



OSCE Supplementary Human Dimension Meeting

**DEMOCRATIZATION: STRENGTHENING
DEMOCRACY THROUGH EFFECTIVE
REPRESENTATION**

Final Report

Vienna, 2-3 November 2006

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY.....	3
II. RECOMMENDATIONS.....	6
III. SUMMARIES AND OUTCOME OF THE SESSIONS.....	9
SESSION I: Empowerment of legislatures: A modern and democratic parliamentary infrastructure	9
SESSION II: Political parties and parliamentary factions	11
SESSION III: Law Making and Access to Legislation in a Democratic System of Government.....	14
IV. ANNEXES.....	17
ANNEX I: AGENDA.....	17
ANNEX II: ANNOTATED AGENDA.....	19
ANNEX III: INTRODUCTORY SPEECHES TO WORKING SESSIONS.....	25
SESSION I: Empowerment of legislatures: A modern and democratic parliamentary infrastructure	25
Mr. Alessandro Palanza, Deputy Secretary General, Italian Chamber of Deputies.....	25
Ms. Donka Banovic, Chairperson of the Committee for Education in the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia	30
SESSION II: Political parties and parliamentary factions.....	32
Mr. Ivan Doherty, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, USA.....	32
Ms. Mira Karybaeva, Social Technologies Agency, Kyrgyzstan.....	37
SESSION III: Law Making and Access to Legislation in a Democratic System of Government	41
Mr. Jean-Pierre Duprat, Professor of Public Law, Director of the Research Institute of Public Law, University of Montesquieu - Bordeaux IV	41
Ms. Marianne Mikko, Member of the European Parliament, member of the Social Democratic Party of Estonia, Tallinn	48
ANNEX IV: OPENING AND CLOSING REMARKS by Ambassador Strohal, ODIHR Director.....	50
Opening remarks.....	50
Closing remarks.....	53
ANNEX V: OPENING AND CLOSING REMARKS of the OSCE Chairmanship.....	55
Opening remarks by Ambassador Pierre Champenois, Special Advisor to the OSCE Chairmanship.....	55
Closing remarks by Ambassador Bernard de Crombrughe, Chairman of the Permanent Council.....	58
ANNEX VI: SIDE EVENTS AND OUTCOMES.....	60
ANNEX VII: STATISTICS ON PARTICIPATION.....	66
ANNEX VIII: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS.....	67

I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The third and final OSCE Supplementary Human Dimension Meeting (SHDM) for 2006 on “Democratization: Strengthening Democracy through Effective Representation”, was held on 2-3 November in Vienna¹. The overall participation of 160 included 37 OSCE participating States, seven international organizations, the OSCE Secretariat (Gender Issues), the OSCE HCNM, the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly Liaison Office, 18 representatives of 12 OSCE field operations as well as 52 representatives of 42 NGOs.² The sessions were moderated and introduced by distinguished experts, including national MPs and MEPs, parliamentary staff, academics and NGOs.³

Already in the May 2004 Human Dimension Seminar “Democratic Institutions and Democratic Governance” stressed in its main recommendations the need for the OSCE and the ODIHR to expand their activities in the fields of strengthening political parties, assisting parliamentary reform and increasing legislative transparency. This 2006 Supplementary Human Dimension Meeting provided an opportunity for all participants to better define effective methodologies and practical steps towards these ends. It also allowed the OSCE to take stock of its activities in these fields over the last two years. For the ODIHR, this Meeting provided an important opportunity to assess the initial results of programmes developed in response to the recommendations of the 2004 Seminar. In order to facilitate discussion on these wide and complex issues, the Meeting was divided into three distinct sessions:

- 1) Empowerment of legislatures: A modern and democratic parliamentary infrastructure;
- 2) Political parties and parliamentary factions;
- 3) Law Making and Access to Legislation in a Democratic System of Government.

In addition to these sessions, a number of side-events were organised, including a presentation of the lessons learned from the parliamentary assistance programmes of the OSCE field operations in South East Europe, outlining the shared characteristics of the OSCE approach to parliamentary work in this part of the OSCE region.⁴ A second side-event examined the ODIHR and OSCE’s work in Georgia in the field of political parties, parliamentary reform and legislative transparency.

At the **Opening Session**, both Ambassador Pierre Champenois⁵, on behalf of the Belgian Chairmanship, and Ambassador Christian Strohal⁶, ODIHR Director, underlined the importance of the ODIHR’s democratization efforts and their complementarity to its election observation work. Both speakers acknowledged the Organization’s added value and recommended greater OSCE involvement in strengthening democratic practices in political parties and in increasing the effectiveness and transparency of legislatures. Special emphasis was put on the importance of *inclusiveness* particularly with regard to women’s participation. Ambassador Champenois pointed out the crucial role Parliament plays in Belgium, a federal country, in ensuring that all voices are heard and all interests are taken into account. He cautioned however that parliamentary reform on its own can not guarantee effective representation.

Ambassador Strohal further explained how effective and fair representation increases governmental legitimacy and therefore contributes in a major way to national and regional stability and security. Democracies are all different but share key principles and features for which it is necessary to develop norms and standards, notably in the fields of separation of

¹ Please see Annex I for the Agenda and Annex II for the Annotated Agenda of the Meeting

² Please see Annex VII for Statistics and Annex VIII for List of participants

³ Please see Annex III for texts of introductory speeches.

⁴ Please see Annex VI for the list and description of the side events.

⁵ Please see Annex V for Opening remarks by Ambassador Champenois.

⁶ Please see Annex IV for Opening and Closing remarks by Ambassador Strohal.

powers, accountability and transparency. One of the critical aspects is the space democracy creates for the public debate of policy, including, but not limited to, political parties. Assistance to political parties is an essential, though complex, activity. A second critical area is effective law-making and access to legislation – a concrete demonstration of genuine representation. The relevance and value for the whole Organization of the experience with parliamentary assistance of the OSCE field operations in South-Eastern Europe was also stressed. Ambassador Strohal encouraged the participants to engage in a frank discussion with an eye to producing concrete recommendations.

The keynote speech was delivered by Mr. Ivan Krastev, Director of the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia, Bulgaria. Mr. Krastev underlined the danger and corrupting effects of populism on the proper functioning of democratic institutions. A growing mistrust of governmental institutions and politics in general, an increasing skepticism towards democratic processes, followed by a declining appreciation of democracy overall, have opened the field for populist parties and leaders. Using the veneer of democratic tools, these actors ride the wave of discontent usually on a single-issue agenda rather than on a comprehensive policy vision. Instead, they advocate the politics of exclusion towards particular minority groups in order to mobilize votes from the larger constituencies. Remedies to this crisis of the democratic process are limited. Anti-democratic measures such as banning anti-system parties have proved counterproductive. Experience shows that attempts to isolate extreme parties have produced mixed results. Such attempts intensify the negative perception of democracy and risk creating political martyrs. Integration of such parties into the political mainstream is the only viable option, but it is a long-term process and is only ultimately successful if there is overall consensus between mainstream parties on addressing the issues and underlying concerns raised by the populists.

In **Session I**, introductory speeches were delivered by Mr. Alessandro Palanza, Deputy Secretary General of the Italian Chamber of Deputies and Ms. Donka Banovic, Chairperson of the Committee for Education in the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia. The focus of the first working session was on empowering parliaments, and on defining the tools parliaments need in order to carry out their representative, legislative and oversight functions effectively. Discussions focused on the importance of legislative skills and capacities, including effective staff and technical support, enhancing representation through transparent and fully functional legislative structures and rules of procedure, the management of administrative functions as well as relations between the legislature, constituencies and the media. Participants also looked at the important goal of achieving effective representation of women and minority groups.

In **Session II**, introductory speeches were delivered by Mr. Ivan Doherty of the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs and Ms. Mira Karybaeva of the Social Technologies Agency in Kyrgyzstan. Session II resulted in a substantive and productive debate about political parties, their identity, place and role in a democratic society, their relation to parliament as well as the complexities of international assistance to this sector. Political parties are frequently overlooked in democracy assistance programmes. They are generally weak institutions and are often mistrusted, but are nevertheless vital for a healthy democracy.

In **Session III**, introductory speeches were delivered by Ms. Marianne Mikko (MEP), member of the Social Democratic Party of Estonia and Mr. Jean-Pierre Duprat, Professor of Public Law, Director of the Research Institute of Public Law of the Bordeaux University of Montesquieu. Participants took a closer look at the complexities involved in increasing legislative transparency on the one hand, and public participation in law-making on the other. The participants shared their experiences of parliamentary reform and increasing the effectiveness of lawmaking, debated benefits of public access to parliamentary sessions and the relationship between the lawmaking process and the implementation of laws.

Remarks at the **Closing Session** were delivered by Ambassador Bertrand De Crombrugghe, Chairman of the Permanent Council⁷, as well as by the ODIHR Director, Ambassador Christian Strohal.

Ambassador de Crombrugghe underlined the importance attached to representative democracy in the agenda of the Belgian OSCE Chairmanship. He noted that democratic representation is part of the OSCE comprehensive security concept. An effective parliament is also a conflict-prevention tool. In assisting participating States to improve the quality of democratic practices, the OSCE needs to maintain a strong focus on the sustainability and local ownership of its assistance programmes. Special attention should be paid to political parties as vital parts of democratic societies. The OSCE in general, and the ODIHR in particular, has a clear responsibility as a clearing house for dissemination of best practices in democratic governance programmes. He stated that this might call for a more comprehensive and concerted lessons learned exercise.

Ambassador Strohal reiterated that there is a wide variety of democratic governments and that democracy is always unfinished business. Nevertheless, democracy does have a number of core features common to all, such as effective representation of the public by elected officials. Increasing this effectiveness requires a holistic approach where citizens, NGOs, media, political parties, parliament and government are mobilized as stakeholders in a common democratic project. Intra-party democracy and inter-party dialogue as well as the interface with civil society, parliamentary opposition, minority participation, and legislators are fundamental cornerstones of the democratic edifice. The OSCE has extensive experience in all these fields and should further improve its assistance programmes by exchanging best practices. He referred to the fact that this SHDM had served as a forum of exchange, especially with respect to the OSCE field operations in South-Eastern Europe, the repositories of much of Organization's expertise in institution-building and democratization.

The Closing Plenary was further stimulated by an engaging speech by the former President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, the Rt. Hon. Bruce George MP. His speech drew on numerous personal experiences from his long and distinguished career. Mr. George underlined the importance of the public interest as the driving motivation for politicians. Politics and politicians indeed risk debasing themselves as well as democratic governance if they enter politics for self-seeking reasons, such as business interests or immunity from prosecution, rather than a desire to create a better society. Mr George warned that democratic cultures will not take root or flourish overnight. The post-1989 democratic development in Central and Eastern Europe was exceptional as evidenced by Vaclav Havel's quick accession to the Czech presidency. Nevertheless, the current political turmoil, the slowed-down and even reverse reform-drive in some participating States all indicate that democratic development is an on-going process. Nor are these trends limited to new democracies, as the situation in many developed democracies demonstrates. He stated that there is therefore a continuous need for assistance, peer-to-peer support and reviews to ensure that OSCE participating States can benefit from each others' best democratic practices in increasing the effectiveness of their representative structures. In relation to parliamentary work Mr. Bruce noted that, the focus should be on increased professionalism, for all parliaments need to have the necessary knowledge and skills to be able to influence policies, to legislate, to scrutinize and to detect fraud.

⁷ Please see Annex V for Closing remarks by Ambassador Bertrand de Crombrugghe

II. RECOMMENDATIONS

As the topics of the working sessions are closely linked and the proposals emanating from each session have multiplier effects throughout the parliamentary reform and political party development fields, the recommendations have been collected under the headings of the addressee, respectively the OSCE participating States, the OSCE and its institutions and finally other actors such as IGOs and NGOs. It should be noted that these recommendations are not based on consensus, and the inclusion of a recommendation in this report does not suggest that it reflects the views or policy of the OSCE. Nevertheless, they are a useful and important indicator for the OSCE in reflecting upon how participating States are meeting their commitments, determining future priorities and considering possible new initiatives relevant to the work on parliamentary and political party reform.

Recommendations to the OSCE participating States:

- The OSCE participating States should ensure that parliaments are given sufficient resources to build up their operational infrastructure (staff, library, research facilities) to empower legislators to be full actors in the lawmaking and oversight processes;
- The OSCE participating States should affirm the role of parliaments as indispensable institutions of representative democracy that provide effective checks and balances as well as oversight of the actions of the executive. The OSCE participating States should consider elaborating further commitments reflecting the crucial role of parliaments;
- The OSCE participating States should strengthen their focus on identifying/reviewing strategies for promoting participatory practices in government policy-making and fostering women's political participation in these processes;
- The OSCE participating States should affirm the role of political parties as the primary representative institutions for amalgamating and channelling the views of citizens in the political arena;
- The OSCE participating States should consider elaborating further commitments which would enhance the framework for political parties to carry out their democratic responsibilities;
- The OSCE participating States should strengthen the linkages between parliamentary reform and political party institutional development.

Recommendations to the OSCE, its institutions and field operations:

- Where appropriate conditions and capacity exist, the OSCE field operations could play an increased role in strengthening parliaments in their core legislative functions such as law making and executive oversight as well as in creating the necessary conditions for effective participation in legislative processes of both civil society and political minorities;
- The OSCE field operations could play a useful role in facilitating the interaction and coordination of parliaments with local and international actors in the field of parliamentary reform;

- The OSCE field operations could usefully increase regional co-operation among themselves, supported by the ODIHR when requested, in exchanging experiences, experts and knowledge. The dissemination of best practices supports the progressive development of an integrated OSCE approach to parliamentary assistance as well as to increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of individual OSCE support projects;
- The OSCE field operations in cooperation with other players can further support parliaments in strengthening parliamentary processes and procedures, and in developing adequate management, effective staff support and modern parliamentary infrastructures. The OSCE field operations are well placed to assist national parliaments in developing bilateral arrangements with parliaments of other participating States;
- The OSCE field operations can play an important role in strengthening the links between parliaments and citizens and increasing the engagement of citizen groups, businesses and the general public in the legislative process. The network of field offices is an important asset which some field operations can usefully draw on in this process;
- The OSCE field operations could usefully contribute to integrating aspects of women and national minority representation in legislatures in their parliamentary support programmes, including the possibility of affirmative actions;
- The OSCE field operations should usefully enhance their capacity to monitor, and assist participating States in combating, hate speech in public discourse, especially with regard to parliamentary discourse;
- The OSCE should develop principles for the effective participation of civil society in the policy formulation stage of law-making and the OSCE should develop uniform standards for participation of civil society in the legislative process;
- The ODIHR should, upon request, provide assistance to the parliaments of participating States in assessing their own capacities and in developing strategies to increase local ownership of parliamentary reform efforts;
- The ODIHR should assist in the development of a strong national expertise in the area of promoting participatory policy making practices in order to enable authorities to effectively engage with public stakeholders, such as civil society organizations and women's NGOs;
- When necessary expertise and capacities are available and upon request, the OSCE field operations should play a role in strengthening parliaments by building local capacity and facilitating partnerships with parliaments of other participating States;
- The ODIHR should assist, upon request, in broadening the exposure of lawmakers in OSCE participating States to sound management procedures for the legislative process. In particular, the ODIHR should provide broader access to good practices in terms of policies, standards and techniques for policy development, legislative preparation and drafting, as well as programming and consultations with stakeholders outside state institutions;
- The OSCE and the ODIHR should provide assistance, as requested, to the participating States in conducting a comprehensive assessments of their legislative system - from the policy development stage through the implementation and evaluation of the enacted

legislation - and supporting domestic efforts towards improving the efficiency and transparency of the legislative process and ultimately the quality of the legislation;

- The OSCE should make an effort to increase exchanges of best practices in the fields of parliamentary and political party development, law-making and access to legislation;
- The ODIHR should assist, upon request, with facilitating dialogue to improve the operation of multi-party political systems;
- The ODIHR should continue to build the capacity and expertise of political parties, leaders and decision makers to identify and develop strategies for promoting equal political representation of women at national and local levels;
- The ODIHR should continue maintaining its focus on identifying and using local capacity and potential for developing effective democratic practices;
- The ODIHR should continue to provide an open forum and the necessary know how/expertise to women's civil society organizations to effectively engage in dialogue with political parties and legislatures;
- The OSCE should raise further awareness of the OSCE commitments and international standards related to democracy and democratic governance.

Recommendations to intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations:

- Intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations should enhance the role of women in parliaments and throughout the law-drafting process;
- Intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations should aim to increase the transparency of parliaments through the media;
- Intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations should develop further mechanisms to ensure wide and effective public participation in the law-making process;
- Intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations should promote the simplification of complex legislation for the public, especially in the area of human rights;
- Intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations should aim to raise the quality of discussions related to the development of political and representative institutions including research on norms and standards of democratic governance.

III. SUMMARIES OF THE SESSIONS

SESSION I: Empowerment of legislatures: A modern and democratic parliamentary infrastructure

Moderator

Ms. Jill Adler, Director, East-West Parliamentary Practice Project, Amsterdam, the Netherlands

Introducers

Mr. Alessandro Palanza, Deputy Secretary General, Chamber of Deputies, Rome

Ms. Donka Banovic, Chairperson of the Committee for Education in the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia

The focus of working session 1 was on empowering parliaments, and on defining the tools they need in order to carry out their representative, legislative and oversight functions effectively. Discussions focused on legislative skills and capacities, including effective staff and technical support, enhancing representation through transparent and fully functional legislative structures and rules of procedure, the management of administrative functions as well as relations between the legislature, constituencies and the media. Participants also looked at the important goal of achieving the effective representation of women and minority groups.

Participants were asked to present practical recommendations as to how the OSCE and other providers of international assistance and support can contribute to building the capacity of parliaments to represent their constituencies more fully and professionally.

The two keynote speakers expertly introduced the session by highlighting experiences of increasing the effectiveness of representativeness within their own respective parliaments.

Dr. Alessandro Palanza, the Deputy Secretary General of the Italian *Camera dei Deputati* highlighted the central role the Italian Parliament played as Constituent Assembly in drawing all actors into the institutions of political life of the new Italian democracy following the end of the fascist dictatorship. This ensured that the Parliament was, and continues to be, the centre of gravity in the Italian democracy and a unifying factor in Italian society. The key to its legislative empowerment lies with the Parliament's financial, administrative and organizational autonomy, the independence of its staff and effective rules of procedure. Dr Palanza referred to the fact that a particularly important factor in giving a genuine role to political minorities is the mechanism by which the parliamentary agenda is established without recourse to simple majority vote. Decisions are taken by consensus, whenever possible or by the Speaker acting as arbiter or mediator. He said that the role of the Speaker in enforcing the Rules with neutrality and an even hand is critical in ensuring full participation of all groups in the parliamentary process. Moreover, he pointed at the fact the Parliament effectively shares with the Government the responsibility to shape policies and to carry them out, mainly through legislation.

Ms. Donka Banovic, Member of the National Assembly of Serbia, emphasized that legislatures require well-developed, well-resourced organizational structures in order to function effectively. She said that the problem is often compounded by the fact that parliaments in young democracies have to work their way through many more laws than their colleagues in older democracies do, usually linked to the political imperative of meeting the European Union *acquis*. Of primary importance in handling such a critical workload are the quality and

professionalism of the parliamentary staff as well as the technical capacity and resources of the parliament itself. She referred to the Human Resources Department in the Serbian Parliament, which was established with support from the OSCE and is now a permanent part of a new organizational structure, has proven its usefulness in that context.

Throughout the session, five denominators for a democratic parliament were identified:

- transparency
- representation
- accountability
- accessibility
- and effectiveness.

In the discussions, particular emphasis was put on mechanisms that aim to increase and enhance transparency and accountability, in particular through public hearings, roundtables and consultations. The need for active public outreach was stressed, as participation can not be guaranteed simply by assuring the availability and dissemination of parliamentary information. The importance of educating the public about the work of parliament was also highlighted.

In terms of effectiveness, participants discussed the importance of an independent and professional parliamentary staff, accountable to the parliament alone. Only stable and professional staffing of parliamentary structures, independent from any political influence, can guarantee qualitative support to the work of parliamentarians and ensure institutional memory. The high turnover of staff in some OSCE participating States undermines the effectiveness of training and the efficient delivery of services.

Concrete examples, as well as best practices from throughout the OSCE region, were presented and discussed during the session. In terms of parliamentary reform assistance programmes, it was noted that study tours between parliaments in young and developing democracies, in particular those who have faced similar challenges, were more effective than visits to older parliaments in well-established democracies. Another lesson learned was the paramount importance of donor co-ordination structures. Co-ordinating committees for parliamentary assistance and reform should not only include the parliamentary leadership and donors, but also rank and file members of parliament (from both governing and opposition parties) and parliamentary staff.

Participants also stressed the importance and reciprocal benefit of building links between civil society and parliaments. NGOs can provide expertise to legislators as well as practical advice on implementation.

The relationship of legislatures with the executive branch was also debated. Participants cautioned that so-called “rubber-stamp” parliaments undermine the representative and oversight functions and damage parliament’s long-term institutional credibility. It was emphasized that the parliament should not be seen as part of the executive branch but rather a conduit ensuring that the whole society can take part in the decision-making process.

Another important issue touched upon during the session was the representation of women in the legislative process. Critical to the empowerment of women are both the access to political structures and leadership positions within parties and in parliament. Mention was made of instances where, even where women were well represented in parliament, they were not assigned critical functions such as chairs of committees.

The following specific recommendations were made in Session I:

Recommendations to the OSCE participating States:

- The OSCE participating States should ensure that parliaments are given sufficient resources to build up their operational infrastructure (staff, library, research facilities) to empower legislators to be full actors in the lawmaking and oversight processes;
- The OSCE participating States should affirm the role of parliaments as indispensable institutions of representative democracy that provide effective checks and balances as well as oversight of the actions of the executive. The OSCE participating States should consider elaborating further commitments reflecting the crucial role of parliaments.

Recommendations to the OSCE, its institutions and field operations:

- The OSCE field operations could play a useful role in facilitating the interaction and coordination of parliaments with local and international actors in the field of parliamentary reform;
- The OSCE field operations could usefully seek to increase regional co-operation among themselves, supported by the ODIHR when requested, in exchanging experiences, experts and knowledge. The dissemination of best practices supports the progressive development of an integrated OSCE approach to parliamentary assistance as well as to increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of individual OSCE support projects;
- The OSCE field operations in cooperation with other players can further support parliaments in strengthening parliamentary processes and procedures, and in developing adequate management, effective staff support and modern parliamentary infrastructures. The OSCE field operations should assist national parliaments in developing bilateral arrangements with parliaments of other participating States;
- The OSCE field operations should usefully enhance their capacity to monitor, and assist participating States in combating, hate speech in public discourse, especially with regard to parliamentary discourse;
- The ODIHR should, upon request, provide assistance to the parliaments of participating States in assessing their own capacities and in developing strategies to increase local ownership of parliamentary reform efforts;
- When necessary expertise and capacities are available and upon request, the OSCE field operations should play a role in strengthening parliaments by building local capacity and facilitating partnerships with parliaments of other participating States.

SESSION II: Political parties and parliamentary factions

Moderator

Mr. Roel von Meijefeldt, Executive Director, Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMD), The Hague, the Netherlands

Introducers

Mr. Ivan Doherty, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, USA

Ms. Mira Karybaeva, Programme Officer, Social Technologies Agency, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan

The discussion in Session II resulted in a debate about political parties, their identity, place and role in a democratic society, their relation to parliament as well as the complexities of international assistance to this sector. Political parties have been frequently overlooked in democracy assistance programmes. They are generally weak institutions and are often mistrusted, but are, nevertheless, vital for a healthy democracy.

Mr. Ivan Doherty, of the National Democratic Institute, made a strong case for the international community to engage with political parties in order to further their institutional development and to regard them as stakeholders of the overall democratization process rather than as target beneficiaries. As such, parties should ideally have a seat at the table of major discussions on democratization issues alongside other institutions. This engagement is motivated by the primary role political parties play in a democratic society as well as by the organizational and institutional weakness of many political parties in both developed and less developed democracies. In order to be effective, assistance to political parties should ideally 1) allocate greater resources in non-election periods, 2) develop their openness for citizen participation, 3) include a greater focus on intra-party democracy, 4) promote equal gender participation and women's political leadership and 5) improve party finance reform and combat corruption within parties.

Ms. Mira Karybaeva, a Kyrgyz civil society leader, focused her presentation on the complexities of equal representation within political parties. Using the example of women as one of the groups whose representation falls far short of its population share (only 19% of members of parliament of all 56 OSCE participating States are women), Ms. Karybaeva touched upon pros and cons of the Scandinavian system of quotas as well as the non-statutory regulations used in the countries of the former Soviet Union to promote women's participation. She argued that the proportional election system appears to be more "women-friendly" whereas the majority system creates covert barriers. Ultimately, however, success rests with a strong and comprehensive women's lobby, capable of breaking otherwise traditional patterns whereby women are expected to be active only on committees dealing with social issues.

Prompted by the opening keynote speech, participants debated the dilemma posed by illiberal parties in a liberal political framework and of the challenges of populist parties. Participants saw the problem of combating populism more in terms of the weakness of democratic parties rather than the strength of the populists. Provided democratic practices prevail, it was argued that populism could be effectively countered by developing coherent party platforms and communicating them to the electorate.

The subsequent discussion focused on the four main challenges facing political parties in developing democracies: 1) institutional development, 2) inter-party cooperation, 3) improving political party systems and 4) strengthening the representation of underrepresented groups of the population.

On the issue of institutional development, participants debated the complex and multi-faceted task of increasing the representative function of parties. It was noted that one of the main challenges was to ensure that the political identity of parties is rooted in local social formations and political platforms. Discussions also touched upon the critical issue of transparent selection process of candidates based on merits and clear criteria. Finally, the institutionalization of

political parties should not be conceived without an open and clear structure and procedures solidly embedding internal party democracy.

Participants agreed that parties and their respective factions in parliament cannot function properly without inter-party cooperation. The nexus between political parties and political factions in parliaments was considered to be less than effective, with deficiencies similar to the nexus between political parties and civil society organizations. Inter-party co-operation impacts significantly on all these dimensions. It was argued that, especially in developing democracies, this co-operation is necessary in order to agree on the rules of the game. This process may lead to the development of codes of conduct of party interaction as well as a consensus on reform agendas.

This led to a discussion on how to improve political party systems. Participants reflected on the advantages and disadvantages of different electoral systems ranging from proportional to first-past-the-post. Overall, proportional systems with majoritarian features appeared to be the model preferred by participants. Women participants underlined their strong view that proportional systems improve the possibilities for women's representation in legislative bodies. Regulatory frameworks for political parties were also considered including such sensitive issues such as public funding of political parties. Finally, regulations ensuring equal access to media as well as best practices in the use of new technologies for connecting with constituents were reviewed.

The participants were equally divided on the benefits or disadvantages of installing quotas for women seats in parliament and governmental, both sides presenting convincing arguments in favour or against. Nevertheless, some form of affirmative action is necessary to overcome social attitudes towards women's participation (such as ensuring that all electoral systems lead to fair representation of all population groups).

The following specific recommendations were made in Session II:

Recommendations to the OSCE participating States:

- The OSCE participating States should affirm the role of political parties as the primary representative institutions for amalgamating and channelling the views of citizens in the political arena;
- The OSCE participating States should consider elaborating further commitments which would enhance the framework for political parties to carry out their democratic responsibilities;
- The OSCE participating States should strengthen the linkages between parliamentary reform and political party institutional development.

Recommendations to the OSCE, its institutions and field operations:

- The OSCE should make an effort to increase exchanges of best practices in the fields of parliamentary and political party development, law-making and access to legislation;
- The ODIHR should assist, upon request, with facilitating dialogue to improve the operation of multi-party political systems;
- The ODIHR should continue to build the capacity and expertise of political parties, leaders and decision makers to identify and develop strategies for promoting equal political representation of women at national and local levels;

- The ODIHR should continue to maintain its focus on identifying and using local capacity and potential for developing effective democratic practices;
- The ODIHR should continue to provide an open forum and the necessary know how/expertise to women’s civil society organizations to effectively engage in dialogue with political parties and legislatures;
- The OSCE should raise further awareness of the OSCE commitments and international standards related to democracy and democratic governance.

Recommendations to intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations:

- Intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations should aim to raise the quality of discussions related to the development of political and representative institutions including research on norms and standards of democratic governance.

SESSION III: Law Making and Access to Legislation in a Democratic System of Government

Moderator

Ms. Elena Mizulina, Permanent Representative of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly in the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, Moscow

Introducers

Ms. Marianne Mikko, Member of the European Parliament, member of the Social Democratic Party of Estonia, Tallinn

Mr. Jean-Pierre Duprat, Professor of Public Law, Director of the Research Institute of Public Law, University of Montesquieu - Bordeaux IV

The discussions in Session 3 were framed by the two introducers, Ms. Marianne Mikko, a MEP from Estonia, concentrating on public participation in the legislative process, and Professor Jean-Pierre Duprat, Director of the Research Institute of Public Law at the University of Montesquieu – Bordeaux IV, who presented different mechanisms and challenges for effective and transparent lawmaking.

Ms. Mikko opened the discussion by questioning the effectiveness of current mechanisms for access to lawmaking. Short of being a legislator oneself, access to and impact by a citizen on the legislative process is almost always limited to monitoring, with scant possibilities for influencing the process either individually or through public interest groups. Monitoring was not considered a powerful tool as it rarely provides the leverage necessary for democratic control. As long as the “real deal still goes on behind the scenes” monitoring will only be effective if complemented by well-developed lobby. Even as a legislator, Ms. Mikko commented, one often finds oneself forced into compromises in order to achieve goals, thereby creating another vicious circle.

Prof. Duprat saw the main challenge in achieving legislative transparency as establishing a connection between simpler, clearer laws and increasing their quality through higher public

participation without changing the representative framework. Three aspects were considered in order to highlight the complexities of this connection. First, access to legislation which, in order to be effective, needs to be addressed from the side of legislators as well as the public. Clear and timely publications of legislation through traditional means and new technologies, as well as efforts to reduce the number of laws, are one aspect. However, the public will only benefit fully if it has the knowledge necessary to understand the text of the law, many of which will remain by their nature complicated or technical. Second, participation of citizens in the legislative process should be encouraged both during the governmental phase as well as the parliamentary phase through involvement in policy discussions and subsequent committee consultations. Finally, forward looking assessments as well as *ex post* evaluations increase the effectiveness of lawmaking.

The discussions of the third working session on ways to make lawmaking more effective and transparent followed both a technical and a political track. There was overall agreement that increased public participation in the legislative process served to increase both the legitimacy as well as the quality of the laws. The ensuing public trust in the laws would make their subsequent implementation easier. It was also noted that inadequate representation of certain groups, in particular women, in the process could lead to deficient laws.

The participants shared experiences as well as lessons learned when it came to discussing parliamentary reform programmes aiming to increase the effectiveness of lawmaking in both established as well as developing democracies. Overall participants agreed that public participation in the legislative process should start in the early stages of lawmaking, that is to say, in the policy development phase.

Of particular interest was public access to debates provided by TV broadcasts of the parliamentary sessions. However, it was noted that the committee work, which is at the very heart of law-drafting compromise, is usually not televised, and many argued this was for good reason. Much progress has been noted throughout the OSCE region in terms of posting laws on the Internet, although many complaints remain about the reliability and timeliness of the postings.

From a more political point of view, it was stressed that the principle of an open legislative process does not exist in a vacuum and can only exist or be developed in an open democratic society. Without a free information sector, the legislative process will inevitably be flawed. Even where constitutions guarantee clear separation of powers and lawmaking competences, opposition parties in parliament and civil society sometimes find themselves divorced from the legislative process and have no real opportunity to introduce amendments. It was also noted that some actors, including political parties in parliament, often do not have the capacity to participate effectively in lawmaking. A number of participants underlined the importance of independent monitoring of the interpretation as well as of the implementation of laws. Certain participants highlighted the good experience of a memorandum of understanding between civil society, parliament, ministries and presidential administration regulating the participation of all actors in the legislative process.

The following specific recommendations were made in Session III:

Recommendations to the OSCE participating States:

- The OSCE participating States should strengthen their focus on identifying/reviewing strategies for promoting participatory practices in government policy-making and fostering women's political participation in these processes.

Recommendations to the OSCE, its institutions and field operations:

- Where appropriate conditions and capacity exist, the OSCE field operations are strategically placed to play an increased role in strengthening parliaments in their core legislative functions such as law making and executive oversight as well as in creating the necessary conditions for effective participation in legislative processes of both civil society and political minorities;
- The OSCE field operations can play an important role in strengthening the links between parliaments and citizens and increasing the engagement of citizen groups, businesses and the general public in the legislative process. The network of field offices is an important asset which some field operations can usefully draw on in this process;
- The OSCE field operations could usefully contribute to integrating aspects of women and national minority representation in legislatures in their parliamentary support programmes, including the possibility of affirmative actions;
- The OSCE should develop principles for the effective participation of civil society in the policy formulation stage of law-making and the OSCE should develop uniform standards for participation of civil society in the legislative process;
- The ODIHR should assist in the development of a strong national expertise in the area of promoting participatory policy making practices in order to enable authorities to effectively engage with public stakeholders, such as civil society organizations and women's NGOs;
- The ODIHR should assist, upon request, in broadening the exposure of lawmakers in OSCE participating States to sound management procedures for the legislative process. In particular, the ODIHR should provide broader access to good practices in terms of policies, standards and techniques for policy development, legislative preparation and drafting, as well as programming and consultations with stakeholders outside state institutions;
- The OSCE and the ODIHR should provide assistance, as requested, to the participating States in conducting a comprehensive assessments of their legislative system - from the policy development stage through the implementation and evaluation of the enacted legislation - and supporting domestic efforts towards improving the efficiency and transparency of the legislative process and ultimately the quality of the legislation.

Recommendations to intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations:

- Intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations should enhance the role of women in parliaments and throughout the law-drafting process;
- Intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations should aim to increase the transparency of parliaments through the media;
- Intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations should develop further mechanisms to ensure wide and effective public participation in the law-making process;

- Intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations should promote the simplification of complex legislation for the public, especially in the area of human rights.

Day 2

3 November 2006

09.00 - 12.00

Session II: Political parties and parliamentary factions

Introductory speeches:

Mr. Ivan Doherty, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, Washington, USA

Ms. Mira Karybaeva, Programme Officer, Social Technologies Agency, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan

Moderator: Mr. Roel von Meijefeldt, Executive Director, Institute for Multiparty Democracy (IMD), the Hague, the Netherlands.

Discussion

12.00 - 14.00

Lunch

14.00 - 16.00

Session III: Law Making and Access to Legislation in a Democratic System of Government

Introductory speeches:

Ms. Marianne Mikko, Member of the European Parliament, member of the Social Democratic Party of Estonia, Tallinn

Mr. Jean-Pierre Duprat, Professor of Public Law, Director of the Research Institute of Public Law, University of Montesquieu - Bordeaux IV

Moderator: Ms. Elena Mizulina, Permanent Representative of the State Duma of the Federal Assembly in the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, Moscow

Discussion

16.00 - 16.30

Break

16.30 - 17.30

CLOSING PLENARY:

Report by the Working Sessions Moderator
Comments from the floor

Keynote speech:

The Rt. Hon. Bruce George MP, The House of Commons, London, President-Emeritus, OSCE Parliamentary Assembly

Closing remarks:

Representative of the Belgian Chairmanship of the OSCE

Ambassador Christian Strohal, Director of the OSCE/ODIHR

17:30

Close of Day 2



SUPPLEMENTARY
MEETING

SUPPLEMENTARY HUMAN DIMENSION MEETING

**DEMOCRATIZATION: STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY THROUGH
EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION**

2 – 3 November 2006
HOFBURG, VIENNA

ANNOTATED AGENDA

The OSCE participating States recognized in the early 1990s the fundamental “right of their citizens to take part in the governing of their country, either directly or through representatives freely chosen by them through fair electoral processes” (Copenhagen 1990).

Representation in a democratic society is commonly achieved through free and fair elections but only takes on its full meaning when properly enacted on the floors of legislatures and when the vital link with the citizens is maintained throughout a parliamentary mandate. Parliamentary frameworks as well as rules of procedure are crucial in ensuring that the elected representatives are in a position to carry out their mandate effectively. That mandate typically consists of the three classic functions of parliament: representation, law-making and oversight.

No two legislatures in the OSCE region are identical. Legislatures in both established as well as in newer democracies have evolved in response to what the 1991 OSCE Human Dimension Expert Seminar on “Democratic Institutions” called “the circumstances of their constitutional history”. OSCE commitments underline the important role of parliaments: “the executive is accountable to the elected legislature or the electorate” (Copenhagen 1990) and “legislation will be formulated and adopted as the result of an open process reflecting the will of the people, either directly or through their elected representatives” (Moscow 1991).

In practice, the quality and effectiveness of a parliament’s representation is dependent both on its *capacity* to carry out its multiplicity of functions and the *efficiency* and *transparency* of the legislative drafting process. These factors are as critical as the constitutional framework within which a given parliament operates. In addition to capacity and transparency, the effectiveness of parliamentary representation reflects the quality of the political parties represented and how they interact with each other. Parliaments ultimately belong to the citizens. Increasing public awareness of, and participation in, parliamentary processes is intrinsic to democratic development.

These different aspects of effective representation constitute the basis for democratic parliamentary practice. Issues of capacity and transparency of parliamentary structures as well as political party frameworks are critical to achieving the ultimate goal of raising effective public representation within governmental structures.

Day 1

2 November 2006

16.00 – 18.00

Session I: Empowerment of legislatures: A modern and democratic parliamentary infrastructure

The powers of the legislature and thereby the effectiveness of its representation depend to a large extent on the tasks and responsibilities assigned by the constitution, as well as on the safeguards and guarantees provided. If legislatures are to carry out their constitutional roles and effectively represent the interests of citizens, they require well-developed, well-resourced organizational structures. Effective oversight of the executive branch requires a functional committee structure and professional support staff with specialized expertise in various policy areas as well as legal and technical skill in writing legislation. The legislative branch should also possess adequate research and library facilities.

Legislatures share the responsibility for the development of policies alongside the executive. As such, they are not only a critical sounding board for government policies but also an actor in policy development. Regular constituency consultations lead to the development of policies which are geared to the citizens' needs. Adequate communication with the executive is a key element in shaping policies that better reflect citizens' interests.

This Session will focus on how legislatures can perform their representative duties most effectively. Participants will examine the practical, realistic steps needed to increase the capacity of legislatures. Discussions will focus on legislative skills and capacities, including effective staff and technical support. Enhancing representation through transparent and fully functional legislative structures (including expert committees) and rules of procedure (including provisions for readings, consultations and public hearings) will also be addressed. The management of administrative functions as well as relations between the legislature, constituencies and the media will be examined. An important focus for discussion will be the necessity of achieving effective representation of women and groups such as minorities and youth.

The OSCE and other international organizations have been assisting a number of participating States with improving the capacity of their legislatures to carry out these roles. Such assistance has taken various forms: provision of books, training of legislators and of their staff, training visits, twinning programs, provision of expertise on management of the parliament and standing committees, the organization of public hearings as well as assistance with outreach to the media and particular groups, such as women and youth.

This Session will make practical suggestions on how the OSCE and other international assistance initiatives can contribute to building the capacity of parliaments to represent their constituencies more fully and professionally.

Issues that could be discussed in connection with this topic are:

- *Strategies for strengthening parliaments:* What methodologies for needs assessments of legislative strengthening have been used in the OSCE region? What is the input and the local ownership of legislatures in prioritizing their own reform strategy?
- *Increasing the effectiveness of parliaments:* What parliamentary structures have contributed to increasing transparency and effectiveness? What rules and procedures ensure fair representation within parliamentary structures? How can, in particular, the women's perspective be fairly represented throughout the whole work of the legislature?
- *Policy development:* How are policy objectives determined and who sets these objectives? How do legislatures ensure timely and thorough consultations with their constituencies when developing policies?
- *Best practices and lessons learned:* What legislative assistance programs have effectively contributed to strengthening legislatures in the OSCE region?

Day 2

3 November 2006

09.00 - 12.00

Session II: Political parties and parliamentary factions

Political parties are indispensable for the effective functioning of a democratic society. They are the only representative institutions in a position to bring together the divergent interests of different groups and translate them into coherent overall policies. In a democratic and pluralistic society, political parties provide a stable, legitimate means of expression for political interests in the political process. They help to maintain orderly, lawful, and open government, and, by aggregating, deliberating and negotiating among competing demands, tend to produce more consensual and sustainable policies, hence, enhancing the legitimacy of government. They are an important mediating institution between the citizens and the state, indispensable not only for forming governments but also for constituting effective opposition. Political parties are defined by a shared conviction, sets of ideas or political philosophy. Political parties contribute to the democratization process by seeking voters' legitimation for their exercise of power, by integrating citizens into the political process, by developing platforms and programmes for stable and efficient government (or developing political alternatives and performing their checks-and-balance role from the opposition) and by offering non-violent means for resolving the conflicts of interest which are inherent to any society.

Effective parliamentary representation requires the participation of effective and democratic political parties. Conversely, weak parliaments are unlikely to generate strong, democratic parties.

Without clear rules of procedures and practices to promote intra-party democracy, equitable representation within party structures, sound party organization and financial management, ethical standards and, above all, accountability to rank-and-file members, parties are unlikely to serve as effective advocates of genuine interests and priorities. Relations between parties as well as between parties and their respective factions in parliament are of similar importance.

Parliamentary *factions* (caucuses, groups) and expert committees constitute the backbone of a parliament. Whereas committees provide the functional structure, parliamentary factions provide the political infrastructure allowing individual MPs to interrelate within a broader political programme, with their political party and ultimately with the citizens. In the absence of functioning parliamentary factions there is no infrastructure in place to support political decision-making processes between the government and its supporting MPs, as well as among opposition groups.

Co-operation between parliamentary factions is also a key element in improving the representation of citizens' interests by the legislative branch. There is a critical need to find the balance between the representation of party interests and those of the public at large, as well as a balance between the rather technical work in expert committees and the political decision-making in plenary sessions. Certain issues and questions of national interest require consensus and cooperation across party lines. Models of co-operation in standing committees and legislatures, such as co-sponsoring laws by more than one party faction could also be discussed during this Session.

This Session will further concentrate on the interplay between parliamentary reform and the democratic institutional development of political parties. Clear regulations and practices are needed to govern inter-party relations, especially between opposition and government parties. Of special significance is how political parties can best ensure that women and underrepresented groups such as minorities and youth contribute to their governance.

The OSCE and other international actors have implemented political party development programmes in a number of participating States. This is inherently a sensitive and challenging exercise given that the parties represent local interests. The lessons learned in the course of delivering assistance to political parties – in the fields of strengthening analytic and management capacities, improving the representation of women, young people, and national minorities as well as in enhancing international contacts – should be of further use to the OSCE as, in a number of participating States, multi-party systems are being strengthened and the interaction between parties and the citizens they represent is being improved.

Issues that could be discussed in connection with this topic are:

- *Political party development*: Is political party development work a priority in the OSCE region? Which methodologies and transfers of experience have been used? How do such programmes ensure that local context and factors are taken into account? To what extent are political parties personality-based rather than programme-based?.

- *Intra-party democracy*: How can programming and decision-making processes become more transparent and participatory? How can political participation be encouraged? How can the participation of women and youth in political life be increased?
- *Political party and parliamentary faction relations*: How can political programme priorities be effectively transmitted and defended in party factions? What rules governing relations between the parties and between the factions strengthen constructive democratic dialogue?
- *Interface between political parties and Civil Society*: How do political parties interact with civil society and Non Governmental Organizations? What consultation mechanisms and cooperation models provide a transparent, effective and fair exchange of opinions and priorities? How can political parties increase the public's trust in their work?
- *Monitoring political party development*: What methodologies exist for monitoring the development as well as the democratic performance of political parties? How can these methodologies be best used to strengthen democratic practices in the political framework?

14.00 – 16.00 **Session III: Law Making and Access to Legislation in a Democratic System of Government**

Since the early 1990s, more than half of the OSCE participating States have been engaged in an unprecedented lawmaking effort in order to create the institutional and regulatory environment necessary for a pluralistic democracy based on the rule of law. While legal reform in any democracy is a major endeavor replete with potential pitfalls, countries that emerged from authoritarian forms of governance confront even greater challenges. Concerns about the quality and impact of legislation are widespread, and the way in which legislation is prepared and enacted has come under scrutiny in many places. There is a developing understanding that both the content of legislation and the methods by which it is made must be more responsive to the context in which it is to operate. Improved and more systematic methods of law-drafting have been recommended.

Calls have been made to develop and enforce more organized regulatory frameworks for drafting legislation. Legislation should emerge as the result of a planned and coordinated process which has been structured to provide adequate time for preparation, consultation (inside and outside government), and parliamentary consideration. Furthermore, there are calls for wider use of alternative devices in order to address what some see as an excessive recourse to legislation. This involves more frequent use of non-normative instruments, such as procedural rules, instructions, interpretative guides, and prescriptive rules, as well as recommendations, codes of conduct, practice rules, and voluntary codes.

Due to their intrinsic democratic value, there is an increasing requirement to consult with non-governmental organizations, and other segments of civil society. Not only do such consultations make public acceptance of legislative proposals more likely, but they are, in themselves, a

valuable means of improving the quality of proposals and may result in legal solutions more likely to encourage compliance. Policies for improving access to legislation may be worthy of consideration. Full collections of legislation, primary and secondary, currently and formerly in force, must be readily available, and copies of individual instruments must be easily acquired by officials, legal representatives and members of the public. Finally, the Session might examine ways in which the implementation of adopted legislation could be monitored at regular intervals, and which mechanisms could be used to evaluate its impact and, if necessary, amend it.

This Session will provide an overview of the challenges faced across the OSCE region with regard to these issues. Participants will be invited to discuss possible ways of improving law-drafting systems, taking into account the specificities of the local legislative and political cultures. Good practices in this field will be highlighted. Finally, the Session will include a focus on how the OSCE and other international assistance programs can best support domestic efforts towards developing more efficient law-making rules and practices.

- *Legislative policy development:* How is the need for legislation assessed? Are alternatives to legislation given consideration? What are the checks performed when considering draft legislation? (regulatory checks, cost assessment, implementation checks, etc)?
- *Legislative programming and budgeting for drafting:* What is the process for developing and approving an overall programme of legislation?
- *Drafting Procedures:* What are the tools and techniques required to draft legislation and which are best suited to the needs and the local conditions? What level of specialization and expertise is required from law drafters? How are they trained?
- *Co-ordination of legislative preparation:* How can the effectiveness of relations between the legislature and the executive be improved in drafting legislation?
- *Non-governmental consultation:* How can the law-making process be made more transparent to affected groups? How can government be enabled to be more responsive to the needs and interests of affected persons? How can greater public acceptance of legislative proposals be developed?
- *Access to legislation:* How can ready access to legislation be secured? How can techniques be developed which ensure the availability of legislation in a timely and responsive manner? What procedures are used for registering, archiving and authenticating legislation?
- *Monitoring the implementation of legislation:* What mechanisms are foreseen for monitoring the implementation of legislation adopted? How can these mechanisms be used to encourage or improve compliance with the legislation?

ANNEX III

INTRODUCTORY SPEECHES TO WORKING SESSIONS

WORKING SESSION I: Empowerment of legislatures: A modern and democratic parliamentary infrastructure

Introductory speech by Alessandro Palanza

Deputy Secretary general of the Italian Parliament's House
Rome, Italy

1. The Italian landscape

Good afternoon and thank you for giving the Italian Chamber of deputies this opportunity.

I have been asked to outline this afternoon the main features of the Italian experience in legislative empowerment.

I would like to answer that the Italian parliament experience could be an interesting model - or at least, an interesting term of reference - especially for the colleagues of the new and emerging democracies parliaments, when political difficulties raise.

We are used to political difficulties. Italian institutions are used to proceed through political difficulties.

Italy counts about 57 million people, expanding from the Northern regions, bordering with France, Switzerland, Austria and Slovenia, that is the centre of Europe, down to Sicily and the small islands that almost touch Africa. No less than 4 languages are spoken. Italy has a long history, fascinating yet difficult and very differentiated for different parts of the nation. Nevertheless Italy is one of the oldest names of a still existing nation and the idea of cultural and moral unity is very solid

Italy is one country only since 1861. From that year to 1925 it was a Parliamentary monarchy. From 1925 to 1943 it was a dictatorship; since 1946 it is a Parliamentary Republic.

The first enlargement of democracy at the beginning of the XX century brought social riots, fascism, dictatorship and ruin.

The second democratization started from revolt and resistance against fascism. The foundation of a new democracy sprouted from a referendum aimed and a new Constitution, drafted in Parliament and through parliamentary proceedings.

Parliament was from the beginning - as Constituent Assembly - the main actor of the new democracy because the new constitution was drafted in 1946 and 1947, line by line, in the Parliament.

Parliament and the Constitution were the unifying factors in a dramatically divided country and in a very divided political system.

For this reason democracy survived facing enormous difficulties and challenges, much higher than in any other western European country.

Just a very mixed list:

- a dual economy dramatically divides the richest areas of the North and the poorest ones in the South (consequently, wide form of organized crime with political influence in the south);
- a dual state: the presence and strong influence of the Catholic Church and a big Christian democratic party on one side; the strongest and the smartest communist party in Europe, for more than forty years;
- a borderline position between east and west in the cold war;
- and between North and South of the world, right and left wing terrorism, connected with waves of secessionist movements in different regions, from the end of the second world war up to nineties in the richest regions of the North.

All those challenges have been overcome mainly by a flexible and soft approach.

For all these reasons we were and we are a difficult democracy, but - because we survived preserving and strengthening our constitutional framework - I think that it can be said that Italy is a real and strong democracy.

In this environment, Parliament played and plays a leading role in the public process.

This is not surprising: the tradition in Italy is one of various interests at large, various territorial differences and identities, strong local powers but also strong national powers: strong national parties, dynamic business, organized labour. All this finds a distinct reflection in a very large Parliament (630 members of the House and 315 members of the Senate) and in high electoral turnout (more than 80 per cent in the last general election).

In this *scenario* the Italian Parliament performs intensely its duties of representation, legislation and oversight in parallel with other powers, creating sometimes a dialogue, other times a conflict.

The important feature of this process is that Parliament is the heart of the political life and any relevant political issue is mainly developed and elaborated through-out a parliamentary procedure.

Parliament plays a real role and it is not only a theatre or a stage for party leaders or ministers. First, things often change after a passage in Parliament. Second, Parliament has always tried to make dialogue and conflict happen within democratic and transparent boundaries.

2. Developments

Why does the Italian Parliament perform such a wide role?

In our Constitution the Executive must command a majority in Parliament. But Parliament effectively shares the responsibility to shape policies and to carry them out, mainly through legislation. The amendment process for each single law is very active and intense .

Parliament however also elects the Head of State and one third of the Constitutional court justices (another third is appointed by the Head of State and another is elected by the Judiciary).

Parliament therefore empowers other vital institutions of the country.

Over the decades, since 1948, Parliament has managed to resist erosion of its role by other forces by virtue of a full autonomy in its internal organization.

A main consequence of the autonomy of Parliament organization is the central role of parliamentary procedures and of its reforms.

The Constitution provides for Parliament to adopt its own rules and parliamentary rules shape the way the decisional process unrolls and often influence deeply the Executive's role in each decision.

Parliamentary agenda proceedings and bodies are a subject of exclusively internal parliamentary decision and internal parliamentary decisions are taken trying not to use the simple majority rule. The majority has a strong influence, but decisions are taken by the Speaker as an arbiter or a mediator or by wide consensus.

In this landscape, the role of the Speaker must be underscored: while a politician and – if he chooses – an active one, the Speaker is required to run the House and its bodies and to enforce the Rules with neutrality and even hand. But even if he plays a neutral role, he has wide powers in the organization of Parliament and of parliamentary proceeding: but he acts as an arbiter or by consensus

Thus Parliament is an independent body and is empowered to craft its own procedures and to bind the Executive to follow them.

Parliament enjoys also a wide financial and administrative autonomy: the Treasury may not legally force either House to keep within sum limits that would not allow them to perform fully their duties. With financial autonomy comes organisational autonomy: both Houses hire their own personnel, not depending on the central government. The staff is loyal and accountable to the institution as a whole, not to a party or a given group.

Autonomy was and is defended also with the enforcement of two prerogatives, that derive from British history and have been abandoned by the British system and kept by the Italian: review of the electoral process and members' qualifications and immunities.

In the latter field, often – specially in the past decades - the self-enforced immunity clauses of the Constitution have served the purpose of making the conduct and discourse of members more

independent. Some times however the self-enforcement of immunity clauses has been challenged in the Constitutional court, that has found parliamentary decisions without legal base.

Of course – similarly to other Parliaments (think of the Modernization Committee in the House of Commons) – the approaching of a new era calls for reform.

In three decisive occasions (in 1971, 1983-1989 and in 1997-1999) the House rules were revised to adapt them to the evolving needs of responsive politics.

In 1971 the rules were reformed to allow better and more responsible representation of parties within the Chamber. A reform of House rules followed in the late '80s dealing with financial bills and limiting secret ballot possibility. But after the change of electoral law in 1993 (that moved Italy from a proportional representation system to a first past the post method) the Rules were reformed to make Parliament more aware of the need for quicker decisions and clearer responsibilities.

(Actually in 2005, the electoral system moved in part back to proportional representation, but safeguarding a “Westminster-like” clause, with a majority premium).

Thus Parliament has kept its role of guarantor of the democratic method. Autonomous judgment and new procedures have made possible that even dramatic political change has been funnelled into a democratic process.

I wish to give some practical examples that show how this occurred.

One of the changes that I refer to regards parties. Once mass organizations, with enormous capability to mobilize voters even on small issues, parties – since 1992 – have lost much of their effectiveness in organizing and mustering popular support. The political agenda and the moods of people are now moulded by interest groups, international events and the media.

Parliament however – as mentioned above – found its way: well founded experience, well equipped staff and new procedures allow interests, knowledge and policies to flow in and to serve the country's interest. In Parliament parties managed to survive.

This is why, for instance, out of the last 14 years, only for 3 times the Prime Minister has been a person with strictly political background, while in the past – up to 1993 – the Prime Minister had always been the expression of a party and was a member of one of the Houses.

On the contrary, even in the last 14 years, the Speaker of the House has always been a person with a deeply rooted political party experience.

At last, I wish to underscore that opposition in Italian political life has a very significant role. Opposition of course can be performed in many ways. Opposition in Parliament however has a primary role as institutional terminal of different and changing moods in the country.

To allow such a function, the new Rules adopted in 1997 provide for opposition time and topics on the floor of the House, that can be used very effectively if the issue chosen by the opposition parties is one that catches the majority divided.

Furthermore, filibuster is allowed in the House in the process of confirming decree-laws.

So I do agree with the annotated agenda of our session: Parliaments are the mirror and the spur of democratic development.

I must state that the Italian Chamber of Deputies in the European context has one of the heaviest workloads, considering both the hours it sits in the House and in Committees, and the number of votes, and its legislative, policy and oversight documents.

Considered that the House and Senate adjourn only twice a year for the summer break in August and Christmas and that each member has to sum his duties on the floor of the Chamber to engagements in one or more Standing or Joint Committees, the intensity of parliamentary life in Italy becomes clear.

4. Transparency and accountability

The essence of Parliament is the fact that it places citizens in a position to know, scrutinise and judge the exercise of power and policymaking, including the work of their own representatives.

From this point of view, too, the Italian Parliament, and particularly the House, has a very high output. Parliamentary debate is often the focus of public opinion. It frequently happens that the most controversial issues are finely honed in the debates, the legislative proceedings or the inquiries and fact-finding investigations.

Above all, parliamentary debate makes it possible for public opinion to discern and take note of the different stances of the political parties on individual issues, which thereby become truly "national" issues - namely, matters on which all the members of Italian society are publicly and formally expected to take a stand.

Evidence of the importance of parliamentary debate and everything that surrounds it in our country lies in the fact that the Chamber of Deputies is certainly the leading centre of activity of Italy's political journalists. The Chamber is perhaps the only Assembly in the world which has a permanent body of over 500 accredited journalists in its press room.

While thanking you all for your attention, I hope I complied with the obligations the introductory paper placed on me and I wish to learn more from the other reports and remarks.

**Introductory speech by Ms. Donka Banovic (MP)
Chairperson of Committee on Education
National Assembly of Serbia**

It is indeed a great honor for me to address you on behalf of The National Assembly of Serbia and to give a speech at the beginning of this working session which will focus on how legislatures can perform the very wide scope of their duties most effectively.

Being a Member of the Parliament in a country which is at the early stage of post-authoritarian transition and EU integration, I find meetings, which bring together people from countries which are facing similar challenges, extremely important and useful. It is an opportunity to exchange ideas and proposals and recognize different ways of tackling similar problems.

The OSCE Mission in Belgrade has been assisting Serbia in its democratic reform process for over 5 years. The whole period has been characterized by a difficult but steady process of transition. When a country is in transition it really means that almost everything is undergoing change and reform.

The development of accountable and effective parliamentary work has been one of the key concerns of the Mission in Belgrade and I would like to say that over time it has become a good and reliable friend of our Parliament.

Serbia is currently updating its legislation. The volume of legislation to be passed or amended places a considerable burden on the Parliament and still-evolving committee system, requiring that the process become more effective and responsive. Let me mention that since January 2004 the Serbian Parliament has passed 350 new or amended Acts.

The OSCE Parliamentary Support Program has gradually been strengthening the committees by providing technical and financial assistance and by organizing hands-on training of committee staff on procedural and substantive issues.

The Program provides a selected number of so-called Pilot Committees (5) with in-depth assistance on a variety of topics, including guidance on procedural matters (such as planning of activities, better cooperation with the NGO community or budget oversight). Hopefully, the Pilot Committees will become models for the all the other committees in the future.

As an example of the good work that is being carried out, I will mention the Committee on Education which I chair.

During 2004 MPs visited 3 State Universities to discuss the Bill on Higher Education. The insight we got from people working “in the field“ was valuable and eventually the Committee, itself, proposed 16 amendments which became part of the new Law on Higher Education.

We visited six school districts in different parts of Serbia to talk about problems which occurred in the implementation of new acts adopted 2 years earlier.

As a result we then proposed changes and amendments to improve the legislation.

Visits to various educational facilities and municipalities are becoming a regular out-reach activity of members of the Committee.

In particular, the Program has sponsored activities that relate to the organization of public hearings, roundtables and consultations with experts in various fields. A lot has been done on improving research and library facilities.

A data base has been set up with information on all the educational institutions in the country and on experts such as: practitioners, scientists and civil society activists.

Such databases have been established also for the field of expertise of the other 5 selected committees.

The Mission is supporting the Parliament in setting up a modern records management as well. These and other joint activities result from the increasing understanding that legislatures require well-developed, well-resourced organizational structures.

OSCE supported establishment of the Human Resource Office in the Serbian Assembly. Key foci include implementation of staff training, merit-based selection practices, and an organizational structure based on clearly defined roles. A new organizational structure was recently introduced in the Serbian Parliament, and, as a part of it, a Human Resource Department was established and it now has 6 full-time employees.

Enhancing transparency and accountability of parliamentary work is also a very important part of the Parliamentary Support Program. The overall goal is to improve public information capacities, enhance their quality and to contribute to public outreach efforts.

For instance, the program supports visits of secondary school students from throughout Serbia. The students are shown a film about the parliament and its work, which was especially produced for these purposes. They simulate the voting with the electronic voting system and in many cases have the opportunity to meet with the Speaker of Parliament and MPs. In addition, outreach activities of MPs and staff members, referred to as *Mobile Parliament*, are being organized.

The OSCE is sponsoring the publishing of leaflets and brochures about the Parliament which visitors receive.

A few other institutions have started similar programs, including the Presidential palace.

The Public and Media Access Project has supported the Serbian Assembly to open its doors to citizens from all parts of the country. A Visitors Center is being developed with emphasis on external communication and public relations.

Related experiences from parliaments in the region and the German Bundestag contribute to the success of these efforts.

The OSCE has provided training for MPs and staff on EU decision-making, institutions and legislation, in order to facilitate a broader understanding of the European Integration Process.

Responding to the need for expertise and help, the OSCE worked closely with the General Service of the Parliament and the European Integration Committee in setting up an Office for Harmonization of Legislation.

In concluding I want to express my conviction that the fruitful co-operation of the National Assembly of Serbia with the OSCE will continue in the future.

I am looking forward to an interesting and constructive exchange of experiences providing insight, how other colleagues, particularly those from countries in transition, work towards empowerment of Legislature.

WORKING SESSION II: Political parties and parliamentary factions

**Introductory speech by Mr. Ivan Doherty
Senior Associate and Director of Political Party Program, National Democratic Institute
Washington, USA**

Firstly I would like to thank the OSCE and the ODIHR Democratization Department for organizing a discussion on the topic of political parties and more particularly for inviting me here to participate in the discussion. This is a topic near and dear to me and one that it is difficult to condense my remarks to the stipulated ten minutes.

It is particularly gratifying to be participating in a gathering like this where such a wealth of experience can be brought to the discussions by those sitting in this room.

At the outset, I would like to put a number of issues on the table that I hope will stimulate debate in the discussion that follows:

First, the centrality of political parties to democratic systems, with their unique role of aggregating and representing citizens' interests.

Second, the need for the international community, including donor aid agencies and international financial institutions, to "get over" its aversion to parties and to balance or recalibrate its assistance programs to include, in one form or another, directly or indirectly, political parties. This process is beginning to happen with organizations like UNDP, the World Bank, OSCE and the OAS.

And third, the sorry state that political parties find themselves in, whether in new or traditional democracies.

Now, if we can presume a measure of agreement on these areas we come to the really hard part. How do we, individually and collectively, contribute in an appropriate and effective way to political parties: 1) who do we support? and 2) how do we support them?

I believe the challenge for all of us engaged in this effort is to constantly balance our time and approaches -- to step back by asking the big questions and searching for relevant models while, at the same time, not allowing the asking and searching to become a prescription for inaction. We need to make sure that we are getting value for money but we must also guard against the risk of over planning, thereby losing opportunities or creating mechanical approaches and

artificial templates that are doomed to fail. (Here, I am reminded of the ad business axiom that “50 percent of advertising is wasted...but nobody knows which 50 percent.” The same rule of thumb may also apply to party assistance.)

This risk of over planning will become even greater when and if party assistance no longer becomes a “reserved corner” of democracy aid but is mainstreamed by governments, intergovernmental organizations and financial institutions. Party assistance by its very nature should have a political edge if it is to be seen as relevant to the parties themselves. I believe we must also strive for balance between being informed by experience, both the successes and the failures, and willing to experiment with new approaches. My first question was, who do you work with? The process of choosing itself creates a sense of unease. We run the risk of being accused of meddling.

I would like to present the following examples drawn from the work and experience of NDI over the past twenty years.

Different Approaches in Supporting Political Parties

The following seven choices made by NDI cover a wide range of situations.

1. *Working with only a single party:* In a few situations it was found that the only way to promote peace and democracy was through programs that assisted a single party. In Northern Ireland in the mid-1980s, the SDLP was the only party in the nationalist community committed to a peaceful and constitutional resolution to the sectarian conflict. The party, which grew out of the civil rights movement, desperately needed help to compete with the political arm of the IRA. Other examples in the mid-1980s included the DPP in Taiwan during martial law, the NKDP in South Korea, and currently the NLD in Burma.
2. *Coalition of democratic parties facing autocratic forces:* In countries such as Panama and Chile in the late 1980s it was necessary to work in partnership with the democratic political forces that coalesced to confront autocratic regimes. More recently, similar programs were carried out in Niger, Croatia, Serbia and Belarus.
3. *Reform oriented or multiethnic parties:* In order to promote a more genuine multiparty environment it has been necessary to work principally, but not necessarily exclusively, with reform oriented or multiethnic parties that have been severely disadvantaged by a restricted political environment and are struggling to gain a foothold in the political process. Russia, Iraq, Ukraine and Bosnia are examples of such places.
4. *Ruling and opposition parties -- excluding extremists:* Working with political parties in government and opposition is a way of strengthening the democratic process and nurturing reform initiatives while excluding the more extremist groups that seek to undermine these reform efforts. Georgia and Romania are current examples of this practice.
5. *All viable political parties:* There are many examples of programs in democratic settings where all of the main political parties participate. While the program content may vary for each party, their participation is a collaborative effort and sends a strong positive message to the domestic and international communities. In recent years, such programs have been conducted in most Latin America countries, Indonesia, Mozambique, Morocco and Bangladesh.
6. *Parties that have never participated in the democratic process:* While these types of political environments are becoming less common, there were instances in Eastern Europe

countries (1989, 1990) and South Africa (1994) where new or previously banned parties had never engaged in the electoral process. Assistance was necessary to help level the playing field.

7. *Helping to promote a more stable democratic environment:* On occasions, an intervention is necessary to assist in securing the advances made towards a more democratic society. Poland is an example where due to the fractionalization of the center right, nearly 50 percent of the electorate voted for parties that did not meet the threshold for representation in parliament. This created a dangerous disconnect between the citizenry and the representative institutions. By focusing programs on coalition building among center-right parties, a more stable party system emerged. Romania may be ripe for such assistance today.

How then are parties best assisted?

I would like to underline that fact that long-term training has become the primary vehicle through which party assistance is delivered -- assistance for parties in elections, in between elections (so-called organizational development) and parties in governance, primarily parliament.

But other forms of assistance are fast becoming commonplace and now do more than simply supplement training activities.

1. *International party clubs -- the process of political globalization.* Training and high-level consultations, for example, became more effective once we were able to pave the way for the RENAMO party in Mozambique to join the Christian Democrats International [CDI]. The party felt compelled to move more quickly to democratize once being admitted to an international club of democratic parties. The entry of Yemen's Socialist Party in the Socialist International influenced the party's decision to participate in elections. The three party internationals working together may apply those standards more forcefully in the future.
2. *Targeted study missions* of parties from one country to another have had great impact or little affect.
 - Northern Ireland leaders to South Africa (contributed measurably to the Good Friday Agreement)
 - South African parliamentarians to Dublin and London (as a result, seven parties represented in the legislature reached agreement on codes of conduct)
 - Yemeni Socialists to Morocco (led to decision by Socialist Party to participate in elections)
 - Haitian party leaders to South Africa (little impact on political polarization in Haiti)
 - Cote d'Ivoire to South Africa (led to multi-party agreement to diffuse crisis, but events overtook the initiative)
 - Zimbabwean party leaders to elections in Mozambique, Malawi, Namibia, and South Africa (led to multi-party agreement on electoral reform that was ultimately rejected by ZANU-PF leadership)
3. *Outside Financing of Parties. There may be no more than a dozen situations in which substantial material aid was a significant component of direct party development activities and in each case significant limits were placed on such aid.*
 - In two of these places (Bosnia and Mozambique) material assistance was provided to all the parties.

- In Nicaragua, Belarus and Serbia, assistance to democratic coalitions was prohibited for direct campaign use.
- In Niger, material aid was provided for the parties to conduct civic education efforts calling for a return to civilian rule.
- In Cambodia, assistance was temporarily provided to party leaders who escaped the country following a coup, and assistance was terminated upon their return to Cambodia.
- Other types of material assistance have indirectly benefited parties. For example, in Malawi assistance has been provided for parliamentary committees to conduct public hearings. In Guinea, funds were used to hold inter-party dialogue forums throughout the country. And in Macedonia, more than 40 regional offices are being used to promote links between citizens and parliamentary party caucuses.

The debate over the efficacy and scope of material assistance to parties is a legitimate one. There are times when such aid can enhance immeasurably democratic institutions and processes. In other instances, it can be divisive and divert attention from other, more pressing organizational tasks. Material assistance, for example, to the UNO coalition in Nicaragua and the democratic opposition in Serbia helped the parties compete but created tensions within both coalitions. Each party within the coalitions was competing for resources.

4. Two other concepts involve “*working locally*” and “*promoting youth*” and there are places where such programs have had impact.
 - In Kenya, for example, youth were helped to find avenues for participation in parties other than serving as guards for political campaign rallies. This lowered tensions measurably among parties in advance of last year’s elections.
 - Grassroots work helped affect the way party leaders behaved in Poland and Croatia.
 - Working locally did not succeed in Russia. And while a more open media would have indirectly helped the liberal parties, it would not have compensated, I believe, for a lack of message and organization.

5. *Creating events or happenings*
 - Macedonia (party codes of conduct)
 - Guinea and Kenya (inter-party dialogues)
 - Cambodia (candidate debates)

6. *Creating Neutral Settings*
 - Georgia (developing electoral reform, building coalitions)
 - Yemen (brokering agreements between ruling and opposition parties)

7. *Protection and solidarity (being there)*
 - Azerbaijan
 - Kazakhstan
 - Taiwan/DPP during martial law

All this can hopefully lead to four fundamental improvements in the way parties operate:

1. The need to represent somebody beyond themselves -- authentic interests
2. Transparent funding and more open decision making
3. Democratization and decentralization

- more participatory programs for members especially women and youth leadership
- better internal communications

4. Integrity of leadership in public and private lives

For the International Community

While the parties themselves must assume the primary responsibility for reform, the international community must engage. At the outset, parties and parliamentary party caucuses must be included in all development programs. They must at least have a seat at the table along with institutions of the state and civil society. Simple solidarity gestures do not go unnoticed and can spur parties to assume greater responsibilities themselves -- the PRSP process and political finance reform are examples of opportunities where parties must be engaged.

The incubation period for fledging political parties is much longer than expected by those who fail to understand the deep-rooted foundations that are required. Very often the first few years are devoted to preparing for and contesting elections. Often, there is very little focus on the long-term organizational development of the party until after the second elections.

While some worthwhile progress has been made in recent years in strengthening political parties as part of the larger democratization effort, much more remains to be done.

1. In the area of political party development in particular, and the strengthening of democracy in general, there needs to be a greater concentration of resources in the non-election period.
2. A greater effort in developing parties' capacity in parliament and in governance while linking this to increased citizen participation and outreach to civil society.
3. More assistance in non-election periods focusing on internal democracy and party structure.
4. Initiatives in skills development for women and for reform measures to promote women's political leadership and previously disenfranchised groups such as indigenous groups in Latin America and Roma in Central and Eastern Europe.
5. Programs on party finance reform and measures to combat corruption are needed in every region.

This all requires a call to new action at many levels and through diverse partners, donor organizations and implementers. It is a welcome discussion at this meeting and I hope that my contribution has provided some food for thought as a back drop to the discussion that will follow.

**Introductory speech by Ms. Mira Karabyeva
Programme Officer, Social Technologies Agency
Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan**

Выступление на Дополнительном совещании по человеческому измерению

**Мира Карыбаева,
Агентство Социальных Технологий, Кыргызстан**

Уважаемый председатель!

Благодарю за возможность предложить для обсуждения в рамках данного совещания один из самых острых, на мой взгляд, вопросов – участие в политических процессах так называемых «исключенных групп».

Особенность современной политической системы заключается в том, что парламентарии, являющиеся в подавляющем своем большинстве лидерами политических партий, получают право говорить от имени народа.

Однако в случае с женщинами, бедными, представителями этнических, языковых, расовых, других численных или социальных меньшинств, возникает сложноразрешимая проблема – их немного в числе политической властной элиты вообще и среди членов парламентов, в частности. В результате складывается ситуация, которую еще в начале 70-х годов один из наиболее часто цитируемых авторов XX века Мишель Фуко назвал «присвоением голосов угнетенных».

Политика государств, формируемая в большинстве стран состоятельными мужчинами из доминирующей культурной группы, не может отвечать потребностям всех граждан. В заявлениях политиков и лидеров партий подчеркивается приверженность социальной справедливости, но в терминах, нейтральных по отношению к исключенным группам. Однако такое "нейтральное" отношение маскирует реальную проблему неравенства и требует новых подходов для его преодоления.

Попробую проиллюстрировать этот вопрос на примере женщин, прежде всего потому, что благодаря данным сайта Межпарламентского Союза (IPU) имеется открытая статистка по представленности женщин в парламентах мира (причем с прошлого года на их сайте произошло изменение – стала отдельно выделяться статистика по странам – членам ОБСЕ). По другим

категориям недопредставленных групп гораздо сложнее получить сравнительные данные.

Анализ показывает, что регионе ОБСЕ, даже включая скандинавские страны с их средним показателем в 40%, число женщин-парламентариев составляет всего 19% и говорить об адекватной представленности женщин не приходится.

Особое многообразие наблюдается в показателях стран «к востоку от Вены», где разброс идет от стран с относительно высокими показателями, в том числе в ряде постсоветских стран, до замыкающего список Кыргызстана, являющегося на сегодня единственной страной – членом ОБСЕ, где в Парламенте нет ни одной женщины (всего в мире есть еще 9 стран с таким показателем, в большинстве из них женщины не имеют избирательного права).

Если обобщить опыт стран с высокими показателями, то окажется, что их достижение стало возможным в результате специальных усилий политических институтов и государства для поддержки женщин в политике:

- в Скандинавии – через систему внутрипартийной политики преимущественного продвижения женщин с указанием в партийных документах пропорции женских и мужских фамилий в списках кандидатов от партии и, учитывая тот факт, что женщины могут оказаться в самом конце списка, дополнительным указанием очередности женских и мужских фамилий. Важное значение для успеха в этих странах имела государственная поддержка работников с семейными обязанностями и создание благоприятных условий для развития института отцовства;
- в ряде стран бывшего Советского Союза – благодаря сохранившейся традиции протекционизма по отношению к участию женщин в политической жизни и негласным (часто незакрепленным законодательно) поддерживающим мерам.

Изучение опыта этих стран привело к выработке ряда мер, признанных международным сообществом и прописанным в обязательствах стран.

Важнейшее значение имеет также тип избирательной системы – пропорциональная является более «дружественной в отношении женщин» и опыт Кыргызстана это подтвердил – как только выборы стали проходить полностью по мажоритарной системе, женщин в Парламенте не оказалось.

Мажоритарная система создает скрытые барьеры для победы женщин, связанные как с влиянием традиционных культур, так и финансовыми проблемами.

Однако сама по себе пропорциональная система не гарантирует успеха: важна позиция руководства политических партий, направленная на реальное продвижение женщин во внутрипартийной иерархии. Зачастую это не требует никаких формальных законодательных изменений, это вопрос «доброй воли».

Но и этого недостаточно. Еще одно условие – наличие сильного женского лобби внутри партии, способного заблокировать продвижение на «забронированные» по признаку пола места лояльных к руководству женщин, не способных отстаивать свою позицию особенно в ситуациях, когда их мнение не совпадает с мнением руководства. Попав в парламент таким путем, они могут воспроизводить сексистские установки в законотворческой деятельности, что еще более закрепит существующую дискриминацию женщин.

В этих условиях возрастает роль гендерной экспертизы нормативно-правовых документов: ведь само физическое присутствие женщин совершенно не гарантирует их способности владеть этим инструментом. Важна институционализация гендерной экспертизы – так например, факт нулевого представительства женщин в Парламенте Кыргызстана создал благоприятные условия для женских организаций в вопросе лоббирования таких изменений. В результате сегодня разработан стандарт проведения гендерной, экологической и анти-коррупционной экспертизы, в регламент работы Парламента введено обязательное проведение гендерной экспертизы любого законопроекта перед обсуждением в комитете и уже созданы прецеденты – 2 законопроекта прошли такую экспертизу.

Обобщая, можно отметить, что попытка политических партий репрезентировать мнение какой-либо группы требует серьезных усилий по соблюдению ими «принципа многообразия»: сегодня трудно найти абсолютно гомогенные группы.

В случае, когда такие усилия не предпринимаются, возникают отдельные партии исключенных групп – женские партии, партии по этническому и религиозному признаку, что не создает предпосылок для интеграции

общества и стабильности. В условиях, когда в большинстве своем партии исключают из своих повесток «женский вопрос», история представляет ряд примеров, разной степени успешности, деятельности женских партий. Был такой опыт и в моей стране, в 2000 году, когда в Кыргызстане выборы в Парламент, проходили по смешанной системе: часть мест в парламенте выбиралась по партийным спискам, половина женщин-депутатов прошли по партийным спискам и 2 из их – от женской партии. Однако практика показала, что их создание может принести плоды только в условиях наличия сильного женского движения и имеет недостатком дальнейшую сегрегацию по признаку пола.

Попытки создания партий по этническому и религиозному признаку являются еще более проблематичными. Однако зачастую у исключенных групп нет другого выхода. До тех пор, пока политические институты и особенно партии не обеспечат репрезентативность интересов разных, в том числе исключенных групп, у нас будут возникать «партии вне закона».

Существует парадоксальная ситуация: как партии, находящиеся у власти, так и оппозиционные партии, стремящиеся к власти, часто воспроизводят внутри себя схожие модели авторитарного режима, отношений иерархии и власти. Необходима интеграция исключенных групп в ряды партий, а их интересов – в повестки и программы партий.

В этой связи хочу закончить свое выступление вопросом, который задала известная постколониальная исследовательница Гаятри Спивак: «Могут ли угнетенные говорить – сами за себя?», в том числе через систему политических партий? И поблагодарить организаторов совещания за программу, в каждой сессии которой заявлены спикеры обоих полов. Данный факт свидетельствует о стремлении в формате ОБСЕ дать возможность репрезентироваться разным группам.

WORKING SESSION III: Law Making and Access to Legislation in a Democratic System of Government

Introductory speech by Jean-Pierre DUPRAT

Professeur de Droit public à l'Université Montesquieu-Bordeaux IV

Institut de recherche en Droit public de Bordeaux

I- Définition et portée de la notion de transparence

La notion de transparence s'est développée avec le succès du concept de gouvernance, appliqué d'abord au domaine de l'entreprise, puis à celui des institutions publiques, notamment au fonctionnement de l'Etat, dans un contexte de concurrence entre les différents acteurs concernés, y compris les Etats et les systèmes juridiques. S'y ajoute une mutation de la conception de la légitimité, qui à l'approche classique liée aux mécanismes de la représentation, superpose l'analyse de l'appréciation des politiques conduites dans la perspective de la détermination de leur efficacité.

a – Le contenu de la notion

Face à des dissimulations d'informations et à l'opacité du processus décisionnel, par opposition, le concept de transparence vise d'abord à rapprocher les actionnaires et les clients des dirigeants de l'entreprise, puis les citoyens d'un Etat des gouvernants, afin de garantir un fonctionnement responsable des institutions et de prévenir le risque de corruption.

S'agissant plus particulièrement de l'Etat et des collectivités territoriales, le recours à l'idée de transparence a concerné d'abord l'accès aux documents administratifs, donc leur communication aux administrés, définissant ainsi une nouvelle liberté publique désignée sous l'appellation de droit à la transparence, qui vise les multiples facettes d'une meilleure information des citoyens, y compris par la voie informatique. L'Union européenne a également consacré ce droit d'accès aux documents publics avec l'article 255 du Traité CE. Un élargissement a prévalu ensuite, dans ce cadre, avec l'affirmation d'un droit de participation au profit des citoyens, ce que traduit la référence à la démocratie participative, mentionnée à l'article I-47 du Traité portant constitution pour l'Europe. L'échange d'opinions s'effectue selon un dialogue qualifié d'« ouvert, transparent et régulier », avec les associations et les représentants de la société civile.

Parallèlement, la transparence accompagne une démarche de moralisation de la vie publique, dont témoignent les législations récentes visant à instaurer une telle transparence dans le financement de la vie politique, comme la loi française du 11 mars 1988, modifiée à plusieurs reprises, ou encore en matière de travaux publics afin de prévenir les risques de corruption.

Mais, le recours à la notion de transparence a également visé, plus récemment, l'amélioration de la gestion publique, au regard d'une culture de résultats recourant à la technique des audits et des évaluations.

La loi organique, en France, du 1^{er} août 2001, relative aux lois de finances, en est une bonne illustration, mais pourraient être également retenues des réformes comparables, par exemple en Espagne. Cette démarche liée au développement d'un management public gagne également la règle de droit, mettant en cause son contenu et son coût, mais surtout sa nécessité même et la procédure de son élaboration. C'est ici qu'apparaît la question de la représentation du public à sa formation, au travers d'institutions diverses.

Aussi bien les textes de nature réglementaire que législative se trouvent impliqués par cette nouvelle logique, décrite comme procédant de la volonté de réaliser un rapprochement entre les citoyens et les gouvernants, ainsi qu'en témoignent les travaux préparatoires au livre blanc de la gouvernance européenne (Groupe 2a, Rapport Kröger), qui mettait en avant la nécessité d'une consultation préalable. La notion de transparence dépasse cependant ce seul aspect, pour introduire la dimension d'un contrôle social, dont la réalisation se heurte partiellement à la logique représentative.

b – Transparence et contrôle social : « le droit de demander compte » (art.15 . Déclaration des Droit de l'Homme et du citoyen) et « accountability »

Quand se trouve en cause la loi, la logique représentative n'a d'autres limites dans la théorie constitutionnelle classique que le contrôle de constitutionnalité des textes votés. Or, qu'il s'agisse de l'Union européenne ou des Etats, prévaut le constat des limites liées aux solutions traditionnelles, illustrées par une attitude de relative indifférence des citoyens, qu'il s'agisse des abstentions aux élections ou de ce qui a été désigné comme le « déficit démocratique » de l'Union européenne. Les références à la notion de démocratie participative sont l'indication de la recherche de solutions destinées à réduire l'éloignement existant entre gouvernants et citoyens. Mais, en même temps, le concept de transparence renvoie à l'exercice d'un contrôle du corps social sur les représentants, en dehors des périodes électorales. C'est d'ailleurs ce qu'implique l'usage médiatique des sondages d'opinion lorsqu'ils s'appliquent à des politiques publiques et aux réformes législatives qui les accompagnent. Certaines techniques constitutionnelles avaient cet objectif en vue, avec le référendum de confirmation, voire même le référendum abrogatif dans l'application qui a en a été concrètement réalisée, par exemple en Italie.

Progressivement s'impose l'idée d'un contrôle continu pesant sur les représentants eux-mêmes, ce qui implique à la fois les membres du gouvernement et les parlementaires. Cette tendance s'explique d'autant plus facilement que les mécanismes classiques de responsabilités impliquant l'exécutif jouent de moins en moins dans des systèmes parlementaires majoritaires. Il est donc recherché de nouvelles formes de contrôle, s'appuyant notamment sur l'exercice de la fonction législative. Mais subsiste en permanence une ambiguïté, les innovations visent surtout à améliorer la participation des citoyens à la décision politique, y compris à l'élaboration des textes normatifs, les formes substitutives d'engagement de la responsabilité des représentants se révélant peu effectives et difficiles à mettre en œuvre. La dichotomie opérée entre la sphère du pouvoir et la société civile se révèle aussi favorable à la monopolisation de l'influence de certains groupes et renvoie plutôt à la nécessaire amélioration des processus législatifs eux-mêmes, avec un perfectionnement de la démocratie représentative.

c – Une difficulté : quel public retenir ?

Les organes parlementaires recourent déjà fréquemment à des auditions, notamment dans le cadre des commissions. Une première pratique consiste à consulter des experts, souvent dans des domaines scientifiques, techniques ou économiques. Une tendance se dessine même consistant à les considérer comme des représentants de la société civile et par conséquent leur audition est retenue comme équivalent à la consultation de cette dernière. Il s'agit là d'une perception trop large de leur rôle, d'autant que le vocabulaire manifeste souvent une insuffisante discrimination des fonctions, par exemple lorsque des groupes sociaux sont considérés comme exerçant également une fonction d'expertise. De plus, dès ce stade, il convient de prendre en compte des conflits d'intérêts qui existent fréquemment dans le domaine de l'expertise.

S'agissant plus particulièrement de groupes d'intérêts, les lobbies, est posée la question de leur représentativité, dès lors qu'ils sont intégrés à un processus de délibération de caractère public. Le problème est ancien s'agissant de syndicats de salariés ou patronaux, mais il concerne également les associations. Dans le premier cas, il est tenu compte des résultats aux élections professionnelles afin de déterminer la représentativité des organismes socio-économiques dans différentes instances, notamment concernant la sécurité sociale. Une difficulté plus grande se présente quand il s'agit d'associations, sauf à tenir compte du nombre d'adhérents ou des points de vue en présence.

L'effort de transparence doit donc porter sur l'affichage des critères retenus dans la sélection des experts et des groupes d'intérêt concernés, mais il s'applique aussi au détail des étapes de la procédure législative.

II – La transparence dans les étapes de la procédure législative

L'aménagement de celle-ci doit garantir à la fois la perception par la société civile des éléments du débat, donc des enjeux en cause dans la discussion législative et l'égalité de traitement des organisations appelées à faire entendre leur point de vue. C'est très tôt d'ailleurs que cette intervention doit être envisagée.

a – Les consultations préalables

Sauf lorsque les textes applicables le prévoient (consultations obligatoires de commissions externes au parlement), cette phase reste souvent officieuse et relève de l'aptitude des ministres à nouer le dialogue avec les partenaires sociaux, économiques, culturels. Dès ce stade, devrait d'ailleurs être soulevée la question de la nécessité de la solution législative et de la possibilité de recourir à d'autres instruments alternatifs, par exemple, l'autorégulation, l'adoption de codes de bonne conduite, voire l'établissement de relations simplement contractuelles. Se trouvent visées ici l'inflation normative et la recherche de procédures destinées à la réduire.

Un véritable débat peut être réalisé à l'initiative gouvernementale sur la nécessité de légiférer. Tel est le cas, en Grande Bretagne, avec la pratique des Green Papers, introduite en 1967 par le gouvernement Wilson, permettant de tenir compte des réactions enregistrées aux projets évoqués. Les White Papers représentent un stade plus formalisé, où le projet gouvernemental est normalement plus fermement établi et les modifications possibles plus

restreintes. Cependant, en pratique, a souvent été soulevé le caractère incertain de la distinction. Dans le cas français, il est envisagé de revenir à une consultation systématique des partenaires sociaux avant toute modification des règles relatives au droit du travail.

Si les consultations préliminaires apparaissent utiles, elles risquent de conduire aussi au blocage de réformes nécessaires.

b – Les discussions internes au gouvernement et les possibilités de contrôle, la fonction consultative du Conseil d’Etat français

De nombreuses réformes sont par nature inter-ministérielles et impliquent donc une négociation interne au gouvernement, ainsi que l’acceptation par le Premier-Ministre, aidé par le Secrétariat du Cabinet ou du gouvernement.

Régulièrement, des documents internes, notamment des circulaires dans le cas français, définissent cette procédure. Logiquement, c’est à ce stade que doit se décider le sort des réformes proposées par un ministre. Une fois le principe adopté, la rédaction du projet relève soit des départements ministériels, avec l’arbitrage du chef du gouvernement, soit de services spécialisés dans le « drafting », comme dans les pays ayant reproduit la pratique britannique, avec le Parliamentary Counsel, ainsi de la Section de la législation au Ministère canadien de la Justice, officialisée par une directive du Cabinet dès 1947. Les pratiques comparables se retrouvent en Australie et en Nouvelle-Zélande.

Quelle que soit la modalité retenue, des guides de rédactions législatives se sont étendus, par exemple avec l’adoption d’un Manuel de légistique au Canada ou d’un Guide de rédaction publié, en 2005, à l’initiative du Conseil d’Etat, en France. A ce stade, c’est l’aspect juridique et technique qui se trouve valorisé, avec parfois la prise en considération nécessaire de problèmes de traduction, lorsque par exemple se trouve consacrée une obligation de bilinguisme.

La procédure législative comporte l’originalité de prévoir une forme de contrôle avec l’intervention du Conseil d’Etat, agissant dans sa fonction consultative, mais exclusivement au profit du gouvernement. L’avis émis peut prendre la forme d’une réécriture complète du projet gouvernemental. Normalement, le Conseil d’Etat se prononce exclusivement sur l’aspect juridique. Le Conseil constitutionnel français a d’ailleurs renforcé la portée de cette phase dans une décision 468 DC du 3 avril 2003 : « ...l’ensemble des questions posées par le texte adopté par le Conseil des ministres doivent avoir été soumises au Conseil d’Etat lors de sa consultation ». Mais le gouvernement peut ne pas retenir la rédaction proposée et l’avis n’est pas destiné au public, ni au Parlement.

c – Le débat parlementaire

Cette phase est l’occasion de l’intervention du public dans le processus législatif, qu’elle soit formalisée ou plus souterraine, en direction des partis politiques. Toutefois, cette consultation a pu être organisée à un stade antérieur de réflexion sur l’opportunité d’une réforme ou concernant les opinions s’exprimant à propos d’une question débattue, par exemple l’usage des OGM. En France, de tels débats préliminaires ont pu être organisés soit dans le cadre de

missions d'information, soit à l'occasion de travaux de l'Office parlementaire d'évaluation des choix scientifiques et technologiques. Toutefois, c'est avec la discussion sur le texte et le dépôt d'amendements qu'intervient directement le principe de transparence. Le Conseil constitutionnel a d'ailleurs pu consacrer une règle de « clarté et de sincérité du débat parlementaire », qui présente des affinités avec un objectif de valeur constitutionnelle (décision 537 DC du 22 juin 2006, considérant 10).

L'intervention de représentants de la société civile n'est cependant envisageable que dans le cadre des commissions, le plus souvent des commissions permanentes ou des missions constituées à l'initiative de celles-ci. De manière originale, le Sénat français a eu le souci de permettre une information en temps réel concernant le dépôt d'amendements, grâce à une application informatique dénommée Améli (amendements en ligne) qui permet à l'ensemble des groupes de pression de réagir rapidement à une proposition qui a été déposée.

d – Le contrôle de constitutionnalité

L'exercice de ce contrôle peut contribuer à éclairer les débats antérieurs par l'échange de mémoires auquel il donne lieu. Toutefois, les expériences concrètes sont variables d'un Etat à l'autre. Ainsi la France n'a-t-elle pas encore consacré la possibilité d'un contrôle a posteriori de la loi promulguée, ce qui est au contraire largement de règle dans les autres Etats (Allemagne, Italie, Espagne, Etats-Unis...). L'avantage dans ces pays est de permettre d'ailleurs aux individus un accès au juge constitutionnel sous réserve de respecter des conditions de fond et de procédure.

e – Publication et accès aux textes

De plus en plus, le processus législatif est considéré en relation avec les problèmes d'accès du public au droit, ce qui met en cause les modalités de publication. Le Conseil constitutionnel français a consacré dans sa décision 424 DC du 16 décembre 1999, relative à la codification par ordonnances, l'objectif de valeur constitutionnelle d'accessibilité et d'intelligibilité de la loi. Pour le premier élément se trouvent en cause les divers aspects assurant la diffusion du droit et garantissant la connaissance par les individus des règles qui leur sont applicables. C'est ce qui a été recherché d'abord grâce à l'outil informatique : site internet (Légifrance), publication électronique des textes au Journal Officiel (ordonnance du 20 février 2004), ainsi que par la reprise du mouvement de codification, à partir de 1999 dans le cas français, ce qui apparaît comme une pratique parallèle à celle développée par différents Etats, pour ce qui concerne la consolidation des textes législatifs.

III – Le problème de l'évaluation législative

C'est le constat de l'inflation législative qui se trouve à l'origine des efforts destinés à développer les techniques d'évaluation de la législation. Ce problème est général, comme le rappelle une étude comparative (R. Pagano – Introduzione alla legistica – Giuffrè, Milano, 2004, p.8). Nous avons souligné que le problème est moins dans le nombre de lois votées chaque année que dans leur longueur, ce qui s'accompagne fréquemment d'une mauvaise qualité des dispositifs normatifs, ainsi d'ailleurs que le rappelle le Conseil d'Etat français (Rapports publics pour 1991 et 2006). Il convient d'observer qu'un pays comme la Grande-Bretagne n'échappe pas à ces défauts, malgré la centralisation du dispositif de rédaction législatif (Drafting). Le Conseil constitutionnel français s'oriente vers un tri des dispositions votées : « ... la loi a pour vocation

d'énoncer des règles et doit par suite être revêtue d'une portée normative » (Décision 216 CD du 7 juillet 2005). Mais se pose la question primordiale de la nécessité d'un tel texte législatif.

a – Les difficultés de l'évaluation ex ante

Les différents guides de légistique s'intéressent à ce questionnement préliminaire relatif à l'utilité du choix de la voie législative. C'est par exemple l'interrogation que pose d'emblée la directive du Cabinet canadien sur l'activité législative (2001) : « La voie législative devrait être strictement réservée aux cas où elle constitue la meilleure solution possible ». L'évaluation ne peut donc pas être appliquée immédiatement ou seulement d'une manière qui reste encore générale. Souvent cette phase est précédée d'une étude d'options, présentée par un ministre, afin de faire apparaître la nécessité d'une telle législation. Même si dès ce stade une évaluation rapide est retenue pour présenter des solutions alternatives, l'évaluation prospective proprement dite prend la forme d'une étude d'impact, modèle d'impact pour le Guide de législation suisse de 2002. Outre, les effets sur l'environnement social, doivent être pris en compte les conséquences sur l'encadrement juridique existant.

Mise en œuvre en France à la suite des circulaires de 1995 et 1998, la pratique de l'étude d'impact a rencontré plusieurs limites, en raison principalement de l'approche pragmatique et évolutive de l'instrument, au fur et à mesure de l'avancement des travaux préparatoires. De ce fait, l'exercice s'avère très souvent formel, destiné à justifier a posteriori les mesures qui ont été arrêtées dans l'avant projet de loi, au lieu d'en accompagner la formulation. De plus, les documents produits sont trop souvent de qualité inégale, certains ne reprenant en fait que la technique de l'exposé des motifs. Enfin, les assemblées parlementaires n'ont guère accordé d'intérêt à ces travaux, notamment en raison du clivage majorité-opposition. Pourtant la qualité de l'étude d'impact détermine en partie la réalisation de l'évaluation ex post et devrait être l'occasion d'engager une discussion avec les organisations.

b- L'évaluation ex post ou rétrospective.

Alors que l'évaluation ex ante relève des autorités gouvernementales, la seconde appartient plutôt aux assemblées parlementaires. Elle s'inscrit alors comme un prolongement de la fonction de contrôle, même si les théoriciens estiment qu'il devrait exister une différence de nature entre les deux.

La difficulté principale réside dans l'éclatement de la pratique. En effet, les commissions revendiquent fréquemment une telle compétence, de sorte que les initiatives visant à créer un organisme ad hoc ont pu échouer. En France, depuis 1972, le Sénat a conduit une évaluation quantitative destinée à vérifier les délais d'adoption des mesures d'application de lois nouvellement votées. Un rapport spécifique est actuellement produit annuellement, sur la base des travaux qui sont réalisés dans les commissions permanentes. L'évaluation qualitative est revendiquée par les commissions ou au profit des missions qu'elles mettent sur pied. C'est ce qui explique l'échec rencontré par l'Office parlementaire d'évaluation de la législation, créé en 1996, malgré la tendance récente à vouloir relancer son activité.

En Grande-Bretagne, les commissions jouent un rôle très inégal, la Chambre des Lords étant plus soucieuse de développer ses travaux dans ces domaines. En outre, le gouvernement peut décider lui-même de lancer une étude d'évaluation de procédures nouvellement appliquées, par exemple les Regulatory reform orders, sous l'empire d'une réforme de 2001. En ce domaine, le Parlement dispose d'un pouvoir d'évaluation prospective concernant les actes appartenant à cette législation déléguée, mais de portée réduite. Le public reste trop peu informé et son implication relève davantage des ministères.

IV - La tendance à l'extension de la pratique de la législation déléguée

Deux exemples illustrent récemment cette évolution : le développement de la pratique des ordonnances et la réforme portant sur les regulatory instruments, avec le Regulatory reform bill, en discussion devant les Lords (Bill 111).

Le recours aux ordonnances de l'article 38, en France, est intensifié afin d'accélérer l'adoption des codes et la transposition des directives européennes. En 2004 et 2005, 135 ordonnances ont été publiées, en application de 19 lois d'habilitation. Par cette pratique, la France s'engage en réalité dans la voie d'une véritable législation secondaire, tout à fait comparable à la pratique britannique, désignée encore sous l'appellation de législation déléguée. En 2002, plus de trois mille Statutory instruments furent adoptés dont 1325 furent déposés devant le Parlement. Une bonne partie de ces textes procède de l'application de la loi sur les Communautés européennes de 1972. Mais il est intéressant d'observer que les réformes récentes (la loi de 2001 et le projet de 2006) se réclament de l'objectif de simplification du droit.

Aussi bien en France qu'en Grande-Bretagne, la législation secondaire trouve sa source dans une habilitation législative, au profit de gouvernements, dans le premier cas, ou d'un ministre ou d'un organisme dans le second. La seule différence réside dans l'intervention d'une loi de ratification qui transforme alors la nature des ordonnances. Mais, la capacité réelle de contrôle du Parlement est aussi faible dans les deux cas.

Se rencontre donc un procédé de dépossession du Parlement, au profit du gouvernement ou des ministres, qui a pu conduire à mettre en avant l'expression de « loi administrative ». Dans tous ces cas, l'intervention du public s'avère réduite, sauf à agir auprès des instances gouvernementales, en amont de la discussion de la loi d'habilitation. Ces conséquences sont d'autant plus importantes que la réforme de 2006, pour la Grande-Bretagne, envisage même de permettre aux ministres de modifier la loi formelle.

V – Conclusions : le problème général de la qualité de la loi et de la simplification du droit

Les évolutions en cours s'expliquent par la volonté de simplifier le droit applicable, afin d'en faciliter la perception par les personnes concernées, physiques ou morales. Désormais, cette démarche se réalise sur fond de concurrence entre les systèmes juridiques. Or, dans ce nouveau contexte, les parlements apparaissent comme insuffisamment adaptés, spécialement au regard de la nécessité de conduire des évaluations, qui procèdent pour l'instant de mécanismes tout à fait artisanaux. Le risque est alors de voir s'introduire de nouveaux procédés de contrôle, extérieurs au Parlement, donc à la démocratie représentative, affaiblissant encore plus les assemblées.

Introductory Speech by Ms. Marianne Mikko (MEP), Estonia

I think that the timing of our discussions is very appropriate. A few weeks ago, a group of articles in the “Economist” found all EU-8 countries, apart from Estonia and Slovenia, to be failures in terms of political culture.

You might twist and turn this judgment like the criteria for joining the euro-currency area. You might get one country in and the other out on technicalities. But it does not change the fact that there is a lot to be done to improve the political culture in the central and eastern Europe.

The usual political dichotomy of left and right is underdeveloped in most of the EU-8. The political parties have names, which mention fatherland, people, reform and unity a lot. These names hail straight from the times of political reawakening. Now as then, they give no clear indication, whether the parties are conservative, liberal or left-leaning.

This is very fitting, because the daily politics in the EU-8 is not discussion of ways to make a larger and better pie. There is very little discussion of the fundamental issues, of the world view, of *Weltanschauung*.

The bulk of the activity is directed to dividing the existing pie. The EU has generously added about 1/7 of the budget to each country and taken care of the unemployment. Our most active workers work abroad and send home huge sums in remittances.

However illusory the economic miracle might be, the reality is – almost no one is demanding changes in the political system. The old hands fight it out among themselves. Voters are happy with lifetime mortgages and car loans, parties divide the big pie.

In this section we should concentrate on access to legislation. I will put aside technical and theoretical discussion and concentrate on the practical politics, on what needs to be done right now.

For practical purposes - I think we all agree - there are three levels of access to lawmaking – legislating, influencing and monitoring.

Let’s be honest – monitoring by itself is not a very powerful tool. Even if you can follow the different versions of the reports and directives on the internet, even if you can see the plenary sessions on the internet, you still have little hope of democratic control.

If technical gadgets do really give power to the people, why are there 20 registered lobbyists for every MEP in Brussels? The real deal still goes on behind the scenes. The legislative compromises are agreed by a chosen few, the average deputy can just protest at the lack of consultation.

Monitoring is not real access. It exists as a bundle together with influence and legislation, it is an all-or nothing package. In fighting for your interests, you can be sure of getting results only if you are a big firm with a big government behind you.

If you are an environmentalist, human rights activist or generally have high ideals and little money, the best chance of having access to legislation is to become a legislator. If you succeed, you often discover, that you need compromises to achieve anything at all. And with every compromise you become more and more a part of the machine. It is quite a vicious circle.

To break the circle, we need a dramatic shift of paradigm, quite like the peaceful revolutions we had 15 years ago. Just as happened then, we need again to broaden the access to legislative power.

The signs are there. In Estonia, a startup party promising “new politics” won the last elections by a landslide. A month ago, at the day of the vote for President by the electoral college, thousands turned up for a rally and a concert, reminiscent of the singing revolution days.

Our elections in March are predicted to be the dirtiest ever. As a result, I expect a massive demand for changes in the political system. Voters, disappointed in their representatives, will be demanding more direct democracy, more access.

The present system has reached its limits. The only untapped reserve is the female participation. Finland recently celebrated 100 years from the universal and equal vote for women. Finnish women have almost equal participation in politics, with 40% of seats in the parliament and the government belonging to women.

We do not have another 100 years to let it happen just by itself. We need more decisive action. All across the society, the well-paying jobs are seen as men’s jobs and the less remunerated ones are reserved for women.

Teaching is seen as a female occupation, with just about 14% being men. Legislation pays five times better, so this is a men’s job. This has nothing to do with the democracy, this is dog-eat-dog world.

Afghanistan created electoral quotas for women 2 years ago. In Estonia, the debate about electoral quotas has really started 15 years after the independence was regained. I have been campaigning for the voluntary “zebra principle” in the electoral lists. It is not very radical wish, but there is remarkable resistance. Even the women are not all behind this idea. Self-awareness of women, even among the intellectual elite, is limited. I see the repetition of the same scenario, which plays in the EU-8 economy – illusory well-being stops action.

The Seventies feminism has more or less achieved all the concrete goals it could think of. It has almost been dissolved in the mainstream. The media has become more politically correct in its expressions, even though there is a suspicion that its thinking has not changed enough.

We need a new way of thinking and communicating. The paradigm, which equates the male viewpoint with neutral viewpoint needs a credible, visible and tangible alternative. Then we can go about thinking how to better introduce this alternative.

Moreover, we need a new set of comprehensive goals to replace the current isolated campaigns. Presently, we do not know what is the desired balance of work, social and family life for women. We do not express at all well how we want to be depicted in the media. Probably because we are not sure about it ourselves. I am really interested in seeing, what are the thoughts of the present panel on that account.

From my side, I just would like to add that recently the winning formula has been to be in the centre. Centre-left, centre-right, the „third way“ – all have been considerably more successful than their hard-line precursors.

Dear friends, theoretical concept or practical ideas – let’s open the discussion wide. Thank you!

ANNEX IV

OPENING AND CLOSING REMARKS by Ambassador Strohal, ODIHR Director

Opening Remarks

by Ambassador Christian Strohal,

Director of the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)

Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Let me welcome you all to this Supplementary Human Dimension Meeting, the third and last of this year, on “*Strengthening Democracy through Effective Participation*”. The meeting comes at a good moment, some two weeks after the OSCE’s main human dimension event, the Human Dimension Implementation Meeting, and four weeks ahead of the OSCE Ministerial Council which will be held in Brussels.

The OSCE normative framework is particularly suited to this subject. The 1990 Charter of Paris for new Europe is explicit in its reference to democracy as the “only system of government” for the OSCE participating States.

There is no blueprint or a tailor-made recipe for democracy and no two democracies are identical

Representation is one of the most powerful sources of governmental legitimacy. Only when it represents the people is a government truly *authorized* by people to take action. If people’s interests are not channelled through representative institutions we risk creating marginalized groups and multiplying discontent. Those frustrated by the absence of representation of their interests are prone to resort to means that can threaten security and stability in their country and in the entire region. Therefore, representation is an issue that reaches far beyond academic discussions of how democracies function and is a powerful illustration of why the OSCE views security as a comprehensive concept with the human dimension at its heart.

The OSCE has already given attention to the issue of representation in a number of its documents, including the Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality. This SHDM is an excellent opportunity to bring various aspects of this topic into the spotlight.

Parliaments

The first working session will discuss proper functioning of parliaments -- the primary institutions representing ordinary citizens. Legislatures and individual legislators can play a vital role in making laws as well as in providing checks and balances to the executive branch. The oversight functions provided by legislatures are also crucial to the proper functioning of a democracy. By fully exercising their functions, parliaments help ensure that countries live up to international standards and commitments. This afternoon we hope to have a productive discussion resulting in concrete recommendations on empowering parliaments, and on the tools they need in order to fulfil their mandate.

At the side event proceeding this opening session, many of you have already heard of the outstanding work that the OSCE field operations in the South Eastern Europe accomplish in assisting the parliaments of their host countries to improve their day-to-day functioning. We hope that the experiences gained in this exercise will prove useful to others and that we will hear more ideas and experiences related to the empowerment of parliaments during our discussions.

Political Parties

At the second session, we will revisit the topic of political parties and their parliamentary dimension which was discussed at the 2004 HD Seminar. Political parties are vehicles for integrating views of large groups of citizens and putting them into the arena of political competition. It is being argued that political parties are losing their place in the modern landscape. But is this true? Would this mean that there is no place for politics? Authors on democracy have argued that only when political societies as well as civil societies were involved, young democracies succeeded in becoming fully consolidated. Parties are indispensable in channelling interests of groups they represent into governmental policies and actions. Alternative political actors one can find in the real world in the absence of parties are domineering individuals, clans or oligarchic groups which cannot claim to be representative institutions. Paragraph 82 of the Washington Declaration of the OSCE PA (July 2005) underlined the important role of political parties in the organization and functioning of a democratic debate taking into account the institutional function that they perform and the essential link they provide between civil society and state decision-making bodies.

International assistance to the political parties is a delicate matter. There is no alternative to *local ownership* of the political debate. Even with this in mind, assistance to political parties – without taking sides – remains a challenge. We hope to hear views on this question during the second working session of this meeting. We will also present our own contribution to this debate at a side-event tomorrow.

Democratic Standards

Perhaps one reason that discussions on democratization and representation have largely been confined to the political and academic realm is the fact that detailed standards in this area have not been developed. During the 2004 Human Dimension Seminar some speakers suggested that there is a need for more developed standards in areas such as separation of powers, accountability and transparency. Your views on this subject will undoubtedly contribute to the debate and help the OSCE in seeing how to move forward in the implementation of the unique Charter of Paris commitment to democracy as the only system of government.

Law-making and access to legislation

The topic of our third session, lawmaking and access to legislation, may at a first glance appear rather technical. Yet it illustrates well whether the institutions are truly representative how well they interact with citizens. The manner in which laws are thought-out, drafted and adopted has significant impact on the way in which they will be implemented and enforced.

A discussion on lawmaking and access to legislation should include a broad range of issues, such as adequate law-making skills, stakeholder consultations, access of civil society to legislative

deliberations, gender expertise, and representation of national minority perspectives in the development of legislation which affects them. A flawed and inaccessible lawmaking process generally results in poor implementation, and it is poor implementation which is a main obstacle to achieving the objectives of the legislation in question, let alone rule of law overall.

The ODIHR work

An important foundation of the ODIHR's work in the broad field of democratic governance is our long-term focus on increasing participation of women in public life. With ODIHR support, civil society networks have become an effective voice for women's rights and have worked with local and national governments to take women's concerns into account when designing and implementing public policy. I am pleased to see that a number of representatives of these networks are here with us today, and I am looking forward to hearing your contribution.

Before concluding, let me briefly revert to our side-event on political parties: during the lunch break tomorrow, it will be our pleasure to present other examples of our work relevant to this SHDM. We will take the example of Georgia, where the ODIHR, together with our partners from a local think tank and the Netherlands Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, assisted the main political parties to develop a dialog on key political issues. This process gave all parties an opportunity to develop appreciation for multi-party interaction. This innovative approach reflects the ODIHR's conviction that only locally-owned processes can produce genuine and sustainable reform. A book on Georgia's political landscape illustrating this approach and summarizing views of local political actors will be presented. We are hopeful we can continue this type of work in other participating States.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I am glad that almost all OSCE Missions are represented at this meeting as they can rightfully claim most of the OSCE's concrete achievements in this area. We look forward to concrete input and experiences from you.

I am particularly happy that Mr. Ivan Krastev has agreed to join us today and to give a keynote address. Ivan Krastev is a political scientist who has written extensively on the subject of democratization, including a book published in 2004 entitled *"Shifting Obsessions. Three Essays on Anti-Corruption"*. He is chairman of the Board of the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia. In the last decade he has been visiting fellow at St. Anthony College, Oxford; Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars in Washington; Collegium Budapest, Wissenschaftskolleg, Berlin; Institute of Federalism, University of Fribourg, Switzerland; Institute for Human Sciences, Vienna and Remarque Forum, New York. Since 2004 he has been working as executive director of the International Commission on the Balkans. He is also the Director of the Open Century Project of the Central European University in Budapest.

Before giving him the floor, let me also express my appreciation for the active role of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly in fostering the principles of participation, inclusion and transparency through its members and their activities at the national level. While president Lenmarker unfortunately could not join us for this meeting, I am especially happy that the Right Honourable Bruce George, President emeritus of the OSCE PA will be able to share his experience with us during the closing session.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Democracy and institution-building will always be unfinished business. There is no qualitative difference between young and old democracies, as democracy does not automatically improve with age. A number of experiences have shown that reform can progress within very short timeframes. Nonetheless, democracy has no finality, and we can and must all learn from each other. We are looking forward to hearing concrete recommendations from all of you – from experts, from representatives of States, and from civil society. I encourage you to engage actively in the discussions ahead.

Thank you.

**Closing Remarks by the ODIHR Director,
Ambassador Christian Strohal**

We have had a very engaging one and a half days of discussions. The participants took an opportunity to share their experiences, ideas and sometimes frustrations. We have heard a number of provocative and informed keynote and introductory speeches. From the ODIHR point of view, this was an important meeting in order to raise the issue of democratic institution-building on the OSCE agenda.

It is always a challenge to have discussion of a process, which development of democracy is by definition. The quality of the debate demonstrated that the participants of this meeting were up to this challenge. The discussions of the role of the Parliaments, of political parties and of law-making processes provided many interesting insights as well as recommendation that will now have to be followed up.

There is no perfect democracy, and, as I already said in my opening speech, democracy is always unfinished business. But certain features of democracy such as representation of the public by elected officials are common to all democracies.

And in true democracies every elected official has a role and democracy is about inclusion. Our opening keynote speaker Ivan Krastev noted that there is a crisis of representation in many parts of the OSCE region, and that the publics, while believing in democracy, do not believe politicians. But this means that representative institutions have to meet this challenge. For example, as was discussed during one of the sessions, political parties have to increase internal democracy to reach out to their rank and file members and to their constituencies. In the parliaments there is also room for greater democracy. Mr. Palanza rightly noted that parliamentary opposition, while not governing, has a role in ensuring that the Parliament functions smoothly in order to have a platform to voice the views of those it represents. The debate produced a general agreement on the need to increase the participation of women as well as on the need for more effective representation of women and other underrepresented groups.

While we heard many cautionary notes and expressions of concern, we also heard some notes of optimism. We have heard how the participating States of Southeastern Europe are improving the

work of their representative institutions and we are gratified to heard that the OSCE has contributed to this.

In conclusion, I would like to thank our moderators, introducers, keynote speakers for their wisdom and insights. Thanks to the ODIHR staff involve in preparing and running this meeting. My thanks go to the Chairmanship for their initiative and support and we encourage the incoming Spanish Chairmanship to take some of the issues discussed today forward.

This is the last of the three SHDMs we have been enjoying to organize together with the Belgian Chairman in Office, in great cooperation, with great pleasure and with great expectations.

ANNEX V

OPENING AND CLOSING REMARKS by the OSCE Chairmanship

Opening remarks by Ambassador Pierre Champenois, Special Advisor to the OSCE Chairmanship

Excellencies,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a pleasure to welcome you, on behalf of the Chairman-in-Office of the OSCE, to this meeting on “Democratization and Strengthening Democracy through Effective Representation”. In the next two days, we will, basically and also extensively, discuss the role and functioning of the core institution of democracy, and that is parliament.

The Belgian Chairmanship is a strong advocate of more OSCE attention for democratic institution building. In fact, the promotion of good governance through the shaping of political, administrative and legal institutions is a point of particular attention for Belgium’s foreign policy.

Belgium itself is a federal country with different communities and regions. We have learned – and acquired good experience – in shaping and adapting the institutions of state to the needs of citizens and our communities to live harmoniously together. In the past few decades, Belgium has evolved - thanks to five constitutional reforms - into an efficient federal structure. The country is governed by several partners which autonomously exercise their powers within their respective domains. At the highest level there now stand the federal State, three Communities and three Regions, which from a legal perspective are on an equal footing. Each has its own executive and its own parliament.

The experience of “institution building” in Belgium is not the topic of our meeting nor do I want to make it the topic of my speech. I mention it as an illustration of the importance the Belgian Chairmanship attaches to the overall issue of institution building and good governance.

*

Let me turn now to the key issue of our meeting. At the Copenhagen Meeting of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the – at that time still – CSCE in 1990, the participating States recognized the fundamental right of their citizens to take part in the governing of their country, either directly or through representatives freely chosen by them through fair electoral processes. Today, sixteen years later, when the CSCE has become the OSCE and the organization has become a larger community of States, the issue of democratization and effective representation remains as important as ever.

Let me offer a few lines of thought that are pertinent to the subject of our meeting and that will, I hope, be a fruitful contribution to the discussions.

*

First, I would like to emphasize the intrinsic link between parliamentary reform and political party institutional development. One does not work without the other. This SHDM seeks to redress the deficit in attention paid to political party development as a crucial pillar of a democratic society.

Second, participation can only be increased by making parties more participatory. This may sound all too obvious, but it is as much a problem in established democracies as well as the so-called new democracies.

Third, the importance of determining how political parties can function best in their respective democratic societies is inevitably closely linked to the socio-economic and cultural background in the country.

Forth, increasing participation of women in government and democratic processes is a significant challenge for societies where representative governments and democratic institutions have been introduced only recently.

While effective participation of women in governance remains largely a problematic issue in all democracies, the conditions for women's empowerment in fledgling democracies require an understanding from governments, political parties and other public stakeholders that democratic reform can only be sustainable with women's full and equal participation.

Fifth, we must recognize that legislative drafting and managing the entire legislative process are skills that require expertise. This expertise can only be obtained by specific regular training and experience within a sound regulatory framework.

Finally, we must fully acknowledge the role of political scientists, think-tanks and institutes. They have the critical function of assessing political reality, producing quality analysis and contributing to shaping the future political framework and discourse.

*

Our meeting will reflect further on these and other issues. Hopefully our reflections will bring us to recommendations as well. Allow me to make the following suggestions:

We believe that the OSCE/ODIHR could and should assist in the development of national expertise in the area of promoting participatory policy making and practices in order to effectively engage all citizens in the political process. A key focus should be given to increasing women's participation.

The OSCE/ODIHR might also increase its involvement in political party development, building on election follow-up recommendations, complementing parliamentary reform programs and relying on local capacities for developing democratic practices.

The OSCE/ODIHR could strengthen its capacity to channel and facilitate access to expertise on the development of efficient and transparent lawmaking processes. In particular, the OSCE/ODIHR should promote and facilitate the transfer of know-how and expertise among OSCE countries.

Upon request, the OSCE/ODIHR should assist in broadening the exposure of lawmakers in OSCE participating States to modern methods of management of the legislative process. In particular, the OSCE/ODIHR could provide broader access to good domestic practices in terms of legislative standards and skills, including policy development, legislative drafting, and consultations with stakeholders outside state institutions.

Lastly, the OSCE/ODIHR could provide assistance, as requested, to participating States in conducting a comprehensive assessment of their legislative system - from the policy development stage through the implementation and evaluation of the enacted legislation - and supporting domestic efforts towards improving the efficiency and transparency of the legislative process and ultimately the quality of the legislation.

*

Excellencies,
Ladies and gentlemen,

My remarks are intended as food for thought. I am sure that you, distinguished speakers and participants, will have much more to offer.

I'm in particular happy to recognize among us the President Emeritus of the Parliamentary Assembly of the OSCE, the Rt. Hon. Bruce George.

I believe that a more effective link between ODIHR and the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly would be very helpful in accomplishing the ideas and initiatives that will come out of this SHDM.

An important third partner are the OSCE field presences. I am grateful that experts from the field presences are present at our meeting, and look forward to their active participation.

Last but not least, a special word of thanks to ambassador Christian Strohal and his team. The organization of this meeting – bringing together speakers and participants, and providing them with the conceptual and practical ‘encadrement’ – is one more proof of the excellence, professionalism and dedication to the human dimension within the OSCE.

Thank you for your attention.

Closing Remarks by Ambassador de Crombrughe Chairman of the Permanent Council

Thank you very much Christian.

Speakers and discussions throughout these two days have highlighted that this last Supplementary Human Dimension Meeting actually addressed one of the most fundamental concerns in democracies throughout the OSCE area: the eroding confidence of people in their representative institutions. We must feel challenged by the doubts being raised about the quality of representative democracy and we face this challenge in the whole OSCE-area, both east and west of Vienna. Therefore, it makes sense to look at this issue together.

I would like to reiterate that we address democratic representation in the OSCE because it is part of our comprehensive security concept, part of our conflict prevention strategy. A parliament that gives opposition and minorities a role in the legislative process of a State is not only a democratic but also a concrete conflict prevention tool, countering a culture of boycott, walk-outs and eventual violent opposition. We should give those who are democratically elected a role in the legislative process, for instance through good functioning parliamentary committee structures and rules of procedure that ensure the opportunity for the opposition to contribute to improving the quality of legislation.

OSCE activities in this area have provided and are providing a real added value to many participating States. OSCE Field Operations and the ODIHR assist participating States in empowering and developing the capacities of local actors on a daily basis. Of course, these partnerships should be based on local ownership and sustainability, as in the end the political institutions of a country belong to that country and should continue their work long after the OSCE has stopped its assistance.

When speaking of local actors, on the terrain this very often means the political parties. Therefore, it seems that more attention needs to be devoted to political parties as a decisive part of our democratic societies. The challenge lies in doing this through an objective, non-partisan and equally multi-party approach.

Throughout this meeting, I think we have come a step closer to discerning the development of an OSCE approach to strengthening democratic representation in the OSCE area. It has been spearheaded by the longstanding work in South Eastern Europe of our OSCE Field Operations. In fact, the OSCE Chairman-in-Office Karel De Gucht feels now is the right time for a more comprehensive and concerted lessons learned exercise. We might want to focus on how we transfer our knowledge from one Field Operation to another, and in the end from one State to another. The institutional memory of the many valuable experiences in the field should be ensured and we support the initiative by the ODIHR to function as a Clearing House for the dissemination of best practices.

In closing the third and last Supplementary Human Dimension Meeting of 2006, let me finish by stressing how much I and my team enjoyed co-operating with ODIHR, with you, Ambassador Strohal, and with your professional and dedicated staff, in the organization of human dimension

meetings throughout the year. My thanks also go to Conference Services who have done a tremendous job throughout our Chairmanship for all the Human Dimension Meetings. I also thank you, the interpreters for your tireless assistance. But most of all our gratitude goes out to you, the participants, for your presence and your active contributions. We have registered the many valuable recommendations and we will strive for a pro-active follow up.

ANNEX VI

**SCHEDULE OF SIDE EVENTS
to take place during the
SUPPLEMENTARY HUMAN DIMENSION MEETING
DEMOCRATIZATION: STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY THROUGH EFFECTIVE
REPRESENTATION**

HOFBURG, VIENNA

The Helsinki Document of 1992 (Chapter IV) called for increasing the openness of OSCE activities and expanding the role of NGOs. In particular, in paragraph (15) of Chapter IV the participating States decided to facilitate during CSCE meetings informal discussion meetings between representatives of participating States and of NGOs, and to provide encouragement to NGOs organizing seminars on CSCE-related issues. In line with this decision, NGOs, governments, and other participants are encouraged to organize side meetings on relevant issues of their choice.

The opinions and information shared during the side events convened by participants do not necessarily reflect the policy of the OSCE/ODIHR.

Thursday, 2 November	Friday, 3 November
<p><i>Title: The OSCE experience in parliamentary assistance in South East Europe</i></p> <p><i>Convenor: OSCE/ODIHR with the OSCE Missions to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, the Mission in Kosovo and Presence in Albania</i></p> <p><i>Time: 13.00-15.00</i></p> <p><i>Venue: Segmentgalerie I</i></p> <p><i>Language: English</i></p>	<p><i>Title: Launch of the ODIHR/NIMD/CIPDD Publication “The Political Landscape of Georgia” – An Interactive Assessment</i></p> <p><i>Convenor: OSCE/ODIHR, Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD, Caucasus Institute for Peace, Development & Democracy (CIPDD)</i></p> <p><i>Time: 12.00-12.30</i></p> <p><i>Venue: Segmentgalerie I</i></p> <p><i>Language: English</i></p> <p><i>Title: Strengthening Local Capacity for Parliamentary Reform and Improving the Efficiency and Transparency of Legislative Process</i></p> <p><i>Convenor: Centre for Parliamentary Reform – Georgia, OSCE Mission to Georgia, OSCE/ODIHR</i></p> <p><i>Time: 12.30-14.00</i></p> <p><i>Venue: Segmentgalerie I</i></p> <p><i>Language: English</i></p>

OVERVIEW OF SIDE EVENTS
As submitted by the organisers
2-3 November 2006
Hofburg, Vienna

The side events below have been exclusively organized and scheduled at the request of participants of the Supplementary Human Dimension Meeting. The content for each meeting was prepared by the organization convening the events and does not necessarily reflect the views of the OSCE, ODIHR.

.....

Thursday, 2 November

Time: 13.00-15.00
Venue: Segmentgalerie I
Title: The OSCE experience in parliamentary assistance in South East Europe
Convenor: OSCE/ODIHR with the OSCE Missions to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, the Mission in Kosovo and Presence in Albania
Language: English

Summary: A number of OSCE field operations have developed and implemented major parliamentary assistance programmes in SEE, which together constitute the Organization's main expertise in this key aspect of its institution building mandate. While the fact that such projects are tailored to local needs is reflected in the specific activities, an OSCE approach to this aspect of democratization work has emerged, characterised by commitment to local ownership and sustainability.

The purpose of this event is to give an overview of what the OSCE has achieved in this field by highlighting hallmark activities from its programmes and drawing out the key lessons learned.

Friday, 3 November

Time: 12.00-12.30
Venue: Segmentgalerie I
Title: Launch of the ODIHR/NIMD/CIPDD Publication "The Political Landscape of Georgia" – An Interactive Assessment
Convenor: OSCE/ODIHR, Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (NIMD)
Caucasus Institute for Peace, Development & Democracy (CIPDD)
Language: English

Summary: Following the initiative of the ODIHR, a team of researchers from the NIMD and the CIPDD carried out an interactive assessment in which Georgian political parties completed a critical self-analysis and contributed to filling in the picture of today's political framework in Georgia. This 14-month research has been published in English and in Georgian in "The Political Landscape of Georgia. Political Parties: Achievements, Challenges and Prospects". The book was officially presented at a press conference in Tbilisi, Georgia in September 2006 and will be officially presented to the OSCE Institutions and Delegations as well as the SHDM participants at this side-event.

Friday, 3 November

Time: 12.30-14.00
Venue: Segmentgalerie I
Title: Strengthening Local Capacity for Parliamentary Reform and Improving the Efficiency and Transparency of Legislative Process
Convenor: Centre for Parliamentary Reform – Georgia, OSCE Mission to Georgia, OSCE/ODIHR
Language: English

Summary: In the summer of 2005, the ODIHR developed, upon request and in close collaboration, with the Georgian Parliament and the OSCE Mission to Georgia an initiative to boost the Parliament's capacity to formulate, strategize, implement and monitor its own reform process, thereby lessening its dependence on outside expertise. The resulting Centre for Parliamentary Reform, an innovative unit situated within the Georgian Parliament has started operations in January 2006, gradually taking on its full role. This side-event will take a closer look at the political and technical implications of such an initiative. It will also review its first six months of operations as an innovative initiative as well as discuss ways to use its full potential in its further operations.

As an integral part of this initiative was the conduct of a comprehensive assessment of the Georgian legislative system. This assessment looked at how the process is regulated, but also at how it works in practice. Based on research work and a series of interviews with senior members of government, parliament and civil servants as well as law professionals and non-governmental organizations, the assessment report includes an overview of the existing law drafting procedures and instruments as well as an assessment of these procedures and instruments with recommendations for addressing the shortcomings and loopholes identified. The assessment is a first step. Further steps may be considered and facilitated under the aegis of the Centre for Parliamentary Reform.



**OSCE SHDM Side-event on Parliamentary Assistance Programme in SEE
Hofburg, Vienna, 2 November 2006**

**Brief overview of lessons learned and recommendations
Input from OSCE Field Operations in SEE**

Lessons Learned

Assessment

1. Allow for ample time and allocate necessary resources for a thorough needs assessment and feasibility study. The following minimum conditions must be met for the OSCE to undertake such work:
 - a) Access to adequate expertise, especially “in house”;
 - b) Absence of existing/alterative support programmes for the parliament in question;
 - c) Demonstrated political will to cooperate with the OSCE, including substantial input by MPs and parliamentary staff into project strategy.
2. Local ownership: MPs and staff are stakeholders in the project and not just its target group. Sustainability is grounded on genuine local ownership from the inception of the project and in the development of the project idea. It is, or should be, the parliament’s project.
3. Non-partisanship: the initiative should mobilise as wide support as possible across party lines. It is not just the speaker’s or the secretary general’s project.
4. Expertise: appropriate OSCE capacity within the mission is required as well as assured access to expertise in specific fields. Longer term commitment is necessary in order to achieve and sustain progress, as well as full local ownership of legislative strengthening.

Programme

1. Long-term commitment: Modern parliamentary practices will not be established overnight or through one-off events.
2. Parliamentary practice is as much a question of rules and procedures as a matter of familiarisation of concepts and culture.
3. Establish benchmarks and performance indicators for regular progress evaluations and early identification of necessary changes to be made.
4. Ensure a flexible project structure: circumstances and priorities can change (e.g. elections) with direct impact on the long-term assistance programme. To remain relevant and effective, programme activities must be able to adapt quickly in order to address these changes effectively.

5. Investment in infrastructure (incl. IT): capacity building activities benefit from being supported by a more effective infrastructure, but there is little benefit from such investment as an end in itself.
6. Day-to-day coaching and mentoring of MPs and staff by the project team has a positive effect on the success of the project and has proved more effective than standard training programmes.
7. Establishing the project office and locating staff inside the parliament building.
8. Co-operation with European national parliaments: establishing structural relationships and substantive twinning activities is the most effective means of supplementing the capacity of OSCE field operations. OSCE field operations in South East Europe have effectively assisted parliaments in developing bilateral relationships with carefully selected parliaments of other participating States.
9. Sustainability: Expert staff, committee support staff and research services are the greatest assets of a parliament and should be the primary target of training activities and capacity development.
10. Relationships matter: Cultural sensitivity is required. There is a need to ensure that the OSCE is talking to everyone. Elected officials are particularly sensitive to the perceived validity and authority of their interlocutors. Peers make the best trainers. There is no substitute for project staff with specific working experience in national parliaments.
11. Implementation must remain party-neutral and inclusive in all stages of the project.

Recommendations

- Where appropriate conditions and capacity exist, the OSCE field operations are strategically placed to play an increased role in strengthening parliaments in core legislative functions such as law making and executive oversight as well as in creating the necessary conditions for effective participation in legislative processes of both civil society and political minorities.
- The OSCE field operations could play a useful role in facilitating the interaction and coordination of parliaments with local and international actors in the field of parliamentary reform.
- The OSCE field operations could usefully seek to increase regional co-operation among themselves, supported by the ODIHR when requested, in exchanging experiences, experts and knowledge. The dissemination of best practices supports the progressive development of an integrated OSCE approach to parliamentary assistance as well as to increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of individual OSCE support projects.
- OSCE field operations in cooperation with other players can further support parliaments in strengthening parliamentary processes and procedures, and in developing adequate management, effective staff support and modern parliamentary infrastructures. OSCE field operations are well-placed to assist national parliaments in developing bilateral arrangements with parliaments of other participating States.

- OSCE field operations can play an important role in strengthening the links between parliaments and citizens and increasing the engagement of citizen groups, businesses and the general public in the legislative process. The network of field offices is an important asset which some field operations can usefully draw on in this process.
- OSCE field operations could usefully contribute to integrating aspects of women and national minority representation in the assemblies in all parliamentary support programmes, including the possibility of affirmative actions.
- The OSCE field operations could usefully enhance their capacity to monitor as well as assisting participating States in combating hate speech in public discourse, especially with regard to parliamentary discourse.

ANNEX VII

Statistics of participation in the 3rd SHDM *Democratization: Strengthening Democracy Through Effective Representation*

Vienna, 2 – 3 November 2006

160 participants, including:

75 representatives of 37 OSCE participating States

1 representative of Morocco (OSCE Mediterranean Partner for Co-operation)

7 representatives of six int'l organizations:

1. Council of Europe
2. European Parliament
3. Inter-Parliamentary Union
4. Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe (Thessaloniki Office)
5. United Nations Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights
6. United Nations Office of High Commissioner for Refugees (Branch Office in Austria)

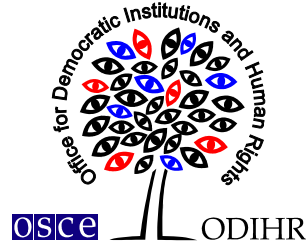
7 representatives of 3 OSCE institutions:

1. OSCE Secretariat (Gender Issues)
2. OSCE High Commissioner for National Minorities
3. OSCE Parliamentary Assembly; Liaison Office in Austria

18 representatives of 12 OSCE field missions

1. Presence in Albania
2. Centre in Almaty
3. Office in Baku
4. Centre in Bishkek
5. Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina
6. Mission to Georgia
7. Mission in Kosovo
8. Office in Minsk
9. Mission to Montenegro
10. Mission to Serbia
11. Project Co-ordinator in Uzbekistan
12. Project Co-ordinator in Ukraine

52 representatives of 42 Non-Governmental Organizations



**OSCE Supplementary
HUMAN DIMENSION MEETING
ON
DEMOCRATIZATION:
STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY THROUGH
EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION**

FINAL LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Vienna, 2 – 3 November 2006

OSCE Delegations/Partners for Co-operation

ALBANIA

Ms. Albana DAUTLLARI
Deputy Head of Mission, Counsellor
E-mail: albana.dautllari@chello.at

Permanent Mission of Albania to the Int'l Organizations in Vienna
Reisenerstrasse 27/6a; 1030 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-328 87 10
Fax: +43-1-328 87 11

GERMANY

Dr. Axel BERG
Head of Delegation / Ambassador
E-mail: pol-s1-osze@wien.diplo.de

Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the OSCE
Metternichgasse 3; 1030 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-711 54 0
Fax: +49-18 88-175 51 13
Web site: <http://www.wien-isze.diplo.de>

Mr. Jan KANTORCZYK
First Secretary
E-mail: jan.kantorczyk@diplo.de

Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the OSCE
Metternichgasse 3; 1030 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-711 54 132
Fax: +49-18 88-175 51 13
Web site: <http://www.wien-isze.diplo.de>

Mr. Christian GANSKE
Trainee
E-mail: reg1-osze@diplo.de

Permanent Mission of the Federal Republic of Germany to the OSCE
Metternichgasse 3; 1030 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-711 54 0
Fax: +43-18 88-175 51 13
Web site: <http://www.wien-isze.diplo.de>

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Ms. Janice HELWIG
Adviser
E-mail: HelwigJX@state.gov

United States Mission to the OSCE
Obersteingasse 11/1; 1190 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-313 39 34 15
Fax: +43-1-313 39 32 55

Mr. Ted KONTEK
Political Officer
E-mail: kontektl@state.gov

United States Mission to the OSCE
Obersteingasse 11/1; 1190 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-313 39 32 06
Fax: +43-1-313 39 32 55

Ms. Julie RASCHKA
Political Assistant
E-mail: RaschkaJD@state.gov

United States Mission to the OSCE
Obersteingasse 11/1; 1190 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-313 39 37 12
Fax: +43-1-368 63 85

ANDORRA

Amb. Joan PUJAL LABORDA
Head of Delegation
E-mail: office@ambaixada-andorra.at

OSCE Delegation of the Principality of Andorra
Karntnerring 2A/13; 1010 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-961 09 09
Fax: +43-1-961 09 09 50

Ms. Marta SALVAT
Special Envoy on Policy and Security Issues
E-mail: office@ambaixada-andorra.at

OSCE Delegation of the Principality of Andorra
Karntnerring 2A/13; 1010 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-961 09 09
Fax: +43-1-961 09 09 50

ARMENIA

Amb. Jivan TABIBIAN

Delegation of the Republic of Armenia to the OSCE

Head of Delegation
E-mail: minasyan@armembassy.at

Mr. Nairi PETROSSIAN
Deputy Head
E-mail: petrossian@armenianmission.at

Neubaugasse 12-14/1/16; A-1070 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-522 74 79
Fax: +43-1-522 74 81

Delegation of the Republic of Armenia to the OSCE
Neubaugasse 12-14/1/16; A-1070 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-522 74 79 24
Fax: +43-1-522 74 81

AUSTRIA

Dr. Harald W. KOTSCHY
Minister Plenipotentiary; Head of Unit for Council of Europe &
OSCE / Human Dimension
E-mail: harald.kotschy@bmaa.gv.at

Dr. Thomas M. BUCHSBAUM
Head of Division IV.3; Minister Plenipotentiary
E-mail: thomas.buchsbaum@bmaa.gv.at

Ms. Johanna LINDHOLM
Trainee
E-mail: johanna.lindholm@bka.gv.at

Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs
Minoritenplatz 8; 1014 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-5-011 50 36 74
Fax: +43-5-011 59 3674
Web site: <http://www.bmaa.gv.at>

Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs
Herrengasse 13; 1014 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-501 150 35 76
Fax: +43-501 159 35 76
Web site: <http://www.bmaa.gv.at>

Federal Chancellery
Ballhausplatz 2; A-1014 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-531 15 24 57

BELARUS

Ms. Volha ABRAMAVA
Member of the Standing Committee on Committee on State
Administration, Local Government and Rules of Procedure
E-mail: Abramova@house.gov.by

**House of Representatives of the National Assembly of the
Republic of Belarus**
11, Sovetskaya Str.; 220035 Minsk; Belarus
Tel: +375-17-222 43 86

BELGIUM

Amb. Pierre CHAMPENOIS
Special Adviser to the OSCE Chairmanship

Amb. Bertrand DE CROMBRUGGHE
Head of Mission
E-mail: viennaosce@diplobel.be

Ms. Jozefien VAN DAMME
Human Dimension Officer
E-mail: jozefien.vandamme@diplobel.fed.be

OSCE Chairmanship Unit Belgium
OSCE Chairmanship 2006; Karmelietenstraat 15; 1000
Brussels; Belgium
Web site: <http://www.osce2006.be>

Permanent Mission of Belgium to the OSCE
Wohllebengasse 6/3; 1040 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-505 63 64
Fax: +43-1-505 03 88

**Federal Public Service, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade and
Development Co-operation**
19, Rue des Petits Carmes; 1000-Brussels; Belgium
Tel: +32-2-501 30 22
Fax: +32-2-501 30 45

BULGARIA

Ms. Selver YUMER
Third Secretary
E-mail: selver.yumer@bulgvert.at

**Permanent Mission of the Republic of Bulgaria to the
OSCE**
Rechte Wienzeile 13/1; 1040 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-585 66 03 07
Fax: +43-1-585 20 01
Web site: <http://www.osce.org/cio/bulgaria>

CANADA

Ms. Maria RALETICH-RAJICIC
Counsellor

Delegation of Canada to the OSCE
Laurenzerberg 2; 1010 Vienna; Austria

E-mail: maria.raletich-rajcic@international.gc.ca

Ms. Cathy MAINS

Manager; Institutional Partnership Programs
E-mail: cathy_mains@acdi-cida.gc.ca

Ms. Emilie SALESSE GAUTHIER

Advisor on Human Dimension Issues/Intern
E-mail: emilie.salesse-gauthier@international.gc.ca

Mr. Ryan MACCAN

Intern
E-mail: Ryan.maccan@international.gc.ca

Ms. Ivana GORANIC

Minister Counsellor
E-mail: ivana.goranic@mvpei.hr

Mr. John BERNHARD

Ambassador of Denmark to the OSCE
E-mail: johber@um.dk

Ms. Louise JERSILD

First Secretary
E-mail: loujer@um.dk

Ms. Kristina MISKOWIAK BECKVARD

First Secretary
E-mail: oscedk@inode.at

Mr. Anders Harris NIELSEN

Special Adviser (retired)
E-mail: hn1309@compaqnet.dk

Amb. Carlos SANCHEZ DE BOADO

Permanent Representative of Spain to the OSCE/Head of Mission
E-mail: esp.osce@mae.es

Mr. Luis Francisco MARTINEZ MONTES

Counsellor
E-mail: luis.martinez@mae.es

Mr. Eduardo NARBONA ALGARA

Counsellor
E-mail: eduardo.narbona@mae.es

Ms. Teresa DIAZ-MORERA

E-mail: teresa.diaz@mae.es

Tel: +43-1-531 38 32 22

Fax: +43-1-531 38 39 15

Canadian International Development Agency

04-03, 200, Promenade du Portage; K1A 0G4 Gatineau, Quebec; Canada

Tel: +1-819-994 09 23

Fax: +1-819-994 09 28

Web site: <http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca>

Delegation of Canada to the OSCE

Laurenzerberg 2; 1010 Vienna; Austria

Tel: +43-1-531 38 34 14

Fax: +43-1-531 38 39 15

Delegation of Canada to the OSCE

Laurenzerberg 2; 1010 Vienna; Austria

Tel: +43-1-531 34 14

Fax: +43-1-531 38 39 15

CROATIA

Permanent Mission of the Republic of Croatia to the OSCE, UN and Int'l Organizations in Vienna

Bartensteing. 16/7; 1010 Vienna; Austria

Tel: +43-676-441 55 78

Fax: +43-1-535 01 34

DENMARK

Delegation of Denmark to the OSCE

Fuehrichgasse 6/3rd floor; 1010 Vienna; Austria

Tel: +43-1-512 02 32

Fax: +43-1-512 23 86

Delegation of Denmark to the OSCE

Fuehrichgasse 6/3rd floor; 1010 Vienna; Austria

Tel: +43-1-512 02 32

Delegation of Denmark to the OSCE

Fuehrichgasse 6/3rd floor; 1010 Vienna; Austria

Tel: +43-1-512 02 32

Fax: +43-1-512 23 86

Tel: +46-48-17 67 61

SPAIN

Permanent Representation of Spain to the OSCE

Argentinierstrasse 34; A-1040 Vienna; Austria

Tel: +43-1-505 86 00

Fax: +43-1-505 37 73

Permanent Representation of Spain to the OSCE

Argentinierstrasse 34; A-1040 Vienna; Austria

Tel: +43-1-505 86 00 376

Fax: +43-1-505 37 73

Permanent Representation of Spain to the OSCE

Argentinierstrasse 34; A-1040 Vienna; Austria

Tel: +43-1-505 86 00

Permanent Representation of Spain to the OSCE

Argentinierstrasse 34; A-1040 Vienna; Austria

Tel: +43-1-505 86 00 361

ESTONIA

Ms. Merje STANCIENE

First Secretary
E-mail: Merje.Stanciene@osce.estwien.at

Permanent Mission of the Republic of Estonia to the OSCE

Fuhrichgasse 8/5; 1010 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-44 51 675
Fax: +43-1-512 19 01 22

FINLAND / European Union

Amb. Aleksi HARKONEN

Permanent Representative of Finland to the OSCE
E-mail: sanomat.wet@formin.fi

Permanent Mission of Finland to the OSCE

Esslinggasse 16/2 Stock; A-1010 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-535 10 34-35
Fax: +43-1-533 69 82

Ms. Marjo MAKI-LEPPILAMPI

First Secretary
E-mail: marjo.maki-leppilampi@formin.fi

Permanent Mission of Finland to the OSCE

Esslinggasse 16/2 Stock; A-1010 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-664-151 68 84
Fax: +43-1-533 69 82

European Commission

Mr. Lorenzo RIALASCIATI

Counsellor

Delegation of the European Commission to the International Organisations in Vienna

Argentinerstrasse 26/10; A-1040 Vienna; Austria

Ms. Elisa RUBINI

Intern

Delegation of the European Commission to the International Organisations in Vienna

Argentinerstrasse 26/10; A-1040 Vienna; Austria

FRANCE

Mr. Didier CANESSE

Counsellor
E-mail: joelle.ledoux@diplomatie.gouv.fr

Permanent Representation of France to the OSCE

Schwarzenbergplatz 16; 1010 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-501 82 503
Fax: +43-1-501 82 502

UNITED KINGDOM

Amb. Colin MUNRO

Head of Delegation
E-mail: Colin.Munro@fco.gov.uk

United Kingdom Delegation to the OSCE

Jauresgasse 12; 1030 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-716 13 33 01
Fax: +43-1-716 13 39 00

Mr. Bruce GEORGE

Member of the Parliament

United Kingdom Parliament; the House of Commons

London SW1A 0AA; United Kingdom
Tel: +44-207-219 30 00

Mr. Alastair LONG

Second Secretary
E-mail: Alastair.Long@fco.gov.uk

United Kingdom Delegation to the OSCE

Jauresgasse 12; 1030 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-716 13 33 06
Fax: +43-1-716 13 39 00

GREECE

Mr. Georgios ALAMANOS

First Counsellor
E-mail: greece.osce@chello.at

Permanent Mission of Greece to the OSCE

Wohllebengasse 9/12; 1040 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-676-963 06 20
Fax: +43-1-503 39 20

IRELAND

Mr. Brendan MORAN

Ambassador
E-mail: brendan.moran@dfa.ie

Permanent Mission of Ireland to the OSCE

Rotenturmstrasse 16-18; A-1010 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-715 76 98 26
Fax: +43-1-715 57 55

Mr. Brendan WARD

Deputy Head of Mission/First Secretary
E-mail: brendan.ward@dfa.ie

Mr. Ronan O'LAOIRE

Attache
E-mail: ronan.olaoire@dfa.ie

Mr. Alesandro PALANZA**Dr. Nelly ABYLKHOZHINA**

First Secretary
E-mail: nelly.abylkhozhina@kazakhstan.at

Mr. Talgat UNAIBAYEV

First Secretary
E-mail: talgat.unaibayev@kazakhstan.at

Ms. Shynar ZAKIYEVA

Attache
E-mail: shynar.zakieva@kazakhstan.at

Amb. Aivars VOVERS

Head of Delegation
E-mail: ilze.brुvere@mfa.gov.lv

Mr. Vitolds RUSIS

Counsellor
E-mail: edso@mfa.gov.lv

Ms. Sonja OURECKY

Assistant
E-mail: sonja.ourecky@mae.etat.lu

Mr. Pierre Clive AGIUS

Head of Delegation
E-mail: clive-pierre.agius@gov.mt

Mr. Joseph DEBONO

Member of Delegation
E-mail: joseph.d.debono@gov.mt

Permanent Mission of Ireland to the OSCE

Rotenturmstrasse 16-18; A-1010 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-715 76 98
Fax: +43-1-715 57 55

Permanent Mission of Ireland to the OSCE

Rotenturmstrasse 16-18; A-1010 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-676-432 01 49
Fax: +43-1-715 57 55

ITALY**Italian Parliament**

Fax: +39-06-67 60 99 82

KAZAKHSTAN**Permanent Delegation of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the OSCE**

Felix-Mottl Strasse 23; 1190 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-367 66 57
Fax: +43-1-367 66 57 20

Permanent Delegation of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the OSCE

Felix-Mottl Strasse 23; 1190 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-367 66 57 22
Fax: +43-1-367 66 57 20

Permanent Delegation of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the OSCE

Felix-Mottl Strasse 23; 1190 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-367 66 57 13
Fax: +43-1-367 66 57 20

LATVIA**Permanent Mission of the Republic of Latvia to the OSCE**

Stefan Esders Platz No.4; A-1190 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-328 72 90
Fax: +43-1-403 31 12 27

Permanent Mission of the Republic of Latvia to the OSCE

Stefan Esders Platz No.4; A-1190 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-328 72 90 15
Fax: +43-1-328 72 90 13

LUXEMBOURG**Permanent Representation of the Grand-Duchy of Luxembourg to the OSCE**

Wallnerstrasse 2/Stg. 1/2; 1010 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-478 21 68-23
Fax: +43-1-478 26 43

MALTA**Delegation of Malta to the OSCE**

Opernring 5/1; 1010 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-664-54 47 27
Fax: +43-1-586 50 109

Delegation of Malta to the OSCE

Opernring 5/1; 1010 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-586 50 10
Fax: +43-1-586 50 109

NORWAY

Amb. Mette KONGSHEM

Ambassador and Permanent Representative
E-mail: chjo@mfa.no

Mr. Knut-Are Sprauten OKSTAD

Second Secretary
E-mail: chjo@mfa.no

Permanent Delegation of Norway to the OSCE

Reisnerstrasse 55-57; 1030 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-715 66 92
Fax: +43-1-712 65 52

Permanent Delegation of Norway to the OSCE

Reisnerstrasse 55-57; 1030 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-715 66 92
Fax: +43-1-712 65 52

UZBEKISTAN

Mr. Djakhongir KHASANOV

Second Secretary of the UN and International Political
Organizations Department
E-mail: khasanov_j@post.mfa.uz

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan

9, Uzbekistanskaya Street; 700029 Tashkent; Uzbekistan
Tel: +998-71-133 73 41
Fax: +998-71-139 18 05

NETHERLANDS

Mrs. Neline KOORNNEEF

First Secretary
E-mail: neline.koornneef@minbuza.nl

Permanent Representation of the Netherlands to the OSCE

Opernring 5; 1010 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-589 39 249
Fax: +43-1-589 39 265

POLAND

Mr. Grzegorz KORCZYNSKI

First Secretary
E-mail: g.korczynski@botschafttrp.at

Mission of Poland to the OSCE

Hietzinger Hauptstrasse 42c; 1130 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-870 15 320
Fax: +43-1-870 15 331

PORTUGAL

Dr. Vera REIS LEAL

First Secretary
E-mail: vreisleal@portdelosce.at

Permanent Representation of Portugal to the OSCE

Opernring 3/1; 1010 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-585 50 51 57
Fax: +43-1-585 50 51 66

ROMANIA

Mrs. Constanta JELESCU

Counsellor
E-mail: constanta.jelescu@mae.ro

Ministry for Foreign Affairs

14, Aleea Modrogan, sector 1; Bucharest; Romania
Tel: +40-75-188 10 31

Ms. Alina POPESCU

Second Secretary
E-mail: popescu@mprom.at

Permanent Mission of Romania to the OSCE

Seilerstatte 17/3rd floor, Top 10-11; 1010 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-512 85 66
Fax: +43-1-512 90 57

RUSSIAN FEDERATION

Ms. Elena MIZULINA

Permanent Representative of the State Duma

Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation

Moscow; Russian Federation
Fax: +7-495-292 54 65
Web site: <http://ks.rfnet.ru>

Ms. Alla GRECHANAYA

Counsellor
E-mail: rfosce@yandex.ru

Administration of the President of the Russian Federation; State Legal Department

4, Staraya sq.; Moscow; Russian Federation
Tel: +7-495-206 28 42
Fax: +7-495-206 24 67

Ms. Tatiana SMIRNOVA
Head of Division
E-mail: dgpch@mid.ru

Ms. Olga OPANASENKO
Second Secretary
E-mail: dgpch@mid.ru

Ms. Maria KOSTYANAYA
Third Secretary
E-mail: mariafosce@mail.ru

Ms. Donka BANOVIC
E-mail: donka.banovic@parlament.sr.gov.yu

Mr. Albin OTRUBA
First Secretary
E-mail: Albin_Otruba@mfa.sk

Mr. Jan KURIC
Civil Servant
E-mail: jan.kuric@nrsr.sk

Ms. Natalia ROLKOVA
Civil Servant
E-mail: natalia.rolkova@nrsr.sk

Ms. Blazka KEPIC
Counsellor; Deputy Head of Mission
E-mail: blazka.kepic@gov.si

Mrs. Helena ZIMMERDAHL TORGERSON
First Secretary
E-mail: helena.torgerson@foreign.ministry.se

Ms. Nadizda HOLIKOVA
Counsellor
E-mail: czechmission.vienna@aon.at

Mr. Mustafa TURAN

Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Dept. for Humanitarian Co-operation and Human Rights
32/34, Smolenskaya-Sennaya sq.; 119200 Moscow; Russian Federation
Tel: +7-495-244 30 25
Fax: +7-495-244 30 45

Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Dept. for Humanitarian Co-operation and Human Rights
32/34, Smolenskaya-Sennaya sq.; 119200 Moscow; Russian Federation
Tel: +7-495-244 30 25
Fax: +7-495-244 30 45

Permanent Mission of the Russian Federation to the OSCE
Erzherzog Karl Str. 182; 1220 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-280 27 62
Fax: +43-1-280 31 90

SERBIA

National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia
Belgrade; Serbia

SLOVAKIA

Permanent Mission of Slovakia to the OSCE
Blaasstrasse 34; 1190 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-368 94 33 303
Fax: +43-1-368 94 33 333

Kancelaria Narodnej Rady Slovenskej Republiky
Namestie Alexandra Dubceka 1; 812 80 Bratislava; Slovakia
Tel: +421-2-59 72 28 58

Kancelaria Narodnej Rady Slovenskej Republiky
Namestie Alexandra Dubceka 1; 812 80 Bratislava; Slovakia
Tel: +421-2-59 72 28 63

SLOVENIA

Permanent Mission of the Republic of Slovenia to the OSCE
Gumpendorfer Strasse 11/II/Top 18; 1060 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-581 34 08 19
Fax: +43-1-581 34 17

SWEDEN

Permanent Delegation of Sweden to the OSCE
Postfach 18; 1025 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-664-383 02 07
Fax: +43-1-217 53 80

CZECH REPUBLIC

Permanent Mission of the Czech Republic to the OSCE
Penzingerstrasse 11-13; 1140 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-89 95 81 40
Fax: +43-1-894 57 98

TURKEY

Permanent Mission of Turkey to the OSCE

Counsellor
E-mail: mturan@mfa.gov.tr

Zieglergasse 5/2; 1070 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-523 38 05 15
Fax: +43-1-523 39 07
Web site: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr>

OSCE Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation MOROCCO

Mr. Abdelkrim BEN SELLAM
Counsellor

Permanent Mission of Morocco to the OSCE
Operring 3-5; 1010 Vienna; Austria
Tel: +43-1-586 66 51
Fax: +43-1-586 76 67

International Organizations

1

Council of Europe

F-67075 Strasbourg Cedex; France

Mr. Jos LEMMERS

Head of the Democracy Department
E-mail: jos.lemmers@coe.int

Tel: +33-388-41 21 44

2

European Parliament

Rue Wiertz; 1047 Brussels; Belgium

Mrs. Marianne MIKKO

Fax: +32-2-284 91 22

3

Inter-Parliamentary Union

5, Chemin du Pommier, Case Postale 330; CH-1218 Le Grand-Saconnex / Geneva; Switzerland
Web site: <http://www.ipu.org>

Mr. James JENNINGS

Executive Officer
E-mail: jj@mail.ipu.org

Tel: +41-22-919 41 32

4

Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe, Thessaloniki Office

4 Egnatia street, Thessaloniki, 54626 Greece
Web site: <http://www.stabilitypact.org>

Ms. Nota (Panayiota) SARAFUDDI

Expert
E-mail: nota@stabilitypact.gr

Tel: +30-6945-99 38 13

5

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Liaison Office to the OSCE and Vienna-based UN Agencies

VIC, P.O. Box 550; A-1400 Vienna; Austria
Web site: www.unhcr.org

Ms. Sabine OKONKWO

Senior Liaison Clerk to the OSCE and Vienna-based UN Agencies
E-mail: okonkwo@unhcr.org

Tel: +43-1-260 60 42 57

Fax: +43-1-263 41 15

Ms. Lucia PRIJAPRATAMA

Intern
E-mail: ausvi@unhcr.org

Tel: +43-1-260 60 42 57

Fax: +43-1-263 37 48

6

United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

Palais Wilson 3016; CH-1211 Geneva 10; Switzerland
Web site: <http://www.ohchr.org>

Ms. Affaf ABBASS

Human Rights Officer
E-mail: aabbass@ohchr.org

Tel: +41-22-917 92 44

OSCE Institutions/Field Missions

1

OSCE Secretariat

Kaerntner Ring 5-7, 4th floor; 1010 Vienna; Austria

Ms. Beatrix ATTINGER COLIJN

Senior Adviser on Gender Issues
E-mail: beatrix.atteringer-colijn@osce.org

Tel: +43-1-514 36 275

Fax: +43-1-514 36 96

2

OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities

P.O. Box 20062; 2500 EB The Hague; The Netherlands
Web site: <http://www.osce.org/hcnm>

Mr. Krzysztof DRZEWICKI

Senior Legal Adviser
E-mail: krzysztof.drzewicki@osce.org

Tel: +31-62-336 60 28
Fax: +31-70-363 59 10

3

OSCE Parliamentary Assembly, OSCE Parliamentary Liaison Office

Neustiftgasse 3/8; 1070 Vienna; Austria
Web site: <http://www.oscepa.org>

Amb. Andreas NOTHELLE

Special Representative
E-mail: specialrep@oscepa.dk

Tel: +43-1-523 30 02
Fax: +43-1-522 26 84

Mr. Andres BLASCO

Liaison Officer
E-mail: andres@oscepa.dk

Tel: +43-1-523 30 02
Fax: +43-1-522 26 84

Ms. Eleonora DE CARLO

Research Assistant
E-mail: eleonora@oscepa.dk

Tel: +43-1-523 30 02

Ms. Claire DEVLIN

Research Fellow
E-mail: intern@oscepa.at

Tel: +43-1-523 30 10
Fax: +43-1-522 26 84

Ms. Gisela FETTE

Research Fellow
E-mail: gisela@oscepa.dk

Tel: +43-1-523 30 02
Fax: +43-1-522 26 84

4

OSCE Presence in Albania

Sheraton Tirana Hotel & Towers, 1st Floor, Sheshi "Italia"; Tirana; Albania
Web site: <http://www.osce.org/Albania/>

Amb. Pavel VACEK

Head of Presence
E-mail: post.albania@osce.org

Tel: +355-42-359 93
Fax: +355-42-400 02

Mr. Johan HOMMES

Parliamentary Adviser
E-mail: johan.hommes@osce.org

Tel: +355-68-206 99 18

5

OSCE Centre in Almaty

Tole Bi 67; 050000 Almaty; Kazakhstan
Web site: <http://www.osce.org/almaty>

Mr. Bjorn HALVARSSON

Programme Co-ordinator
E-mail: bjorn.halvarsson@osce.org

Tel: +7-3272-79 37 62
Fax: +7-3272-79 43 88

6

OSCE Office in Baku

4 Magomayev lane; Baku; Azerbaijan
Web site: <http://www.osce.org/baku>

Ms. Ingrid Angela GOSSINGER

Democratization Officer
E-mail: ingrid.gossinger@osce.org

Tel: +994-12-497 23 73
Fax: +994-12-497 23 77

7

OSCE Centre in Bishkek

139 St. Toktogula; 721001 Bishkek; Kyrgyzstan
Web site: <http://www.osce.org/bishkek>

Ms. Guljamal TOKOMBAEVA
Senior Project Assistant
E-mail: guljamal.tokombaeva@osce.org

Tel: +996-312-66 50 15

8

OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina

Fra Andela Zvidovica 1; 71000 Sarajevo; Bosnia and Herzegovina
Web site: <http://www.oscebih.ba>

Ms. Doina GHIMICI
Legislative Strengthening Programme Manager
E-mail: Doina.Ghimici@osce.org

Tel: +387-33-75 23 72
Fax: +387-33-44 24 79

9

OSCE Mission to Georgia

Krtsanisi Governmental Residence N5, Krtsanisi Street; 0114 Tbilisi; Georgia
Web site: <http://www.osce.org/georgia>

Mr. Veselin NIKOLAEV
Deputy Head of Mission
E-mail: Veselin.Nikolaev@osce.org

Tel: +995-32-20 23 03

Ms. Valerie MARCHAND
Rule of Law Adviser
E-mail: valerie.marchand@osce.org

Tel: +995-99-46 90 65

Ms. Marie-Carin VON GUMPPENBERG
Democratization/Elections Officer
E-mail: marie-carin.gumppenberg@osce.org

Tel: +995-32-20 23 03 ext. 344
Fax: +995-32-20 23 05

Ms. Teona GAMTSEMLIDZE
Democratization Assistant
E-mail: teona.gamtsemlidze@osce.org

Tel: +995-32-77 47 04 02
Fax: +995-32-20 23 05

10

OSCE Mission in Kosovo

Belgrade Street 32; 38000 Pristina; Serbia
Web site: <http://www.osce.org/kosovo>

Mr. Franklin DE VRIEZE
Assembly Support Initiative Coordinator
E-mail: franklin.devrieze@osce.org

Tel: +381-38-50 01 62 ext. 1418

11

OSCE Office in Minsk

11, Prospect Gazety Pravda; 220116 Minsk; Belarus
Web site: <http://www.osce.org/by>

Ms. Fiona FRAZER
Human Dimension Officer
E-mail: fiona.frazer@osce.org

Tel: +375-17-272 34 97
Fax: +375-17-272 34 98

12

OSCE Mission to Montenegro

Bulevar Sv. Petra Cetinjskog bb; 81 000 Podgorica; Montenegro
Web site: <http://www.osce.org/montenegro>

Mr. Lloyd TUDYK
Programme Officer-Democratization
E-mail: robert-lloyd.tudyk@osce.org

Tel: +381-69-33 53 94
Fax: +381-81-40 64 31

13

OSCE Mission to Serbia

Cakorska 1; 11 000 Belgrade; Serbia
Web site: <http://www.osce.org/serbia>

Ms. Hannelore VALIER
Head of Democratization Department
E-mail: hannelore.valier@osce.org

Tel: +381-11-360 61 25
Fax: +381-11-367 24 29

Mr. Axel JAENICKE
Senior Parliamentary Officer
E-mail: axel.jaenicke@osce.org

Tel: +381-63-34 82 30

14

OSCE Project Co-ordinator in Uzbekistan

12 b, Afrosiyob Street, 4th floor; 700015 Tashkent; Uzbekistan
Web site: <http://www.osce.org/tashkent>

Mr. Ildar FAYZULLIN
Project Assistant
E-mail: Ildar.Fayzullin@osce.org

Tel: +998-93-171 34 60
Fax: +998-71-140 04 66

15

OSCE Project Co-ordinator in Ukraine

16, Striletska St.; 01034 Kyiv; Ukraine
Web site: <http://www.osce.org/ukraine>

Mr. Marten EHNBERG
Head of Democratization Section
E-mail: marten.ehnberg@osce.org

Tel: +380-44-494 40 33
Fax: +380-44-492 03 84

Mr. Volker FROBARTH
Senior Project Officer
E-mail: Volker.Frobarth@osce.org

Tel: +380-44-492 03 82
Fax: +380-44-492 03 83

Non-Governmental Organizations

1

"Veritas" Youth Human Movement

Mirzo Ulugbek district, Severo-Vostok-2, House 28, Apartment 4; Tashkent; Uzbekistan

Mr. Kamoliddin RABBIMOV
Consultant

2

Albanian Center for Parliamentary Studies

Rr. Sami Frasheri, Pall. e Aviacionit, nr.3/15; Tirana; Albania
Web site: <http://www.ascdpd.org>

Mr. Sokol BERBERI
Executive Director
E-mail: sberberi@albmail.com

Tel: +355-42-402 14
Fax: +355-42-402 14

3

American University

TraCCC, 4400 Massachusetts Avenue, NW; Washington, DC 20016-8178; U.S.A.

Dr. Robert ORTTUNG
Associate Research Professor
E-mail: rorttung@att.net

Tel: +1-703-241 19 13

4

Armenian Association of Women with University Education

Sayat Nova 33/41; 375001 Yerevan; Armenia

Ms. Jemma HASRATYAN
President
E-mail: aawue@arminco.com

Tel: +374-10-52 25 42
Fax: +374-10-54 15 52

5

Azerbaijan Chapter of IRLA (International Religious Liberty Association)

16, Yusif Mammedaliyev Str.; Baku; Azerbaijan

Mr. Ilgar ALLAHVERDIYEV
Chairman

Tel: +994- 505342223
Fax: +994-12-4993631

E-mail: irla_az@hotmail.com

6

Belarusian Helsinki Committee

68 - 1201, Libkneht Str.; 220036 Minsk; Belarus

Mr. Garry POGONYAILO

Lawyer; Deputy Head of the Committee
E-mail: belhelcom@user.unibel.by

Tel: +375-17-222 48 00

Fax: +375-17-222 48 01

7

Caucasus Institute for Peace, Democracy and Development

1, Merab Alexidze St.; Tbilisi 0193; Georgia
Web site: <http://www.cipdd.org>

Mr. Ghia NODIA

Chairman
E-mail: ghian@caucasus.net

Tel: +995-32-33 40 81

Fax: +995-32-33 41 63

8

CeSID - Center for Free Elections and Democracy

Lomina 9; 11000 Belgrade; Serbia
Web site: <http://www.cesid.org>

Mr. Zoran LUCIC

Chairman of the Board
E-mail: zoranlucic@yubc.net

Tel: +381-63-827 42 42

Fax: +381-11-328 28 70

9

Center for Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law

Stanford University, Encina Hall C152; Stanford, CA 94305-6055; U.S.A.
Web site: <http://cddrl.stanford.edu>

Dr. Kathryn STONER-WEISS

Professor
E-mail: ksweiss@stanford.edu

Tel: +1-650-736 18 20

10

Center for Democratic Transition

Bratstva i jedinstva Blok7 ulaz 2; 81000 Podgorica; Montenegro
Web site: <http://www.cdtmn.org>

Mr. Marko CANOVIC

Director
E-mail: marko@cdtmn.org

Tel: +381-67-83 00 19

Fax: +381-81-62 40 09

11

Centre for Civic Education

Centar za gradjansko obrazovanje; Njegoseva 36/I; 81 000 Podgorica; Montenegro
Web site: <http://www.cgo.cg.yu>

Mrs. Daliborka ULJAREVIC

Executive Director
E-mail: cgo@cg.yu

Tel: +381-67-34 59 99

Fax: +381-81-66 51 12

12

Centre for Legal Issues Research

Office 251/310, 60A, Amit Temur Str.; 700000 Tashkent; Uzbekistan
Web site: <http://www.uzlaw.org>

Ms. Mavlyuda KULIKOVA

Deputy Director
E-mail: kmavluda@mail.ru

Tel: +998-71-139 42 65

Fax: +998-71-139 89 38

13

Centre for Liberal Strategies

135 A Rakovski Str., second floor; 1000 Sofia; Bulgaria

Mr. Ivan KRASTEV

E-mail: cls@cls-sofia.org

Tel: +359-2-981 89 26

Fax: +359-2-981 89 25

14

Centre for Parliamentary Reform

Ms. Sophia GURULI
Associate Legal Officer
E-mail: sguruli@osce.org

Tel: +995-99-50 50 33
Fax: +995-32-28 17 01

Mr. Bachuki NADIRADZE
Project Officer
E-mail: Bnadiradze@parliament.ge

Tel: +995-99-25 74 70

15

Civil Society Institute

2 May 26 Square, V floor; 0171 Tbilisi; Georgia

Mr. Vazha SALAMADZE
Director
E-mail: vazha@civilin.org

Tel: +995-32-94 16 05
Fax: +995-32-33 04 17

16

East-West Parliamentary Practice Project - EWPPP

Roemer Visscherstraat 18-2 ; 1054 EX Amsterdam ; the Netherlands ,
Web site: <http://www.ewppp.org>

Ms. Jill ADLER
Director
E-mail: jadler@ewppp.org

Tel: +31-20-662 36 64
Fax: +31-20-616 08 92

17

Foundation for Research and Support of Indigenous Peoples of Crimea

37/8 Zhelyabova Str., Apt. 88; Simferopol; Ukraine

Ms. Gulnara ABBASOVA
International Communications Officer
E-mail: dpli@meta.ua

Tel: +380-652-140 04 47
Fax: +380-652-17 87 39

Ms. Elzara TOPALOVA
Human Rights Consultant
E-mail: dpli@meta.ua

Tel: +380-663-87 83 98
Fax: +380-652-78 73 9

18

Foundation of Regional initiatives, Donezk office

Blv. Pushkina 9, 7; 83000 Donezk; Ukraine
Web site: <http://www.fri.com.ua>

Mr. Borys BABIN
E-mail: babinb@ukr.net

Tel: +380-99-309 64 25
Fax: +380-62-305 72 19 or 0080-62-305-72-19

Mr. Mykhaylo BAYMURATOV
E-mail: baymuratov@ukr.net

Tel: +380-674-85 11 01

Ms. Valeriya KROLENKO
E-mail: krolenkovaleriya@ukr.net

Tel: +380-503-68 88 87

19

Freedom House

120 Wall Street, 26th floor; New York, NY; U.S.A.

Mr. Christopher WALKER
Director of Studies
E-mail: walker@freedomhouse.org

Tel: +1-212-514 80 40
Fax: +1-212-514 80 55

20

Freedom House Europe

Falk Miksa utca 30, IV/2; 1055 Budapest; Hungary
Web site: <http://www.freedomhouse.hu>

Ms. Jeannette GOEHRING
Editor, Nations in Transit
E-mail: goehring@freedomhouse.hu

Tel: +36-1-331 92 96
Fax: +36-1-354 12 33

21

Initiative Group of European Forum Alpbach in Kiev

pr. Stroiteley 129-a; Donezk region, Mariupol; Ukraine

Mr. Yuriy VOLOSHIN
E-mail: voloshinua@mail.ru

Tel: +380-629-53 22 70
Fax: +380-629-53 22 70

22

Institute for Public Policy

Isanov Str 42/1; 720017 Bishkek; Kyrgyzstan
Web site: <http://www.ipp.kg>

Mr. Muratbek IMANALIEV
President
E-mail: m.imanaliev@ipp.kg

Tel: 00996312906240
Fax: 00996312906230

Mr. Shairbek DZHURAEV
Research Co-ordinator
E-mail: s.juraev@ipp.kg

Tel: +996-312-90 62 40
Fax: +996-312-90 62 30

23

International Advisory Center for Education of Women

6/10, Baratashvili Str.; Tbilisi; Georgia

Ms. Maia KUPRAVA-SHARVASHIDZE
Director
E-mail: maiakuprava@yahoo.com

Tel: +995-32-98 66 06
Fax: +995-32-99 92 53

24

International Economic Academy of Eurasia

Furmanov st., 65; 050004 Almaty; Kazakhstan
Web site: <http://www.meae.kz>

Mr. Alexandr BOSSYKH
Official Representative in Switzerland and EU
E-mail: utra@bluewin.ch

Tel: +41-792-89-04-52

25

International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights

Wickenburggasse 14/7; A-1080 Vienna; Austria

Ms. Alexandra DONSKOVA
Intern
E-mail: I05doa01@ceu.hu

Tel: +43-1-408 88 22

26

Jefferson Institute

310 9th NE; Washington, DC 20002; U.S.A.
Web site: <http://www.jeffersoninst.org>

Mr. Aaron PRESNALL
Director of Studies
E-mail: apresanll@jeffersoninst.org

27

Kosovar Institute for Policy Research and Development - KIPRED

Brebu i Diellit, zona Perendimore, Rr. III, U. 36; 1000 Pristina, Kosovo; Serbia
Web site: <http://www.kipred.net>

Mr. Lulzim PEÇI
Executive Director
E-mail: lulzim.peci@kipred.net

Tel: +381-38-55 58 87
Fax: +381-38-55 58 87

28

Lev Sapieha Foundation

ul. V. Khoruzhej, 13-416; 220123 Minsk; Belarus

Mr. Miraslau KOBASA
Representative
E-mail: sapieha@iptel.by

Tel: +375-17-234 37 91
Fax: +375-17-234 37 91

29

Menschenrechtsbeirat / Human Rights Advisory Board

Minoritenplatz 9; A-1014 Vienna; Austria
Web site: <http://www.menschenrechtsbeirat.at>

Ms. Desrae ABEDA RABBO

Student
E-mail: guhrun.rabussay-schwald@chello.at

Tel: +43-699-10 46 67 88

30

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

2030 M Street, 5th Floor; Washington, D.C. 20036; U.S.A.
Web site: <http://www.ndi.org>

Mr. Chad ROGERS

Director; Kosovo
E-mail: crogers@ndi.org

Tel: +1-202-728 55 00

Mr. Ivan DOHERTY

Senior Associate
E-mail: Ivan@ndi.org

Fax: +1-202-728 55 20

31

Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy

Korte Vijverweg 2; 2513 AB The Hague; Netherlands
Web site: <http://www.nimd.org>

Mr. Roel VON MEIJENFELDT

Executive Director

Tel: +31-70-311 54 64

Fax: +31-70-311 54 65

Mr. Alvaro PINTO SCHOLTBACH

Multilateral and Bilateral Programmes Director
E-mail: alvaropinto@nimd.org

Tel: +31-650-23 59 38

Ms. Nino KOBAKHIDZE

Local Co-ordinator
E-mail: ninokobakhidze@nimd.org

Tel: +995-99-26 18 87

Fax: +995-32-33 41 63

32

Non-Government and Non-Commercial Organizations' Association

str. Turusbekova 109, room 99; 720001 Bishkek; Kyrgyzstan
Web site: <http://www.nnoa.org.kg>

Ms. Ekaterina KOLOSOVA

Project Manager
E-mail: ango@elcat.kg

Tel: +996-312-66 10 44

Fax: +996-312-66 10 44

33

People's Party "Alga!"

77-a, Dosmukhamedov st.; 480012 Almaty; Kazakhstan

Mr. Assylbeck KOZHAKHMETOV

Chairman
E-mail: assylbeck@dvk.kz

Tel: +7-3332-10 03 58

Fax: +7-3272-92 53 21

34

Public Association "Legal Aid Society"

12-1-551, L. Ukrainki Str.; Minsk; Belarus

Mr. Oleg VOLCHEK

Representative
E-mail: ovolchek@anitex.by

Tel: +375-17-250 56 26

Fax: +375-17-290 10 77

35

Republican Party of Turkmenistan in exile

Seisgasse 6; 1040 Vienna; Austria
Web site: <http://www.tmrepublican.org>

Mr. Nurmukhammed KHANAMOV

Chairman
E-mail: office@tmrepublican.org

Tel: +7-926-234 60 50

36

School for Policy Analysis at Kyiv Mohyla Academy

2 Skovoroda Street; 04070 Kyiv; Ukraine
Web site: <http://www.spa.kiev.ua>

Dr. Olexiy HARAN
Founding Director
E-mail: haran@ukma.kiev.ua

Tel: +380-50-311 43 72
Fax: +380-44-463 58 63

37

Social Technologies Agency

107, Kievskaya Str., 313-314; 720001 Bishkek; Kyrgyzstan

Ms. Mira KARYBAEVA
Programme Officer
E-mail: kas-kg@elcat.kg

Tel: +996-312-61 11 43
Fax: +996-312-61 02 97

Ms. Zulfia KOCHORBAEVA
Programme Officer
E-mail: kas-kg@elcat.kg

Tel: +996-312-21 90 41
Fax: +996-312-61 02 97

38

Transparency International, Croatia

Mrazoviceva 9; 10000 Zagreb; Croatia
Web site: [HTTP://www.transparency.hr](http://www.transparency.hr)

Ms. Violeta LIOVIC
Executive Director
E-mail: vlivovic@transparency.hr

Tel: +385-1-487 15 60
Fax: +385-1-487 15 61

39

Turkmenistan Helsinki Foundation for Human Rights

a. 2, 25 Knaz Dondukov str; Varna 9000; Bulgaria

Ms. Tadzhigul BEGMEDOVA
Chairperson
E-mail: helsinkit@yahoo.com

Tel: +359-52-62 77 18
Fax: +359-52-62 77 18

40

United Aid for Azerbaijan

197 Suleyman Rahimov Str., app. 34a; Baku; Azerbaijan
Web site: <http://www.uafa.org.uk>

Ms. Gwendolyn BURCHELL
Director
E-mail: uafa@azeurotel.com

Tel: +994-12-441 26 53
Fax: +994-12-497 25 19

41

Universite Montesquieu - Bordeaux IV

Pessac; France
Web site: <http://www.u-bordeaux4.fr>

Prof. Jean-Pierre DUPRAT
Director of the Public Law Research Institute
E-mail: jduprat@u-bordeaux4.fr

Tel: +33-556-84 86 45
Fax: +33-556-84 29 31

42

University of Dundee

Department of Law; Park Place; Dundee DD1 4HN; United Kingdom
Web site: <http://www.dundee.ac.uk>

Mr. Alan PAGE

Tel: +44-1382-38 30 00
Fax: +44-1382-20 16 04

43

Women's Federation for World Peace International

4 West 43rd St; New York, NY 10036; U.S.A.
Web site: <http://www.wfwp.org>

Mrs. Elisabeth RIEDL

Tel: +43-662 62 08 52, 650 885 19 88

European Secretary General, International
E-mail: wfwpeurope@womenaspeacemakers.org

Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights

Aleje Ujazdowskie 19, 00-557 Warsaw, Poland.
Tel.: +48-22 520 06 00; Fax: +48-22 520 06 05; E-mail: office@odihr.pl
Web site: <http://www.osce.org/odihr/>

Amb. Christian STROHAL Director E-mail: office@odihr.pl	Tel: +48-22-520 06 00
Mr. Toralv NORDBO First Deputy Director E-mail: Toralv.Nordbo@odihr.pl	Ext: 3111
Dr. Vladimir SHKOLNIKOV Head of Democratization Department E-mail: Vladimir.Shkolnikov@odihr.pl	Ext: 4150
Mr. Robert ADAMS Deputy Head of Democratization Department E-mail: Robert.Adams@odihr.pl	Ext: 4128
Ms. Tiina ILSÉN Head of Gender Unit E-mail: Tiina.Ilsen@odihr.pl	Ext: 4172
Mr. Denis PETIT Head of Legislative Support Unit E-mail: Denis.Petit@odihr.pl	Ext: 5110
Mr. Childerik SCHAAPVELD Head of NGO & Democratic Governance Unit E-mail: Childerik.Schaapveld@odihr.pl	Ext: 4160
Mr. Alexander PAPERNY Democratic Governance and NGO Officer E-mail: Alexander.Paperny@odihr.pl	Ext: 3113
Ms. Marta ACHLER-SZELENBAUM Legal Expert/Legislative Support Unit E-mail: Marta.Achler-Szelenbaum@odihr.pl	Ext: 4126
Mr. Jakhongir AZIZKHODJAEV Human Dimension Meetings Officer E-mail: Jakhongir@odihr.pl	Ext: 4161
Mr. Vasily VASHCHANKA Rule of Law Officer E-mail: Vasily.Vashchanka@odihr.pl	Ext: 4130
Ms. Barbara MATUSEWICZ-PROTAS Administrative Assistant E-mail: Barbara.Matusewicz.Protas@odihr.pl	Ext: 4125
Ms. Anna SIERANT Administrative Assistant E-mail: Anna.Sierant@odihr.pl	Ext: 4121

Keynote speakers, introducers and moderators

Amb. Pierre	CHAMPENOIS	Opening remarks
Amb. Christian	STROHAL	Opening and closing remarks
Mr. Ivan	KRASTEV	Key-note Speaker at the Opening Plenary Session
Mr. Alesandro	PALANZA	Introducer of Working Session 1
Ms. Donka	BANOVIC	Introducer of Working Session 1
Ms. Jill	ADLER	Moderator of Working Session 1
Mr. Ivan	DOHERTY	Introducer of Working Session 2
Ms. Mira	KARYBAEVA	Introducer of Working Session 2
Mr. Roel	VON MEIJENFELDT	Moderator of Working Session 2
Mrs. Marianne	MIKKO	Introducer of Working Session 3
Prof. Jean-Pierre	DUPRAT	Introducer of Working Session 3
Ms. Elena	MIZULINA	Moderator of Working Session 3
Mr. Bruce	GEORGE	Key-note Speaker at the Closing Plenary Session
Amb. Bertrand	DE CROMBRUGGHE	Closing remarks