considerations in Building a Digital Library

This portion of the training included the definition of a digital library, considerations in scanning materials, storage options, automating library databases, and “controlled vocabulary.”



Rights Management and Copyright Considerations

This provided an overview and introduction to copyright law and licensing agreements, as well as alternative licensing arrangements, such as Creative Commons (www.creativecommons.org).

Creating Your Own Digital Library

The final portion of the training covered the utilization of free resources, such as Google Books, or software, such as the Library Thing, and provided examples of other digital libraries.

Connect! Using Facebook and Ning to Create Solidarity Networks

TRAINERS:

Sean Ang – Southeast Asian Center for e-Media-SEACEM (*Tibet*)

Usha Venkatachallam – Women's Learning Partnership for Rights, Development and Peace (*India*)

This session introduced participants to the use of two popular sites, Facebook and Ning, for advocacy and to create awareness of advocacy goals. The training was divided into several components. In the first component participants were introduced to the step-by-step guide to set up a Facebook account. In the second component, participants were introduced to several applications in Facebook that can be used for advocacy purposes, such as how to create a petition, a cause, or an event, as well as how to use the “group feature” to recruit members. In the third component, Ning was explored as an alternative social networking site for those who wish to have better control on their Web site and to achieve better branding. Finally, participants were introduced to JomSocial for organizations that wish to integrate social networking into their Joomla Web site.

The following challenges and recommendations emerged during the training:

Social Networking for Rural Areas

Some NGOs are working in rural areas where most people are not savvy in new information and communication technologies (ICTs). What is the best strategy for selecting a social Networking system, Facebook or Ning?

Recommendation

- It is recommended that the NGO representative visit the particular area, test the connectivity, and choose the faster speed site. The second criterion is based on the frequency of online updates. If not that frequent, it is better to use Facebook so that users can engage in activity on the site. If the site is not active, it is very unlikely the user will re-visit it.

Security for Social Networking

How can security issues affect the selection of a social networking site, and what affects the decision of a government to clamp down on activists using ICTs?

Recommendation

- The strategy should be based on the extent to which the government will block a particular site. If the site is “stand-alone,” then it is easier for the government to block it. If the site is based on an international platform, such as Facebook, however, then if the government blocks it, it will receive international attention. The government is thus more likely to block your own domain than an international one, except for countries like Vietnam or Iran. It is therefore safer to use Facebook than your own domain. If the government also blocks Facebook, however, then circumvention tools should be used.

Human Resources for Maintaining Social Networking Sites

What are the resources required for implementation using Facebook, Ning, and Jom Social?

Recommendation

- Using Facebook requires the least maintenance and does not require any technical staff. Ning is slightly more complicated, but doesn't require ICT expertise. Jom Social requires a Web developer who is familiar with the Joomla framework. Jom Social is more suitable if an organization has competent Internet technology resources.

Success Factors

What factors contribute to successful social networking advocacy?

Recommendation

- Those engaged in advocacy should complement their advocacy with off-line activities, such as t-shirt campaigns or brochures, to lend legitimacy to their larger effort. Apart from this, they should raise funding for online advertising, and should pay attention to recruiting relevant members as their Facebook “friends” for the advocacy project.

Participants

Democracy activists, practitioners, and scholars from every region of the world gathered to discuss practical solutions to a wide range of challenges to democracy.

In the following pages, participants are listed according to region, country, and then alphabetically by last name. Those who attended are but a small fraction of the thousands of activists around the world, so many of whom could not be included in this Assembly. However, they are as much participants in the World Movement as those who attended. Many of the participants took great personal risks to attend the Assembly and some cannot be listed here for that reason. We wish to thank both those who attended and those who were not able to attend for their support, dedication, and commitment.

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Periodistas de
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Semillas para la
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Invertir

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for International
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Due Process of Law
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Uruguay**Anabel Cruz**

CIVICUS: World
Alliance for Citizen
Participation

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Human Rights Activist
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National Endowment
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Justice Consortium

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Cooperation Center
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Mohammad Nasib

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Private Enterprise –
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Sakena Yacoobi

Afghan Institute of
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Bahrain**Wajeeda Al-Baharna**

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Bahrain Youth Society
for Human Rights

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Arab NGO Network for
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Sho'oun Janoubiyya

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Moroccan Forum for
Truth and Justice

Amina Lemrini

Association
Démocratique des
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Rabéa Naciri

Association
Démocratique des
Femmes du Maroc

Youness Tihm

Youth Essay Contest
Winner

Saudi Arabia**Jafar Al-Shayeb**

Qatif Municipal
Council

Syria**Radwan Ziadeh**

Damascus Center for
Human Rights Studies

Tunisia**Slaheddine Jouchi**

El Jahedh Forum

Mohsen Marzouk

Arab Democracy
Foundation – Qatar

Radwan Masmoudi

Center for the Study
of Islam & Democracy

Yemen**Ahmed Al-Wahishi**

Democracy
Assistance Dialogue

Tawakul Karman

Women Journalists
Without Chains

NORTH AMERICA

Canada**Kim Campbell**

Former Prime Minister
of Canada

Shana Kaiser

International IDEA

Carol McQueen

Department of
Foreign Affairs and
International Trade

Alyssa Mellon

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Anita Vandenbeld
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Rahman Aljebouri
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Vietnam

Jeff Lovitt
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International Affairs –
Malaysia

Bart Woord
International
Federation of Liberal
Youth

Richard Youngs
FRIDE

The Jakarta Post



Fairly democratic: President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono (left), accompanied by former Canadian prime minister Kim Campbell (right), arrives at Jakarta's Shangri-La Hotel to open the 6th Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy. The two-day forum is being attended by hundreds of democracy activists and representatives from many countries.

DEMOCRACY FORUM

SBY: Global growth of middle class has democratic imperative

Lilian Budianto

THE JAKARTA POST/JAKARTA

Every country in the world has to embrace democracy to survive because of demands from the growing number of middle class citizens and inevitable influence of globalization, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono says.

Opening the sixth symposium of the World Movement for Democracy (WMD), in Jakarta on Monday, Yudhoyono said every political system in the world had to take into account the spread of globalization and the growth of the middle class because both were drivers toward democracy.

"Regardless of what political model you embrace, I have no doubt that in our time our future belongs to those who are willing to responsibly embrace pluralism, openness and freedom. Your choice is to act and survive, or to resist and crumble."

"We see a stronger desire for democracy in the 21st century than we did in the 20th century. This is because of the powerful globalization, bringing with it greater connectivity in goods, people and services."

to grow and in the first time in the 20th century, more than half of the world population is loosely middle class. As they grow in strength and confidence, sooner or later they desire to seek greater transparency and accountability in decisions that affect their lives. No political system can ignore this."

where Carl Gerhart, a member of WMD and president of the Washington-based National Endowment for Democracy, said Yudhoyono delivered a strong message to the forum and the world that Jakarta would continue to support and look into spreading democracy throughout the Asian continent.

World movement



Canada's former prime minister Kim Campbell (right) chats with Malaysia former deputy prime minister Anwar Ibrahim (center) and UN Ambassador to Jakarta Cameron R. Hume as they attend the opening ceremony of the 6th Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy at Hotel Shangri-La, Jakarta Sunday. The conference will last until Wednesday.

WORLD FORUM

Indonesia praised for championing democracy, free press

Erwida Maulia

THE JAKARTA POST/JAKARTA

Champions of democracy have praised Indonesia for upholding the concept, at Sunday's opening of the 6th Assembly of the World Movement for Democracy in Jakarta.

In his opening address, Malaysian opposition leader Anwar Ibrahim said Indonesia was the only country in Southeast Asia that managed

"I hereby express my gratitude to the Indonesian people for the great phenomenon of transformation." Anwar lauded the 11 years of reform following on three decades of authoritarian rule during the Soeharto regime.

He also held up Indonesia, which has the world's biggest Muslim population, as proof that Islam was compatible with democracy.

He also praised President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono for allowing protesters to voice their opinions and criticism in the streets, and highlighted the free press's role in

than a dozen people have been killed in violent anti-government protests. "It has been 78 years and we are still in our infancy, not like the Indonesian democracy," Chongkittavorn said.

"Now Indonesia can claim to be the world's third-largest democracy," Chong said.

Citing a report from Freedom House, Bambang Harymurti of Indonesia's Tempo

use of new information and communication technologies in democratic work, and build relations between cross-border societies.

More than 600 pro-democracy activists, practitioners and academics from 110 countries are expected to discuss ways to advance democracy around the world during the

Democratization experiences declining global trend: Forum

Lilian Budianto, The Jakarta Post, Jakarta | Fri, 04/09/2010 11:38 AM | World

Global democratization has seen a declining trend in the last few years, sparked by the crackdown on democracy and civil society groups from Russia to Venezuela, says an international forum chief.

Art Kaufman, director for Washington-based World Movement for Democracy (WMD), said in a press briefing in Jakarta on Thursday that democratization was experiencing challenges, with many democracies now turning in a different direction.

"Most evidence lately has shown democracies going the other way. There was significant progress toward democratization around the world until the late 1990s and then when, for instance, 9/11 happened, many governments began using the war on terrorism as an excuse to crack down on legitimate democracy and human rights activists, calling them terrorists," he said.

"This continues... This is a big challenge that must be addressed."

He said the economic crisis had also challenged the democratization transition process around the world because people became "concerned only about economic issues."

"On top of that there has been the phenomenon that authoritarian governments have created new NGO laws and other measures to suppress civil society."

Kaufman pointed at Russia, Venezuela, Ethiopia and Egypt as examples of countries that had been adopting new measures to clamp down on civil society groups in 2006 and 2007.

"What we are doing is sharing with civil society groups and governments how the new laws have violated international principles."

The WMD will begin its 6th symposium in Jakarta from April 11-14, with President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono scheduled to address the forum Monday.

The forum is aimed at allowing around 600 participants from 110 countries, including Myanmar and Cuba, to share their experience and knowledge in democratization efforts.

The symposium will feature Malaysia's opposition party leader Anwar Ibrahim, former prime minister of Canada Kim Campbell and prominent activists from Egypt, Zimbabwe, Myanmar and several other countries.

Bambang Harymurti, member of Indonesia's steering committee for the forum and corporate chief editor of Tempo International Media, said Indonesia had been leading in Asian regions in democracy and press freedom, as seen through the ranking by US-based Freedom House, amid the decline in democratization in the region.

Thailand, previously considered a leading democracy, is now ravaged by prolonged protests and political deadlock with the opposition group.

Another point of concern is Myanmar, which will have its first election in two decades, but the poll regulations have been skewed to exclude the opposition party, the winner of the country's 1990 election.

The forum is aimed at allowing around 600 participants from 110 countries to share their experience.

Lesson of Indonesia's democratic experience

On behalf of the government and people of Indonesia, I am pleased to extend a very warm welcome to all of you to Jakarta. This is a very impressive gathering of the members of the World Movement for Democracy.

We are a positive trend of significant expansion of democracy particularly in the second half of the 20th century. Democracy expanded in many regions of the world. It also swept Indonesia in 1997 - and changed us for good. As a result, the political map of the world was significantly changed, with all its strategic, geopolitical, economic and social consequences.

But at the same time, we also see a parallel trend of democratic decline. Military coup, political instability, constitutional crisis, divisive polarization, violent conflict, the return of authoritarianism and failed states.

Democracy, as we all know too well in Indonesia from experience, is never easy, never smooth and never linear. It always involves a painful process of trial and error, with many ups and downs.

I have no doubt that the future belongs to those who are willing to embrace pluralism, openness and freedom. I say this based on the Indonesian experience. For decades, when we experienced high economic

democracy is growing strong, while at the same time, Indonesia is registering the third highest economic growth among G20 countries, after China and India.

Indonesia's democratic experience is also relevant if you consider the (doomsday) scenario about it. Indonesia was in total darkness. Our economy contracted by 13 percent. Ethnic violence flared up. East Timor seceded from Indonesia. Terrorist bombs were exploding. Constitutional crisis seemed endless. Even Thomas Friedman called Indonesia, like Russia, "the money state - too large to work, too important to fail."

Many predicted Indonesia, after East Timor's secession, would break apart into pieces. Some even talked about unleashing a tidal wave.

But we proved the skeptics wrong. Indonesia's democracy has grown from strength to strength.

We held three peaceful periodic national elections. In 1999, in 2004 and in 2009. We peacefully resolved the conflict in Aceh and pursued political and economic reforms in Papua.

We made human rights protection a national priority. We pushed forward ambitious decentralization. Rather than regressing, Indonesia is progressing.

One of the key lessons for us is that the democracy must connect with good governance. In the early years of our transition, this was one of

the hardest things to do. We were so consumed in the euphoria of the newfound freedom that there was a time that governance suffered.

I can tell you that one of the key challenges for our democratic development is how to minimize and ultimately do away with "money politics". Money politics can seriously undermine democracy because it is how to minimize and ultimately do away with "money politics".

Many politics can seriously undermine democracy because it is how to minimize and ultimately do away with "money politics".

I believe that the more money politics prevail, the less the people's aspirations will be heard, and the more democracy will suffer. That is why the most terrible thing to wage in a democracy is the mandate from the people, and the most precious asset to keep is the public trust.

Indeed, I see democratic development as a constant process of expanding opportunities and empowerment of the people. It is a process to promote gender equality and bring more women into politics. It is a process to reach out to those that are still marginalized. It is a process to prevent a tyranny of the majority and build a national consensus on the future direction of a country. It is a democracy where every citizen can become a stakeholder.

We in Indonesia have shown, by

example, that Islam, democracy and modernity can grow together. We are a living example that there is no conflict between a Muslim's duty to uphold Islam, civil responsibility and his capacity to succeed in the modern world.

This brand of moderation, of reason and tolerance in Indonesia in the other societies around the world is the seed of a 21st century order marked by harmony among civilizations.

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The Jakarta Post

ROBERTO PATINO

DEMOCRACY MOVEMENTS CAN BE FUN

Lilian Budianto
THE JAKARTA POST/JAKARTA

As the leader of a Caracas student movement, Roberto Patino has not only worked on advancing democracy but he has also popularized a youth peaceful movement through a symbol: Hand palms painted white.

"Paint the palm of your hands white and raise them up at each protest to show you didn't bring any weapons or rocks," said Patino, one of the founders of the Caracas student movement, presented by the 4th World Movement for Democracy (WMD), in Jakarta on Wednesday. "If you want to be a democrat you have to act like one. Do not use violence in your movement otherwise you will be the same as those dictators you fight against," said Patino in fluent English.

Although Chavez has been recognized by many as an icon of struggle against US hegemony with his nationalist policies, Patino said his president had very little tolerance for his critics inside the country.

"There is no democracy in Venezuela. The government has cracked down on civil groups and its critics. They [authorities] close down TV channels and put people into jail because the latter disagree with his [the President's] policies," he said.

Patino added that he had received death threats on several occasions but none would prevent him from pursuing his political objectives once he graduated.

"I have always been interested in politics," said Patino.

The government's closing down of Venezuela's Radio Caracas Television in 2006 — because it was perceived as critical of the Chavez administration — stimulated Patino's interest in student movements.

"The TV shutdown gave birth to a major protest at that time because people were both angry and shocked. University students came to campus to discuss this issue, and within a short time, a massive protest ensued," said Patino.

Patino later joined his university's student movement, which had grown exponentially in size. During

his time in the movement, he was elected as the leader of the creation of the WMD, which brought together students from various countries to discuss the state of democracy in the world.

As a leader, Patino said he was not a violent person. He said he was not a violent person. He said he was not a violent person.

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DEMOCRACY

Youth uprisings reflect 'desperate' need for reform

Lilian Budianto

THE JAKARTA POST/JAKARTA

Decades after democracy made its first inroads in Southeast Asia, youth

uprisings in a re-regimes have

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cracy in Jakarta, on Tuesday.

He said if a democracy was installed with a top down approach, as in Malaysia and Singapore, then people had little chance to voice their aspirations and influence government policies.

Indonesia saw a major turning point leading to democracy with the 1998 student revolt, ending 32 years of Soeharto's authoritarian rule.

Now the world's third largest democracy, Indonesia is an example of successful transition from dictatorship to democracy, speakers said.

In contrast, democracy in the Philippines has

allowing the initial people movement

ppines is now re-

the most dangerous nationalists worldwide

sacre of journalists

"Social revolts

an effective way

pressure on gover-

to other ways,"

hauser, an activist

the same event.

done to make a change," he said.

Khin Maung Win, a deputy director of the Democratic Voice of Burma said youth movements could only work to push for democracy when combined with external pressure.

"If you are facing a harsh military regime, that does not hesitate to use violence to stamp out protest, there is little chance a people's revolt will successfully bring about change," he said.

None of Myanmar's people's revolts have been successful in toppling the military regime, which cracked down on the opposition party after it won the 1990 elections

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DEMOCRACY

Future of Malaysia's pluralism, democracy still bright despite conservatism, Anwar says

Malaysian opposition leader Anwar Ibrahim has been reported to be struggling to keep his three-party coalition intact. His coalition, which has the support of a Malaysian high court verdict allowing the use of word "Allah" by non-Muslims, is believed to be on the verge of collapse.

Anwar, who visited Jakarta over the weekend, talked about the issues with The Jakarta Post's Erika Maulia. He also shared some of his views on Islam and democracy, and of a more pluralistic face of Malaysia he envisions.

Below are excerpts of the interview:

Question: How is the coalition taking into account the recent situation that is believed to have affected it?

Anwar: I don't believe that we've lost the case on the "Allah" issue. It is used by UMNO leaders to portray us as not very Islamic.

We counter this by providing an example in Indonesia, with the Indonesia, and speak Yusuf Qaradawi. He said "Allah" can be used by non-Muslims.

With the present government's upholding of its conservative stance, how do you see the future of pluralism in Malaysia?

The future is bright because we represent more than Malaysia. The United Malays National Organization (UMNO) is trying to revert that by providing an international image through the Israel-Apco conference to portray an image that they're liberal, but internally they're racist.

Let me give you an example: a lower-income girl drinking beer received a caning, but when UMNO leaders saw some of their members buy San Miguel, an alcoholic company in the Philippines, nobody said anything. This is not what Islam is.

If you talk of Islam, you have to be fair, consistent. It's never been the sharia principle to punish the poor and protect the rich.

What do you think about Prime Minister Najib Razak's economic package?

The package is aimed at ensuring the prime minister's party maintain

pers on the ground.

They announced it last year, one year back. We're not quarreling with the announcement, but we have a problem with the implementation.

There's no talk about corruption. There's no talk about the rule of law. There's no talk about open tender for procurement policies...

But then you can judge, there's no investigation for all the corruption issues in Malaysia. There's all closed.

What is your view of Islam and democracy and how would you want it to be implemented in Malaysia?

The issue of Islam and democracy is already a non-issue.

When you look at Indonesia, the largest Muslim populated country in the world, and Turkey, known as the most modern Muslim country in the world, both have opted for democracy and democratic reforms.

So, people who talk about incompatibility between Islam and democracy are certainly obsolete in their thinking.

This is of course what is expressed by a small minority. I've always promoted the idea that Indonesia should play a more proactive role and promote Islam and democracy.

What kind of face would you envision for Malaysia if you were given a chance to lead the country?

We subscribe to constitutional principles. I mean, Malaysia becomes independent as a liberal democratic country and Malaysia becomes independent with Islam as the religion of the federations, but with rights protection for other communities, other religious beliefs. That's all that we want; to improve the politics. But, you know, the principles of the Constitution have been diluted, as they continue to arrest without trial.

The media is controlled by the rich; there is no liaison for the rest.

President opens world democracy forum

The Jakarta Post | Jakarta | Mon, 04/12/2010 10:01 AM | World

President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono opened on Monday the sixth World Movement for Democracy in Jakarta, which will last until Thursday.

The President also delivered his keynote speech in the international event, which gathers 625 democracy activists, academics and other participants from 110 countries across the world, including Myanmar and Cuba.

The forum will discuss cooperation among different cultures to enhance democracy in the world.

Malaysia's opposition party leader Anwar Ibrahim, former prime minister of Canada Kim Campbell and prominent activists from Egypt, Zimbabwe, Myanmar and several other countries, are scheduled to speak in the forum.

Anwar Ibrahim

Pendidikan Cegah Radikalisme

Griha Pitaka

pitaka@kompas.com

Aktifitas pemimpin paling berpengaruh di Negeri Jiran. Sepak terjangnya di dunia politik membuat lelaki kelahiran Sungai Bakap, Pulau Pinang, Malaysia ini dua kali menduduki jabatan Perdana Menteri. Namun pengalaman masuk ke takhta serta-merta menimbulkan suaranya. Ia tetap

diyakini. Namun beliau dengan bijak menyerahkan penyelesaian urusan itu pada jalur hukum. Kalau di Malaysia, kita sudah dibiasakan, kata suami Dr Wan Azizah Wan Ismail ini.

Apakah etika anak ini mengemukakan, "Korupsi dan ketidakadilan memang masalah yang harus dianggukangi bersama. Namun bukan berarti masyarakat boleh main hakim sendiri dan menyalahgunakan kekuasaan pribadi."

"Dalam agama Islam, manusia diajarkan untuk tidak melanggar jalur hukum. Kita boleh melakukan perubahan, tapi kita tidak boleh melanggar hukum," kata Anwar.

Pluralisme
Kepribadian Anwar terhadap demokrasi tetap tidak berubah

Anwar Ibrahim

Tempat, Tanggal Lahir: Sungai Bakap, Pulau Pinang

Kim Campbell

Angkat Topi untuk Indonesia

SBY: Kantor Presiden Tak Lagi Dominan

Laporan wartawan KOMPAS Suhartono
Senin, 12 April 2010 | 12:13 WIB

JAKARTA, KOMPAS.com — Presiden Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono menyatakan, demokrasi yang tumbuh dan berkembang di Indonesia selama 10 tahun terakhir ini lebih hidup, lebih bebas, dan berkembang dengan baik. Kantor Presiden tidak lagi dominan seperti dalam sistem politik sebelumnya.

"Selain Kantor Presiden yang tidak lagi dominan seperti dulu, militer juga tidak lagi bisa melakukan intervensi politik," ungkap Presiden Yudhoyono saat berpidato di Forum ke-6 World Movement for Democracy, yang bertema "Solidaritas Lintas Budaya: Berkerjasama untuk Demokrasi" di Jakarta, Senin (12/4/2010) pagi.

Bahkan, tambah Presiden, sekarang ini Parlemen juga lebih hidup dan independen dalam menjalankan perannya. "Ada sistem pengawasan dan saling menimbang," ucap Presiden.

Lebih lanjut, Presiden mengatakan, kehadiran Mahkamah Konstitusi (MK) juga sangat menentukan dalam penilaian sistem perundang-undangan sebab MK bisa membatalkan UU yang dibuat oleh parlemen dari pemerintah.

Presiden yang berbicara tanpa teks menyatakan, sejarah di banyak negara, termasuk di Indonesia, menunjukkan bahwa pemimpin yang bisa memberikan kesejahteraan rakyat dan pemertanian serta menciptakan kestabilan politik dan keamanan akan mampu bertahan lama.

"Oleh sebab itu, pembangunan dan pengemitan demokrasi menjadi sangat penting. Selama 10 tahun terakhir, inilah yang telah dilakukan dalam peningkatan pembangunan dan peningkatan demokrasi. Termasuk pemilu yang independen dan demokratis, (hal itu) telah dijalankan," paparnya.

Menurut Presiden, pemimpin bisa datang dan pergi dalam sebuah pemerintahan. Akan tetapi sistem pemerintahan dan demokrasi harus terus bertahan dan berjalan dengan benar. "Jadi jelas, pada saat saya akan meninggalkan pemerintahan pada 2014 mendatang, saya harapkan kegiatan pemerintahan akan tetap berjalan dan demokrasi terus bertahan," kata Presiden lagi.

Dalam acara ini, Presiden hanya didampingi Menteri Koordinator Politik Hukum dan Keamanan Ciko Suyanto serta Gubernur DKI Fauzi Bowo.

pesat di Indonesia. Saya angkat topi untuk prestasi itu," kata Kim.

Sebagai seorang yang pernah duduk dalam pemerintahan, Kim mengakui tidak mudah membangun demokrasi di sebuah negara. Perlu waktu dan harus ada sistem yang bersih sebagai pendukung. Pengakuan hukum menjadi kunci utama.

perkembangan ekonomi Indonesia yang bisa berjalan seiring proses demokrasi.

Kesetaraan Gender
Kim merupakan putri dari pasangan George Thomas Campbell (1920-2002) dan Phyllis Cook. Ia lahir di Port Alberni, British Columbia, 10 Maret 1947. Ketika berusia 12

Avril Phaedra Douglas Campbell

Tempat, Tanggal Lahir: Port Alberni, British Columbia, 10 Maret 1947
Partai Politik: Progressive Conservative

Pasangan:
- Nathan Dinkley-Campbell
- Howard Eddy-Campbell
- Henry Eddy



Pencapaian Demokrasi Indonesia Diapresiasi

JAKARTA, KOMPAS — Indonesia dinilai banyak mengalami kemajuan signifikan dalam berdemokrasi, terutama jika dibandingkan dengan negara-negara lain di kawasan sekitarnya. Dengan alasan itulah World Movement for Democracy menetapkan Indonesia (Jakarta) sebagai tuan rumah forum pertemuannya yang keenam pada 11-14 April 2010.

Direktur World Movement for Democracy Art Kaufman, dalam jumpa pers, Kamis (8/4), mengatakan, forum itu akan dihadiri lebih dari 600 aktivis prodemokrasi, praktisi, dan akademisi dari 110 negara. Sejumlah penghargaan terhadap gerakan yang dinilai berani memperjuangkan demokrasi juga akan diberikan, antara lain, Gerakan Wanita Iran, Pembela HAM dari Kaukasus Utara, Gerakan Pelajar Venezuela, dan Gerakan HAM di Suriah.

Banyak tantangan

"Namun, diakui pula, demokrasi di Indonesia masih akan berhadapan dengan banyak tantangan yang juga tak kalah signifikan, seperti penanganan kasus korupsi. Korupsi menjadi isu jahat yang dapat merusak de-

mokradi," ujar Kaufman.

Kaufman menyikapi positif upaya Indonesia untuk terus melanjutkan dan mempertahankan demokrasi dalam kehidupan sehari-hari walaupun pada saat sama fakta menunjukkan, Indonesia masih terbelit kemiskinan dan praktik diskriminasi terhadap kelompok minoritas.

Menurut Kaufman, upaya untuk saling dukung antarpejuang demokrasi dari sejumlah negara sangatlah penting. Dukungan seorang aktivis pegiat demokrasi terhadap sesama rekan mereka di negara lain yang tengah menghadapi tekanan justru menunjukkan komitmen terhadap pene-gakan demokrasi.

"Kami selalu meminta semua pihak berjuang membela mereka yang berupaya menegakkan demokrasi di negaranya," ujar Kaufman.

Bambang Harymurti, anggota steering committee Indonesia yang mendampingi Kaufman dalam jumpa pers itu, menyebutkan, berdasarkan data Freedom House 2006, Indonesia dinyatakan telah menjadi negara kategori bebas dalam hal berdemokrasi. Sayangnya, status sama belum dapat diraih dalam konteks kebebasan pers. (DWA)

CITIZEN REPORTER: SBY Membuka World Movement Democracy

Citizen Reporter Devi santy Erawaty Anggota DPRD Sulsel Melaporkan dari Jakarta

SENIN, 12 APRIL 2010 | 23:55 WITA

TRIBUN-TIMUR.COM — Presiden Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono membuka kongres World Movement Democracy ke-VI di Hotel Shangri La, Jakarta, Senin (12/4). Kegiatan ini akan berlangsung hingga 14 April mendatang.

Dalam sambutannya, SBY menyampaikan perkembangan demokrasi di Indonesia yang mengalami kemajuan pesat pasca meletusnya reformasi 1998 silam.

Kegiatan dua tahunan tersebut diikuti oleh 600 peserta dari 110 negara. Sebagai tuan rumah, Indonesia mendapat jatah 100 peserta dalam kegiatan tersebut. Saya dan Andi Mariatung mewakili Sulsel dalam kegiatan tersebut sebagai utusan kaukasus perempuan politik Sulsel.

Kegiatan ini diketuai oleh Mantan Menteri Pertahanan Kanada Kim Campbell, seorang perempuan yang sangat energik, aktif, dan vokal menyuarakan hak-hak perempuan.

Kegiatan ini banyak diikuti oleh kalangan aktivis dari seluruh dunia.

Beberapa kegiatan yang terjadwal dalam jadwal sharing tentang pengalaman masing-masing dari isu yang diangkat beraneka ragam mulai dari politik, kebebasan pers, dan lain sebagainya.

Even Internasional

Jakarta Tuan Rumah Forum Demokrasi

JAKARTA — Jaringan kerja global yang tergabung dalam World Movement for Democracy (WMD) akan mengadakan forum internasional yang ke-6 di Jakarta, mulai 11 hingga 14 April 2010. Forum tersebut rencananya dihadiri oleh 600 partisipan dari 110 negara.

Pada peristiwa acara "The World Movement" itu merupakan gabungan para aktivis internasional, praktisi, akademisi, para demokrat, peneliti kebijakan, dan penyandang dana kegiatan yang mempromosikan kegiatan demokrasi di negara-negara di dunia.

Indonesia merupakan negara ke-6 yang berhasil menjadi tuan rumah kegiatan interna-



Bambang Harymurti

sional tersebut dan negara pertama Asia karena dianggap cukup percaya diri dan progresif dalam kebebasan demokrasi.

Dibanding negara-negara maju yang tak lagi bergelut dengan kemiskinan, Indonesia memang masih dikategorikan negara sedang berkembang yang ditandu dengan kebebasan pers yang mulai berkembang, namun belum pada tahap kemampuan kebebasan pers.

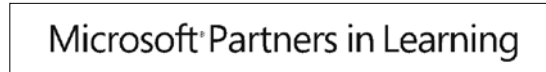
Art Kaufman, Direktur World Movement for Democracy, mengakui dia tidak bisa

menyoroti secara menyeluruh setiap negara yang pernah menjadi tuan rumah acara internasional ini, termasuk Indonesia.

"Sebenarnya dalam acara ini tak ada satu pun negara yang bisa menyatakan bahwa dia sudah sempurna dalam demokrasi, namun terus berusaha untuk kebebasan demokrasi seperti Indonesia," katanya di Jakarta, kemarin.

Acara yang berlangsung selama empat hari tersebut dijadwalkan dihadiri oleh Presiden

The World Movement for Democracy would like to thank the following donors for their generous support.



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Bambang Harymurti

Member (Indonesia), Steering Committee of the World Movement for Democracy, and editor, TEMPO MEDIA, Indonesia

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