



**Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights**

**OSCE HUMAN DIMENSION SEMINAR  
ON  
EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION AND  
REPRESENTATION IN DEMOCRATIC  
SOCIETIES**

**CONSOLIDATED SUMMARY**

**Warsaw, 16-18 May 2007**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>I. OVERVIEW.....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>II. CHAIR'S CONCLUSIONS .....</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>III. AGENDA.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>IV. TIMETABLE AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONAL MODALITIES.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>V. PARTICIPATION.....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>VI. SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS .....</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>VII. RAPPORTEURS' REPORTS.....</b>	<b>10</b>
<i>Working Group I: Participation and representation: trends in contemporary political life.....</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Working Group II: Ways to improve the environment for political participation.....</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Working Group III: Role of democratic electoral processes in enhancing participation and representation.....</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>Working Group IV: Participation of persons belonging to national minorities and underrepresented groups in democratic societies .....</i>	<i>17</i>
<b>ANNEX I. ANNOTATED AGENDA.....</b>	<b>20</b>
<b>ANNEX II. ANNOTATED AGENDA OF SIDE EVENTS.....</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>ANNEX III. INFORMATION ON SPEAKERS, MODERATORS AND INTRODUCERS.....</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>ANNEX IV. OPENING REMARKS.....</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>ANNEX V. KEYNOTE SPEECHES.....</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>ANNEX VI. CLOSING REMARKS.....</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>ANNEX VII. INDEX OF DOCUMENTS DISTRIBUTED DURING THE SEMINAR.....</b>	<b>49</b>

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**CONSOLIDATED SUMMARY**

**I. OVERVIEW**

The Human Dimension Seminar on Effective Participation and Representation in Democratic Societies was held in Warsaw on 16-18 May 2007. The Seminar was organized by the OSCE's Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) in co-operation with the Spanish Chairmanship of the OSCE.

The Seminar was the 23rd in a series of specialized Human Dimension Seminars organized by the OSCE/ODIHR in accordance with the decision of the CSCE Follow-up Meetings in Helsinki in 1992 and Budapest in 1994. The previous Seminars were devoted to: Tolerance (November 1992); Migration, including Refugees and Displaced Persons (April 1993); Case Studies on National Minorities Issues: Positive Results (May 1993); Free Media (November 1993); Migrant Workers (March 1994); Local Democracy (May 1994); Roma in the CSCE Region (September 1994); Building Blocks for Civic Society: Freedom of Association and NGOs (April 1995); Drafting of Human Rights Legislation (September 1995); Rule of Law (November/December 1995); Constitutional, Legal and Administrative Aspects of the Freedom of Religion (April 1996); Administration and Observation of Elections (April 1997); the Promotion of Women's Participation in Society (October 1997); Ombudsman and National Human Rights Protection Institutions (May 1998); Human Rights: the Role of Field Missions (April 1999); Children and Armed Conflict (May 2000); Election Processes (May 2001); Judicial Systems and Human Rights (April 2002); Participation of Women in Public and Economic Life (May 2003); Democratic Institutions and Democratic Governance (May 2004); Migration and Integration (May 2005) and Upholding the Rule of Law and Due Process in Criminal Justice Systems (May 2006).

The May 2007 Human Dimension Seminar reviewed concepts and mechanisms in developing and established democracies for ensuring an authentic democratic process. The Seminar focused especially on how participation and representation, as two fundamental democratic processes, can be strengthened inherently as well as in relation to each other. It took a holistic approach, not limiting itself to elections (such as the relationship between voter and representative) but also encompassing the diverse types of political participation in contemporary society. It reviewed existing and new challenges for political participation and representation in the OSCE region, assessing the lessons learned in over a decade of OSCE assistance to democratization processes and the effectiveness of such involvement. Recommendations focused on the need to establish and secure the necessary institutional space for open, fair, and broad participation in public affairs and for making optimal and equitable use of representative mechanisms.

The Seminar concentrated on political participation, a topic that had never been the subject of a Human Dimension Seminar or of a Supplementary Human Dimension Meeting, hence complementing recent meetings on electoral processes (SHDM 2004), Democratic Institutions

and Democratic Governance (HD Seminar 2004) and Strengthening Democracy through Effective Representation (SHDM 2006).

The Seminar was not mandated to produce a negotiated text. At the closing plenary session, the Chairman presented the main conclusions and recommendations of the Seminar, which are included in Section II of this report. A summary report prepared by the rapporteurs of the four working groups was presented at the plenary session and is reflected in Section VII of this report. The recommendations – put forward by delegations of OSCE participating States and Partners for Co-operation, international organizations, and NGOs – are wide-ranging and addressed to various actors (OSCE institutions and field operations, governments, and civil society). These recommendations have no official status and are not based on consensus; however, they serve as a useful indicator for the OSCE in setting priorities and refocusing its programmes aimed at strengthening democratic institutions and improving democratic governance. This report summarizes the main issues raised at the Seminar. Background materials and contributions can be accessed through the OSCE/ODIHR website at: [www.osce.org/odihr](http://www.osce.org/odihr).

## II. CHAIR'S CONCLUSIONS

The Director of the OSCE/ODIHR, Ambassador Christian Strohal, as Chairman of the Human Dimension Seminar, addressed the closing plenary session with a conclusion, not aimed at providing a summary of the rapporteurs' reports. He thanked all participants, in particular the keynote speakers, moderators, rapporteurs, and introducers, for their contributions to the discussions. Summarizing the conclusions and recommendations, the Chairman stressed the need to explore ways to ensure concrete follow-up to the recommendations.

Following from the statements made at the opening, and specifically the keynote speaker, Andreas Gross, as well as the concluding keynote speaker, Anastasia Crickley, the Chairman presented conclusions on the specific topics of the working groups, as well as conclusions regarding participation and representation as a whole. He underscored the importance of genuine discussion as opposed to the reading out of prepared statements and stated that the format of the Seminar provided the right framework for discussing "big picture" trends as well as the more specific functioning of electoral and participatory mechanisms. It also allowed for a balanced discussion on normative as well as capacity-building issues. He underlined that the wide variety of participatory and representative systems and procedures within the OSCE region provides a sufficient range of experiences to assist participating States in strengthening their democratic practices.

Specifically, the Chairman

- observed that, despite the danger of the public's growing disillusion with politicians and democratic institutions in a number of cases, there are clear signs of a greater will on the part of the general public, youth in particular, to get politically involved. This is a participatory resource which every OSCE participating State has the opportunity and privilege to put to good use;
- highlighted the role of political parties, and that they are in a situation of flux throughout the OSCE region. Although they are facing widely

disparate challenges and obstacles ranging from weak structures to populist demagogic threats, they have also a great potential to learn from each other;

- emphasized the importance of dealing with women's participation in all aspects of effective participation and representation. Importantly, women's equal participation should not merely be seen as an end in itself but also as one of the main guarantors of a vibrant, stable and effective democracy;
- highlighted the growing variety of different forms of participation, especially of the younger generation through increasing use of sophisticated technologies, including the internet, as well as innovative forms of political mobilization, petitioning and manifestations;
- underscored the importance of developing electoral systems that are appropriate for particular political systems. Election observation is one tool for raising confidence in the quality of elections and the fairness of representation, but many more election-related measures can and should be taken to raise voter confidence in leadership and representatives, in particular in relation to voter-turnout. Diversity and competitiveness are crucial elements in achieving a healthy and effective democratic political framework;
- noted that OSCE participating States have quite some way to go in putting into practice their commitments when it comes to political participation and representation and that challenges are not only limited to new and restored democracies.

## Key recommendations

### OSCE participating States:

- Evaluate the need for a **code of conduct for political parties**;
- Examine the need for temporary legislative measures in electoral laws to **promote the election of women**;
- Increase **civic education** in school curricula;
- To promote **best practices in legislation on the rights of association and peaceful assembly** as the indispensable pre-conditions for effective participation;
- Promote **new technologies** which contribute to broadening participation;
- Promote **participation at the regional and local level**;
- Review the **participatory frameworks for minorities** at regular intervals to ensure they reflect changing realities in society;
- Political leaders should assume responsibility for **accommodating minority participation and representation** and respond to any criticisms with sound arguments for inclusion and societal cohesion;
- Provide **migrants** legally residing in host countries with **opportunities for participation in public life**, such as voting rights in municipal elections, representation in consultative/advisory bodies, and membership in trade unions.

Granting the right for dual citizenship may accelerate their integration to and participation in society.

#### **OSCE institutions and field operations:**

- The OSCE should build on the experiences gained in the field to expand programmes in the field of assistance to legislatures;
- The OSCE should encourage **co-operation between election authorities and educators on civic and electoral education** programmes to increase participation;
- The OSCE should assess the **relationship between internal democracy in political parties and their effectiveness**.
- The OSCE should be more outspoken when States do not comply with OSCE commitments;
- The OSCE/ODIHR should provide expert assessments of and facilitate **amendments to gender equality legislation**;
- The OSCE should play a greater role in monitoring the meaningful **implementation of the UN SC Resolution 1325** with a special emphasis on women's role in conflict settlement;
- The OSCE and other international organisations should **engage with local governments and mayors** to increase participation at this level;
- The OSCE should carry out more analytical work in order to map and **understand the impact of single-issue parties**;

#### **NGOs, international organizations, and other actors:**

- To stress the positive role played by **NGOs in improving the environment for political participation**. In an individual case, NGOs were criticized for working for external financial assistance;
- To improve the environment for political participation, in particular, in the areas of **education and training and the use of modern technologies**;
- To **develop the links between civil society and political party systems**;
- To raise awareness about **practices which distort the democratic political process** such as single issue interest groups, use of external consultants and experts in policy formulation and promotion, professionalization of political activism, the corrupting influence of money in buying votes and candidates, as well as campaign finance.

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### **III. AGENDA AND ORGANIZATIONAL ASPECTS**

The Annotated Agenda is given in the Annex, together with the timetable and organizational modalities, the schedule of side-events, and the text of key-note speeches.

## IV. PARTICIPATION

The Seminar was attended by a total of 196 participants, including 104 delegates from 37 of the 56 OSCE participating States. Six representatives from four of the Partners for Co-operation and Mediterranean Partners (Algeria, Egypt, Morocco and Korea) were also present.

In addition, seven international organizations were represented: the Council of Europe (including the CoE Information Centre in Warsaw), the European Parliament, International IDEA, the International Organization for Migration, the Office of the High Representative to Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (Branch Office in Warsaw). The Seminar was attended by 20 representatives of OSCE institutions and field operations and by 58 representatives of 50 non-governmental organizations.

## V. SUMMARY OF PROCEEDINGS

The Director of the OSCE/ODIHR, Ambassador **Christian Strohal**, opened the Seminar. Welcoming remarks were made by Mr. **Janusz Stańczyk**, Undersecretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Poland, and Mr. **Arturo Perez Martinez**, Deputy Head of Mission, Permanent Mission of Spain to the OSCE, on behalf of the Spanish OSCE Chairmanship.

Mr. **Andreas Gross**, Head of the Delegation of Switzerland to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and Rapporteur on the State of Democracy in Europe to the Political Affairs Committee, addressed the opening plenary session as the keynote speaker.

Four working groups met consecutively during the Seminar. The topics were divided as follows:

### **Working Group I: Participation and representation: trends in contemporary political life**

Topics discussed included:

- Forms of participation and representation;
- The potential for and impact of increasing direct civic engagement;
- Policy formation processes: the role of political parties, civil society, NGOs, universities and think-tanks;
- Political party formation: contemporary rallying points for established as well as new political parties.

### **Working Group II: Ways to improve the environment for political participation**

Topics discussed included:

- Policies ensuring equal opportunity and non-discrimination to facilitate participation in political processes;
- Challenges of connecting with constituents;
- Alternative mechanisms for participation, e.g., IT (such as e-democracy, blogs);
- Gender mainstreaming in contemporary politics: challenges to equal opportunity for participation in political processes;
- Youth engagement.

**Working Group III: Role of democratic electoral processes in enhancing participation and representation**

Topics discussed included:

- Democratic elections as a tool for increasing public confidence in democratic institutions and political representation;
- Procedures and practices for achieving gender equality in participation and representation before, during and after elections;
- Increasing voter turnout.

**Working Group IV: Participation of persons belonging to national minorities and underrepresented groups in democratic societies**

Topics discussed included, *inter alia*:

- Effective participation of persons belonging to national minorities in public life;
- Specific measures to enhance the inclusion of persons belonging to national minorities and other under-represented groups in the overall political process.

The closing plenary meeting was chaired by the Director of the OSCE/ODIHR, Ambassador **Christian Strohal**. The rapporteurs summarized the topics and the recommendations issued by the working groups. The closing keynote speech was made by Ms. **Anastasia Crickley** of the Department of Applied Social Studies at the National Maynooth University of Ireland and Personal Representative of the Chair in Office of the OSCE on combating racism, xenophobia and discrimination also focusing on intolerance and discrimination against Christians and members of other religions.

The Seminar also provided for informal **side-events** during lunch breaks (see Annex I). The side meetings were: *Challenges and Trends in Women's Political Participation in South Caucasus and Central Asia*, convened by the OSCE/ODIHR Democratization Department/NGO Expert Panel on Gender Equality; *Roma & Sinti: implementing commitments* convened by the OSCE/ODIHR Contact Point for Roma and Sinti Issues; the presentation of the *Survey of Freedom of Association in the World* published under the auspices of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs convened by the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and the side-event entitled *Democratic Governance: ODIHR Supporting Legal Reform and Promoting Transparent and Inclusive Law-Making Process* convened by the OSCE/ODIHR Legislative Support Unit.

**VI. RAPPORTEUR'S REPORTS**

The following overviews of discussions in the four Working Groups do not attempt to reproduce the full content of the debates but concentrate on recommendations formulated in the working groups. These recommendations were not formally adopted by Seminar participants and do not necessarily reflect the views of any participating State.

<b>Working Group I: Participation and representation: trends in contemporary political life</b>
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- Moderator:** Mr. Ivan Doherty  
National Democratic Institute (United States of America)
- Introducer:** Mr. Olexiy Haran  
Kyiv-Mohyla Academy (Ukraine)
- Rapporteur:** Mr. Ted Kontek  
Permanent Delegation of the United States to the OSCE

In his presentation, Mr. Olexiy Haran, from the Kyiv-Mohyla Academy, commented that based on the experience of his country, Ukraine, and that of other countries, we are facing new challenges in the area of political participation. In his view, electorates are being used for anti-democratic purposes and are manipulated by the political elites. The pro-democracy alliances that were formed to confront the totalitarian communist regimes in the post-Soviet space quickly fell apart as ideological differences emerged among the democratic leaders. Single issue and “catch all” parties developed as a result.

The key challenge now is how to strengthen political party development in the face of corruption and manipulation. Mr. Haran opined that the first-past-the-post electoral system does not promote party development. However, open party lists are preferable to closed party lists as they promote more democratic elections. Mr. Haran highlighted the need to address defections to other parties by parliamentarians after they are elected – an issue of particular concern in Ukraine. Civil participation and protests are a useful tool and the involvement of international organizations is critical to democratic development and stability.

In the discussion, it was noted that political parties need adequate conditions to develop. It was stated that opposition parties are not allowed in the parliament of Belarus, which one participant described as one of the last strongholds of totalitarianism in Europe. It was also stated that it is impossible to form political parties in Belarus and that those already established are being closed down. Participants pointed to other difficulties in registering associations and stated that those who work in unregistered organizations face criminal sanctions and that the right to disagree does not exist in this country. Others pointed out that the growing influence of NGOs and the media cannot replace the role of political parties, but regretted that many political parties lack the ideological commitment which was a hallmark of the “colour” revolutions. Political parties will only be genuine when they begin to address the needs of ordinary people and not the elites. In Kyrgyzstan, mass demonstrations have been the only effective means of participation and participants called on the OSCE/ODIHR to continue its assistance to civil society to promote changes in the electoral code and the law on political parties - in particular regarding the election of women into the parliament. Another participant noted that tribalism and nationalism overwhelm Kyrgyz political life, preventing the effective participation of women.

A participant discussed the difficulties of political party registration in Kazakhstan. The requirement that 50,000 voters support party registration in a country with a population of only 15 million was described as onerous. The ALGA and other political parties have been unable to register because of Kazakh government restrictions. Mr. Zhakiyanov, an opposition leader who was sentenced to prison for his political activities, is now confined to his city of residence which greatly limits his political rights and freedoms. Since Kazakhstan desires to assume the chairmanship of the OSCE, some participants argued for the need to take serious steps to promote democratic reforms. Others highlighted the steps the Kazakh parliament is taking on political issues noting that the number of deputies has been increased from 77 to

107, with designated places for the opposition, noting that, of the ten parties currently represented in parliament, five are from the opposition.

Some participants lamented the lack of political freedoms in Georgia and called on governments to live up to their international commitments. Another participant commented that the Constitutional and Supreme Courts in Georgia are controlled by the President which was described as an unhealthy situation. Another participant stated that pseudo-democratic regimes, like that of the Russian Federation, create pro-government parties which compete amongst themselves to support the President's policies. Armenia, with two pro-presidential parties, was cited as another example of this trend.

One participant noted that while citizens of democratic countries may have a high level of confidence in the political system, that confidence does not extend to politicians themselves. As nation states are weakened, new instruments for political participation are needed. Another noted the lack of NGO participation from developed democracies, which are also facing challenges in effective political participation. A thorough discussion of how professional special interest groups, and the corrupting influence of campaign contributions, distort the political process and disenfranchise voters would have been useful, in the view of a participant.

A number of participants questioned whether referenda promote democratic standards and whether outside consultants and experts in policy formulation have any effect on the democratic process as well as the final policy products. The practice of national groups directly appealing to international organizations rather than utilizing national remedies through the courts when they have complaints was criticized by one participant.

### ***Recommendations:***

#### **OSCE participating States:**

- To evaluate the need for a code of conduct for political parties;
- To examine the need for temporary legislative measures in electoral laws to promote the election of women.

#### **OSCE institutions and field operations:**

- The OSCE should be more outspoken when States do not comply with OSCE commitments.

#### **NGOs, international organizations, and other actors:**

- To raise awareness about practices which distort the democratic political process such as single issue interest groups, use of external consultants and experts in policy formulation and promotion, professionalization of political activism, the corrupting influence of money in buying votes and candidates, as well as campaign finance.

<b>Working Group II: Ways to improve the environment for political participation</b>
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**Moderator:** Mr. Eric Bjornlund, Democracy International (United States of America)

**Introducers:** Ms. Gulnara Ibraeva, Agency for Social Technologies (Kyrgyzstan)  
Ms. Suzanna Dobre, Romanian Academic Society (Romania)

**Rapporteur:** Ms. Yevheniia Filipenko, Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the OSCE

The moderator suggested addressing the ways for improving the environment for political participation in the context of legal, social and cultural as well as technological frameworks.

The first introducer focused on the issues of participation and representation in the political life in the regions of Central Asia and the Caucasus. The *normative framework* for political parties is generally in line with international standards, but it remains dead letter and lacks mechanisms for enforcement. It was noted that broad participation in drafting the legal framework was often simulated and falsified, thereby often misleading international institutions in their assessments. The *social framework* saw the trends of governmental usurpation of authority by means of social technologies such as involvement of youth in political processes or establishment of pseudo-democratic multi-party systems. In addition, underrepresented groups such as women and minorities were used by various groups for promoting their interests and then forgotten after their goals were achieved. The *technological framework*, such as e-governance, was offered as a means of increasing transparency, at the same time as a possible device for simulating democracy, in particular, as a means of preventive control.

The main problem facing civil society was a dearth of proactive policies. The stance of civil society was generally reactive to government initiatives, and this was ascribed to a lack of institutional capacity. The limited assistance on the part of the international community reflected double standards, where economic interests resulted in support for authoritarian policies. It was indicated that the disillusionment of the general public with these approaches generated new forms of public participation, such as rallies and strikes. Questions were raised as to how the international community can influence a government that fails to fulfil its international obligations, and how to overcome the problem of governmental control over the voice of civil society.

The second introducer focused on the political context of post-communist societies, which was characterised as a mix of pre-modern and post-modern legacies. The main features of those were low political competitiveness, as well as an underdeveloped civil society and a low level of trust in politicians. The phenomenon of political corruption was seen as a symptom, and not as the cause of the political situation in the post-communist countries. She suggested that the context was defined by opposing concepts – particularism and universalism. Particularism provides special treatment for those close to power and is characterized by the prevalence of informal institutions, disregard for formal rules and norms and the weakness of the rule of law. In contrast, universalism is based on equal treatment, ensured by functioning formal institutions and a strong rule of law.

The introducer also noted that addressing these problems by means of a purely legislative approach had limitations, such as inadequate implementation or specifically engineered loopholes in the law. The most effective strategy was empowering the consumer of democracy to focus both on mechanisms and on results. These mechanisms included the role of media, campaigning, monitoring and public exposure. The example of the civic campaign on anti-corruption in Romania on the eve of parliamentary elections served to illustrate how these mechanisms can produce positive results. It was recommended that specific tools should be developed. This process requires an innovative and flexible approach on the part of the civil society and a readiness on the part of donors to share the risks.

In the ensuing discussion, participants focused on best practices throughout the OSCE region, thereby enabling the formulation of concrete recommendations on improving the environment for political participation. Participants underlined the importance of the institutionalisation of political participation. The nature and the quality of this participation depend to a large extent on education. The improvement of educational standards plays therefore a crucial role and there is a clear need to include civic education in textbooks and curricula. The role played by NGOs in improving the environment for political participation was underlined. Nevertheless, it was stressed that external financial assistance for NGO activities could undermine the credibility of the Organization. A just and clear legal framework guaranteeing freedom of assembly and association was seen as indispensable for ensuring effective participation.

A number of concrete examples from national experiences concerning the ways of improving public participation in political life were presented. These included the institutionalisation of civil society and human rights education; a focus on local government as a tool to promote participatory democracy (Turkey) and the use of non-conventional types of associations (France). Some participants broadened the discussion to deal with specific problems in political party building, such as monopolization of power and resources by the ruling party.

In the context of the need for greater political participation of women, the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 with a special emphasis on women's role in conflict resolution was underlined. Concerns were raised with regard to gender equality legislation, where an over-emphasis on the women's role within the family can result in limitations on their political rights. In other instances, positive practices were presented regarding the legal frameworks as well as the role of civil society in increasing women's participation in political life. The importance of gender education was also highlighted. A positive assessment was given of the OSCE/ODIHR's gender projects, which continue to contribute to countering gender stereotypes on the political participation of women.

New technologies were also seen as vehicles for broadening participation. The practices of e-voting demonstrated the advantages (increased turnout) as well as the challenges (technical discrimination) of such technologies. A specific proposal was made to develop international co-operation and rules to prevent outside cyber attacks.

The role of international community in addressing non-implementation of international commitments was also discussed and the need for continued robust action and political follow-up was underlined. It was noted that while sanctions might have limited effect, real progress can be achieved by stimulating democratic development. In a specific case sanctions were claimed to be counterproductive in promoting democracy.

Finally, participants discussed concrete initiatives of international regional organizations to improve the environment for political participation. Initiatives in the areas of education and training and the use of modern technologies in promoting best democratic practices testified to the useful role of played by regional organizations. The importance of technical assistance of international organizations and their work for domestic capacity building was greatly emphasized.

### ***Recommendations:***

#### **OSCE participating States:**

- To support the international co-operation between political parties;

- To encourage democracy-building initiatives at the local level;
- To promote best practices in legislation on the rights of association and peaceful assembly as the indispensable pre-conditions for effective participation;
- To adopt international policies and standards in the fight against cyber-attacks;
- Increase civic education in school curricula;
- Promote new technologies which contribute to broadening participation.

**OSCE institutions and field operations:**

- The OSCE should build on the experiences gained in the field to expand programmes in the field of assistance to legislatures;
- The OSCE/ODIHR should provide expert assessments of and facilitate amendments to gender equality legislation;
- The OSCE should play a greater role in monitoring the meaningful implementation of UN SC Resolution 1325 with a special emphasis on women's role in conflict resolution;
- The OSCE/ODIHR should continue to support the development of gender education to ensure greater women's participation in political life.

**NGOs, international organizations, and other actors:**

- To ensure the immunity of political party representatives during election campaigns;
- To improve the environment for political participation, in particular, in the areas of education and training and the use of modern technologies;
- To stress the positive role played by NGOs in improving the environment for political participation. In an individual case, NGOs were criticized for working for external financial assistance.

<b>Working Group III: Role of democratic electoral processes in enhancing participation and representation</b>
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**Moderator:** Mr. Alvaro Pinto Scholtbach, Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (the Netherlands)

**Introducer:** Mr. Andrew Ellis, International IDEA (Sweden)

**Rapporteur:** Mr. Alastair Long, Permanent Delegation of the United Kingdom to the OSCE

Working Session III narrowed the discussion of citizen participation to participation in elections. The introducer, Andrew Ellis, reported that analysis suggested that citizens developed, or failed to develop, their voting habit within the first three elections after attaining the right to vote. The effects of policies aimed at addressing participation in this age group therefore would be felt long term, i.e. for the rest of the life of the voter. The factors that influenced voter *participation* could be grouped into four:

*Mechanical factors* included advance, proxy and postal voting; access for the disabled; scheduling; and, perhaps to a lesser degree than heralded, e-voting. *Institutional factors* included the higher turnout seen under proportional systems; excessive restrictions on the range of party choices available to voters, or, conversely, an excess of parties making it unclear to voters what effect their vote might have; compulsory voting; and the effect of the voting age on the numbers of disenfranchised. *Demographic factors* were also relevant, such

as the fact that there are slightly more women voters than men. *Views of political competition* included the attraction of close contests, the effects of campaign funding, the frequency of elections, and longstanding allegiances to particular parties.

Ellis argued that non-voters tended not to engage in other modes of participation. They were most often young, unemployed, unqualified, and with expectations of being downtrodden. There was a need to look at education. Civic and electoral education could play a role in increasing participation, but there was a shortage of research into the best model. Dialogue between electoral officials and educators should be encouraged.

Turning to *representation*, Ellis stressed that this could be defined in a number of ways, resulting in many models of representation. Depending on what one wanted to achieve, it became a political decision as to whether to define representation on the grounds of descriptors like gender and ethnicity, or otherwise on geography, ideologies or viewpoints. Ellis also mentioned the mixed success of tools like quotas in promoting the increased representation of women.

In the subsequent discussion a number of themes and recommendations emerged: a number of participants questioned whether high turnout was always directly proportional to the health of a democracy. One speaker highlighted that dictatorships often achieved high turnouts. Another wondered whether low turnout could be an indication that people were satisfied and did not feel the need to vote. Ellis later opined that democracy required an active citizenry to shape society in a balanced fashion, and that in this context high participation, encouraged by competitive elections, was desirable.

Two interventions called for legislation to regulate the behaviour of political parties: one to deny extremist parties a political platform, the other to encourage a stronger link between representatives and their constituencies. Responses cautioned against over-legislation that could distort the democratic process and undermine the legitimacy of parliaments.

The need for special measures to be taken to enable pensioners and women in rural areas to participate in the electoral process was highlighted. However, another speaker expressed concern that single-issue parties - such as those representing pensioners - could endanger parliamentary democracy by assessing policies through a narrow prism. The need to promote engagement between mass-programme political parties and civil society focus groups was stressed by another participant.

Two participants noted the crucial role of local government, underscoring that many decisions affecting participation were taken at the local level. Another noted the importance of strong governance as the desirable objective of the democratic process, and questioned the capacity of coalition governments derived from proportional contests to achieve this. One participating State announced forthcoming parliamentary elections and invited a subsequent review of their experience in adopting proportional representation.

Ellis concluded that there was no one-size-fits-all electoral model for effective participation and representation but that each should be seen as legitimate by the citizens to which it belonged.

### ***Recommendations:***

**OSCE participating States:**

- Criteria should be developed to regulate the behaviour of political parties;
- Although some regulation may be used to promote participation, it should not be used to stifle democracy;
- To promote participation at the regional and local level;
- To foster the participation of pensioners and women in rural areas to participate in the electoral process including through the provision of information;
- Not to treat the participation of women as a firm indicator of the achievement of democracy, but rather to assess participation based on the level of linkage between political parties and civil society;
- To assess whether women vote for women, and, where necessary, to develop educational programmes to support participation;
- To reflect carefully and carry out consultations before lowering the electoral age to 16;
- To develop the links between civil society and the political party systems.

**OSCE institutions and field operations:**

- The OSCE and other international organisations should engage with local governments and mayors to increase participation at this level;
- The OSCE should carry out more analytical work in order to map and understand the impact of single-issue parties;
- To encourage cooperation between electoral authorities and educators on civic and electoral education programmes to increase participation;
- The OSCE should assess the relationship between internal democracy in political parties and their effectiveness.

**Working Group IV: Participation of persons belonging to national minorities and underrepresented groups in democratic societies**

**Moderator:** Mr. Krzysztof Drzewicki, Office of the High Commissioner on National Minorities (the Netherlands)

**Introducers:** Ms. Kate Fearon, Office of the High Representative to Bosnia-Herzegovina (Bosnia-Herzegovina)

**Rapporteur:** Mr. Mustafa Turan, Permanent Delegation of Turkey to the OSCE

Working Group IV was devoted to participation of persons belonging to national minorities and underrepresented groups in democratic societies. A lively debate with contributions from various national contexts took place during the session along the lines of the major themes for discussion introduced by the moderator and the key-note speaker.

Referring to the international legal instruments and normative frameworks on national minorities as well as good practices at the national level, participants agreed that effective participation of national minorities in public life is an essential component of a peaceful and democratic society. The moderator encouraged participants to consider this issue in the broader context of democratic governance with particular emphasis on the concept of “integration with respect for diversity” developed by the High Commissioner on National Minorities. This concept could also be useful in terms of addressing the challenges of

participation posed by the new immigrant communities to the societies in which they lawfully reside.

The introducer framed the discussion by examining the relevant international legal instruments and domestic systems for inclusion as well as the interface of these two and the key role of political leadership. Ms Fearon stressed the risk that inclusive systems of institutional design can ossify political life, which she discussed with reference to Bosnia and Herzegovina and Northern Ireland. Setting the contours of political life in stone, in a post-conflict situation, can prevent the negotiation of new relationships between warring factions and the development of truly post-conflict polity that learns from the past, but is not bound by it. Ms Fearon noted that both the Belfast Agreement and the General Framework Agreement for Peace both value identity primarily in terms of ethnicity and nationality. She argued that identity is, however, multi-faceted and cross-cutting and provided examples from the experience of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition to underline that no group is monolithic. It is, she argued, possible to design systems which involve the division of power between more groups, such as women and new immigrant communities.

Following these introductory remarks, participants discussed extensively issues such as the role of political leaders in transforming international norms into reality by creating the legal and institutional conditions for participation which promote and facilitate recognition and inclusion of minority groups. "Deliberative democracy" was mentioned by the introducer as a model which could provide opportunities for meaningful minority participation in policy formulation. However, based on the experiences in Bosnia and Herzegovina and other post-conflict societies, caution was expressed with regard to artificial and rigid institutional designs which may entrench rather than reconcile ethnic and religious differences. In this context, the challenges of reviewing and adjusting the institutional designs for participation and decision-making, essentially a matter of power-sharing in a society, were underlined by the introducer and several speakers.

A discussion took place on whether the accommodation of minority groups within mainstream parties would be an advisable and feasible means of increasing participation. Pros and cons were presented based on national experiences in Bulgaria, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Kosovo and Germany. Some argued if the mainstream political parties do not show willingness to incorporate the members of often stigmatized minority groups, the only way for them to be present in political life was to form their own ethnic political party. After all, forming a minority-based political party along ideological lines requires resources, education and training and capacity to transform ethnic, religious or cultural demands into political discourse relevant for the mainstream society. Another relevant question, asked by one delegate, was how to address the tensions which may arise as a result of perceived overrepresentation of minorities in institutions where special measures are in place. The response to this, the introducer argued, should be provided by political leaders stressing the original conditions and circumstances of such groups which gave rise to action to strengthen societal cohesion and pluralism. The role of neighboring kindred states in exacerbating or diffusing tensions in multi-ethnic societies such as Kosovo and Moldova was among the issues discussed during the session.

The moderator underlined, by way of conclusion, that legal standards on national minorities were well-embedded in international law and that they provide sufficient ground for domestic action. The Lund Recommendations on the Effective Participation of National Minorities in Public Life contained a collection of those international standards.

*Recommendations:***OSCE participating States:**

- Review the participatory frameworks for minorities at regular intervals to ensure they reflect changing realities in society;
- Minorities, if they so choose, should be allowed to organize themselves politically through pressure groups or political parties. But joining a mainstream political party might be a real option when parties show genuine willingness to incorporate them;
- Political leaders should assume the responsibility for accommodating minority participation and representation and respond to criticisms, if any, with sound arguments for inclusion and societal cohesion;
- The incorporation of prominent minority groups in political life and institutions should not take place at the exclusion of other groups in a disadvantaged position.
- Equal opportunities and non-discrimination should be promoted by legislative, policy and practical measures.
- Provide migrants legally residing in host countries with opportunities for participation in public life, such as voting rights in municipal elections, representation in consultative/advisory bodies, and membership in trade unions. Granting the right for dual citizenship may accelerate their integration to and participation in society.
- The “International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrants and Members of Their Families”, one of the twelve basic human rights instruments of the UN, should be signed and ratified by the participating States who have not yet done so.

**OSCE institutions and field operations:**

- The OSCE should continue to be actively involved in the prevention and resolution of conflicts in its area involving minority communities by promoting confidence and capacity building.

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## ANNEX I.



HUMAN DIMENSION  
S E M I N A R

### 2007 HUMAN DIMENSION SEMINAR

#### Effective Participation and Representation in Democratic Societies

Warsaw, 16-18 May 2007

#### ANNOTATED AGENDA

##### I. Introduction

The Human Dimension Seminars are organized by the OSCE/ODIHR in accordance with the decisions of the CSCE Summits in Helsinki (1992) and Budapest (1994). The 2007 Human Dimension Seminar will be devoted to “Effective Participation and representation in democratic societies” in accordance with PC Decisions of 25 January 2007 (PC.DEC./06/07) and of 26 April 2007 (PC.DEC./793).

The OSCE participating States have confirmed the importance of democratic participation and representation for a vigorous democracy and a lasting order of peace, security, justice and co-operation in numerous OSCE documents, most notably in the 1990 Copenhagen Document, the 1990 Charter of Paris and the 1999 Istanbul Charter for European Security.

At the 1991 Human Dimension Expert Seminar mandated by the Charter of Paris on “Democratic Institutions”, the participating experts noted that “*States choose different means for the implementation of democratic government, in response to their particular characteristics and traditions and to the circumstances of their constitutional history. As long as the core values of democratic government were assured, no single approach to the institutions and procedures of democratic government could be considered as having universal validity*”.

It was observed at the 2004 Human Dimension Seminar on “Democratic Institutions and Democratic Governance” that “*citizens must be engaged in governance in a continuous manner. This engagement can be ensured through a wider and deeper understanding of people’s day-to-day experience of living democracy. A well-informed public is a prerequisite for democratic processes to work. The public should not only be provided with different mechanisms to interact with government authorities but should also be motivated to do so.*”

Also, in November 2006, at the Supplementary Human Dimension Meeting on “Democratization: Strengthening Democracy Through Effective Representation”, it was

reiterated that “*there is a wide variety of democratic governments and 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.*”

Democracy and its manifestations through participation and representation have therefore not developed in similar ways throughout the OSCE region. Rather than an end in itself, democracy provides a large, transparent and flexible framework based on a number of ground rules within which ways of interaction between rulers and governed are allowed to develop and improve. As noted in the 2004 Seminar, in practice then, democratization is a continuous effort of “fine-tuning” democratic structures and processes as well as nurturing a democratic culture – no matter in which democracy - in the pursuit of respect for human rights, the rule of law, peace and security.

The OSCE participating States have affirmed their commitment to democracy as “*the only system of government of [their] nations*” (Paris Charter, 1990). They have adopted a number of specific commitments in this regard, which are being made available to participants in a background document. The Organization has a clear mandate to promote democratic institutions and processes; some of its key activities are summarized in another background document.

## II. Aims

The 2007 Human Dimension Seminar on “Effective Participation and Representation in Democratic Societies” will review concepts as well as challenges in developing and established democracies for ensuring an authentic democratic process.

This Seminar will not focus solely on participation and representation in terms of institutionalized structures *per se* but will also examine how they work and evolve in practice and contribute to the development of a democratic culture.

More specifically, it shall concentrate throughout on experiences and concrete recommendations towards: 1) establishing and securing the space that any democratic system must provide for an open, fair and broad participation in public affairs and 2) ways to increase the effective participation and representation of all institutional and public actors, as well as different groups of society, to make optimal and equitable use of that space.

The Seminar shall discuss relevant experiences and recommendations in four Working Groups. While the first Group will seek to identify current and possible future trends in political participation and representation, the second Group shall aim to find ways to increase their effectiveness. The two last Groups will concentrate in more detail on two fundamental issues related to effective participation and representation namely, the role of electoral systems and the political empowerment of underrepresented groups. The Seminar shall concentrate on political participatory processes to supplement independent judiciary (HD Seminar 2002), electoral processes (SHDM 2004) and democratic institutions (HD Seminar 2004 and SHDM 2006).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Respectively: ODIHR.GAL/0027/02; PC.SHDM.GAL/0011/04; ODIHR.GAL/0072/04 and PC.SHDM.GAL/11/06 to be found at <http://www.osce.org/odihr/documents.html>

Because the Seminar considers democracies as dynamic and ever-improving societal systems, it will enable an in-depth practical examination of the strengths and shortcomings within democratic processes of ‘established’ and ‘developing’ democracies alike. It will also provide a focus on democracy-building in post-conflict societies.

The Seminar will provide an opportunity to review OSCE experiences and to analyze lessons learned thus far in assisting the overall democratization process in OSCE participating States, and to discuss further steps to improve the efficiency of democratization programs.

### **III. Participation**

Representatives of OSCE participating States, co-operation Partners, OSCE institutions and field operations, inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations will participate in the Seminar.

The participation of representatives of the Government, Legislature and Public Administration of OSCE participating States, the media as well as the specialized NGOs in the field of analysis and promotion of democratic structures and processes, democratic governance and democratization will be particularly encouraged. In this connection, participating States are requested to publicize the Seminar widely and to include wherever possible, such representatives in their delegations who can contribute most to the discussions.

The Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation as well as the Partners for Co-operation are warmly invited to attend and share their experiences in the field of establishing and promoting democratic institutions and democratic governance.

All participants are encouraged to submit in advance written interventions on their respective work and proposals regarding the subject of the Seminar, which will be distributed to delegates. Participants are also encouraged to make oral interventions during the Seminar. While prepared interventions are welcomed during the Plenary Sessions, free-flowing discussions and exchanges are encouraged during the Working Group sessions.

### **IV. Organization**

The venue for the Seminar is the “Sofitel Victoria” Hotel in Warsaw, ul. Królewska 11.

The Seminar will open on Wednesday 16 May 2007 at 10.00 hrs. It will close on Friday 18 May 2007 at 18.00 hrs.

All Plenary and Working Group sessions will be open to all participants. The Plenary and Working Group sessions will take place according to the Work Programme below.

The four Working Group sessions will focus on the following topics:

- 1) Participation and representation: trends in contemporary political life;
- 2) Ways to improve the environment for political participation;
- 3) Role of democratic electoral processes in enhancing participation and representation;
- 4) Participation of persons belonging to national minorities and underrepresented groups in democratic societies.

All Working Group sessions will be held consecutively in single sessions.

The concluding Plenary session, scheduled for the afternoon of May 18<sup>th</sup> shall list practical recommendations emerging from the four Working Group sessions.

An OSCE/ODIHR representative will chair the Plenary sessions.

Standard OSCE rules of procedure and working methods will be applied at the Seminar.

Discussions will be interpreted into all six working languages of the OSCE.

Registration will be possible during the Seminar days from 08.00 hrs. to 18.00 hrs.

By prior arrangement with the OSCE/ODIHR, facilities may be available for participants to hold side events at the Seminar venue. A table for display/distribution of publications by participating organizations/institutions will also be available.

#### **WORK PROGRAMME**

	Working hours:	10 a.m.-1 p.m. 3 p.m.-6 p.m.		
	Wednesday, 16 May 2007	Thursday, 17 May 2007	Friday, 18 May 2007	
Morning	Opening Plenary session	WG II	WG IV	
Afternoon	WG I	WG III	Concluding Plenary session	

Side events may be scheduled between 13.15 and 14.45, or after 18.15, in order not to compete with the Plenary or Working Group sessions.

## V. Workplan

*Wednesday 16 May 2007*

**10.00 - 13.00 Opening Plenary session**

**Welcome and introduction from the Seminar Chair**

**Ambassador Christian Strohal**  
Director of the OSCE/ODIHR

**Welcoming remarks**

**Mr. Janusz Stańczyk**  
Undersecretary of State  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Warsaw, Poland

**Mr. Arturo Perez Martinez**  
Deputy Head of Mission, Permanent Mission of Spain to the OSCE  
Vienna, Austria

**Keynote Speaker:**

**Mr. Andreas Gross**  
Head of the Delegation of Switzerland to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe; Rapporteur on the State of Democracy in Europe, Political Affairs Committee

**15.00 - 18.00 Working Group I:  
Participation and representation: trends in contemporary political life**

*Moderator:* **Mr. Ivan Doherty**  
National Democratic Institute  
Washington, the United States of America

*Introducer:* **Mr. Olexiy Haran**  
Kyiv-Mohyla Academy  
Kyiv, Ukraine

*Rapporteur:* **Mr. Ted Kontek**  
Permanent Delegation of the United States to the OSCE  
Vienna, Austria

Contemporary political life shows contradictory trends. Never before has there been such high level of political awareness, education and engagement, especially of the younger generation. On the other hand, popular trust in and use of democratic institutions and mechanisms is being increasingly questioned. The days of writing to the Parliamentarian of one's local constituency as a method of effective participation and representation appear to be waning. Inspired and aided by international movements, by the increasing professionalism of civic

organizations, by the spread of new technologies, individuals and groups are developing new and more direct forms of participation in governance. Presentations and discussions in this Working Group will seek to identify these new forms of participation and representation as well as determine in how far they are fair and effective.

The role of political parties as focal points of political engagement will also be of particular interest to this Working Group. Political parties are still an indispensable instrument in today's democratic societies for aggregating and representing citizens' interests and priorities in a common policy platform. Nevertheless, declining membership raises the question as to the relevance and effectiveness of parties to continue to function as rallying points for civic and political participation. As policy formation is increasingly shaped by institutions other than political parties (such as civil service, NGOs, universities and think tanks), another fundamental question that needs to be addressed is who *effectively* "owns" the political mandate. Participants will be discussing the appeal of today's political parties, the foundation upon which they are managed or created today (from social movement to single issue) and their relevance to the needs of the contemporary citizen.

Participants will also be encouraged to discuss trends in gender mainstreaming in today's politics as well as the impact and consequences of increasing linkages in international party politics with the aim of identifying OSCE region-wide trends, policies and lessons learned.

**19.00** Reception hosted by the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Venue: Ministry of Foreign Affairs Palace, 6 Foksal Street, Warsaw

*Thursday 17 May 2007*

**10.00 - 13.00 Working Group II:**

**Ways to improve the environment for political participation**

*Moderator:* **Mr. Eric Bjornlund**  
Democracy International  
Bethesda, the United States of America

*Introducers:* **Ms. Gulnara Ibraeva**  
Agency for Social Technologies  
Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan

**Ms. Suzana Dobre**  
Romanian Academic Society  
Bucharest, Romania

*Rapporteur:* **Ms. Yevheniia Filipenko**  
Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the OSCE  
Vienna, Austria

Contemporary politics is faced with the challenge of (re-)connecting the *body politic* with its constituents. Changing dynamics in political life appear to call for the development of a legal, social and technological framework conducive to more effective participation and

representation. Participants will address these three overlapping fields with the aim of building a coherent picture of an environment that would ensure that all constituents can take effective part in politics.

Participants will discuss political party legal frameworks, including political party registration and freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly, to exchange the best legal context for effective participation and representation. With regard to participation within parties themselves, participants will exchange experiences of best practices in transparency of political proceedings, intra-party democracy as well as rules and procedures guaranteeing the fair participation of party members. One of the main issues to be addressed is the challenges to equal opportunity for participation in political processes and effective access of women and youth to political spheres, including high level positions.

Participants will also be encouraged to discuss possible measures that can be taken in order to enhance the role of political parties by rooting them more firmly in the constituents' daily lives and leading to a more wide-spread modern political culture. A first step would be emphasizing the role of political parties as instruments for the public good. Are traditional functions of political parties such as advancement of education and of citizenship, community development, promotion of civic responsibility and volunteering still relevant today? In how far do they still manage to mobilize constituents?

Finally, participants will have the opportunity to discuss the current impact and potential offered by modern technologies which increasingly determine participatory dynamics not only during the more high-profile election periods but also in day-to-day politics (such as through interactive campaign websites, blogs as well as other e-democracy tools).

### **15:00 – 18:00 Working Group III:**

#### **Role of democratic electoral processes in enhancing participation and representation**

*Moderator:* **Mr. Roel von Meijefeldt**  
Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy  
The Hague, the Netherlands

*Introducer:* **Mr. Andrew Ellis**  
International IDEA  
Stockholm, Sweden

*Rapporteur:* **Mr. Alastair Long**  
Permanent Delegation of the United Kingdom to the OSCE  
Vienna, Austria

Any model of government requires an electoral system which ensures effective representation of the electorate, and which provides a solid foundation for stable government. Key to effective representation is active citizen participation in elections and in democratic processes in general. Participants will be encouraged to discuss these aspects of democratic electoral systems which are intrinsically linked to effective participation and representation.

Participants will also concentrate on measures and improvements to make electoral systems an effective tool for increasing public confidence in democratic institutions in general and in

political representation in particular (such as proportional vs. majoritarian representation, thresholds, effective election observation as well as complaints and appeals processes). In addition, participants can discuss in more depth electoral legal frameworks including rules for electoral campaigning activities and campaign financing as well as procedures and practices improving women's as well as other underrepresented groups' participation and representation. Ways to overcome identified obstacles to effective participation in electoral processes will also be addressed.

Participants will also discuss experiences and best practices on how to increase voter turnout, including through measures such as new voting technologies (e-voting), absentee voting, out-of-country voting. Anticipating the fourth and final Working Group, participants will also discuss actions to promote inclusive elections such as the compilation of accurate voter lists, combating unjustified or unfair disenfranchisement, the participation of the marginalized, discriminated and underprivileged citizens.

### *Friday 18 May 2007*

#### **10.00 - 13.00 Working Group IV: Participation of persons belonging to national minorities and underrepresented groups in democratic societies**

*Moderator:* **Mr. Krzysztof Drzewicki**  
Office of the High Commissioner on National Minorities  
The Hague, the Netherlands

*Introducer:* **Ms. Kate Fearon**  
Office of the High Representative to Bosnia-Herzegovina  
Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina

*Rapporteur:* **Mr. Mustafa Turan**  
Permanent Delegation of Turkey to the OSCE  
Vienna, Austria

The participation in political life of persons belonging to national minorities represents an ongoing test for the principles upon which democratic societies are built. Inclusion of ethnic and other groupings in the overall political process has been demonstrably beneficial not only for the groups concerned but also on the whole for the stability and security of democratic societies. In this context, the electoral process serves as a conflict resolution mechanism, and therefore electoral system design may play a key role.

Participants will discuss specific experiences and measures to enhance the inclusion of minorities and under-represented groups in the overall political life. The role played by civil society and the independent media in creating and shaping the space for effective participation of these groups will be closely examined. Participants are also encouraged to take stock of achievements and lessons learned from the implementation of articles and recommendations of international documents ensuring minority participation (such as the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and the Lund Recommendations)

This Working Group will seek to identify the challenges posed by cultural differences in political participation as well as adaptable forms and methods that could stimulate established and new immigrant communities to take active part in mainstream political life. Of particular interest would be the discussion on the advantages and disadvantages of minority-based political parties as an alternative to their inclusion in mainstream political parties.

## **15.00 - 18.00 Closing Plenary Session**

### **Introduction from the Chair**

#### **Ambassador Christian Strohal**

Director of the OSCE/ODIHR

### **Closing keynote speech:**

#### **Ms. Anastasia Crickley**

Department of Applied Social Studies

National University of Ireland

Maynooth, Ireland

Rapporteurs' Summaries from Working Groups

Statements from Delegations

Seminar Chair's Conclusions:

#### **Ambassador Christian Strohal**

Director of the OSCE/ODIHR

Closing of the Seminar

ANNEX II.

**SCHEDULE OF SIDE EVENTS**  
 To take place during the  
**HUMAN DIMENSION SEMINAR**  
**“EFFECTIVE PARTICIPATION AND**  
**REPRESENTATION IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES”**

*The Helsinki Document of 1992 (Chapter IV) called for increasing the openness of CSCE 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.*

<b>Thursday, 17 May</b>	<b>Thursday, 17 May</b>
<p><i>Title: <b>Challenges and Trends in Women’s Political Participation in South Caucasus and Central Asia</b></i></p> <p><i>Convenor: OSCE/ODIHR Democratization Department / NGO Expert Panel on Gender Equality</i></p> <p><i>Time 13.15-14.45</i></p> <p><i>Venue: Meeting Room 1</i></p> <p><i>Language: Russian, English</i></p>	<p><i>Title: <b>Presentation of the “Survey of Freedom of Association in the World” Published under the auspices of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs</b></i></p> <p><i>Convenor: French Ministry of Foreign Affairs</i></p> <p><i>Time: 13.00 – 15.00</i></p> <p><i>Venue: Meeting Room 2</i></p> <p><i>Language: English</i></p>
<b>Friday, 18 May</b>	<b>Friday, 18 May</b>
<p><i>Title: <b>Roma &amp; Sinti: implementing commitments</b></i></p> <p><i>Convenor: OSCE/ODIHR CPRSI</i></p> <p><i>Time: 13.00 – 15.00</i></p> <p><i>Venue: Meeting Room 2</i></p> <p><i>Language: English, Romani</i></p>	<p><i>Title: <b>Democratic Governance: OSCE/ODIHR Supporting Legal Reform and Promoting Transparent and Inclusive Law-Making Process</b></i></p> <p><i>Convenor: OSCE/ODIHR Democratization Department</i></p> <p><i>Time: 13.00 – 15.00</i></p> <p><i>Venue: Meeting Room 3</i></p> <p><i>Language: English</i></p>

## OVERVIEW OF SIDE EVENTS

As submitted by the organizers

16 -18 May 2007

Warsaw

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

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**Thursday, 17 May**

Time: 13.15-14.45  
Venue: Meeting Room 1  
Title: Challenges and Trends in Women's Political Participation in South  
Caucasus and Central Asia  
Convenor: OSCE/ODIHR Democratization Department/NGO Expert Panel on  
Gender Equality  
Language: Russian, English

Summary: While effective participation of women in governance still remains a problematic issue in many well-developed democracies where women enjoy much greater equality of opportunities, this is a particularly significant challenge in fledgling democracies where representative governments and democratic institutions have been introduced only recently. Achieving tangible results in this process requires an understanding from governments, political parties and other public stakeholders that the democratic reform can only be sustainable with women's full and equal participation in policymaking processes at all levels.

During the OSCE Human Dimension Seminar, the NGO Expert Panel on Gender Equality, established in 2004 with the support of the OSCE/ODIHR Democratization Department, will host the side event "Challenges and Trends in Women's Political Participation in South Caucasus and Central Asia".

The Expert Panel on Gender Equality comprises fifteen civil society experts working to promote women's leadership, gender equality and increased role of women in decision making in the South Caucasus and Central Asia. The Panel is a unique cross-regional initiative, designed for exchange of local expertise and know-how in the field of gender equality and women's participation in democratic processes.

This side-event will seek to draw comments and questions from the delegations of participating States and relevant NGOs to involve them closer in review of ongoing developments in broader areas of democratization and public participation, and will specifically address the questions of women's under-representation in political processes. Experts will also discuss examples of successful initiatives and lessons learnt in leadership development and civil society coalition building, co-operation with governments and political parties for promoting increased opportunities for women to participate in political processes and assume leadership positions.

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**Refreshments will be provided**  
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**Thursday, 17 May**

Time: 13.00-15.00  
Venue: Meeting Room 2  
Title: Presentation of the “Survey of Freedom of Association in the World”, published under the auspices of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Convenor: French Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Language: English

Summary: The recently published “Survey of Freedom of Association in the World” (Guide de la liberté associative dans le monde, Documentation Française, avril 2007) will be presented by the Ambassador of France for Human Rights, Mr. Michel Doucin.

As both an instrument for the exercise of vigilance and a practical tool for legislators and civil society, this 790 pages collective study, co-ordinated by Ambassador Doucin, analyses the laws governing freedom of association and assesses the interaction between the state and the civil society in 183 countries of the world.

Aiming at identifying and promoting best practices as well as remaining challenges relating to the exercise of this fundamental freedom, the Survey constitutes a useful instrument to support and complement OSCE’s efforts to assist Participating states in implementing their commitments on freedom of association.

Free copies of the Survey will be available for participants (in French).

**Refreshments will be provided**

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**Friday, 18 May**

Time: 13.00 – 15.00  
Venue: Meeting Room 2  
Title: Roma and Sinti: implementing commitments  
Convenor: OSCE/ODIHR Contact Point for Roma and Sinti  
Language: English, Romani

Summary: Within the framework and mandate given by the OSCE Action Plan on Roma and Sinti to the OSCE/ODIHR CPRSI, the side event will approach the issue of identifying ways of strengthening co-operation between the OSCE/ODIHR, participating States, OSCE institutions and field operations on the implementation of the provisions of the Action Plan.

Discussions will focus also on ways to increase and to reach a more efficient level of exchange of information and collection of input for elaboration of the regular status reports on implementation by the participating States of the Action Plan.

The side event will host also discussions about the existing practices to promote political participation of Roma, focusing on the best lessons learned and what would be the logical follow up actions that should be promoted and pursued at the level of participating States and local Roma communities.

**Refreshments will be provided**

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**Friday, 18 May**

Time: 13.00-15.00  
Venue: Meeting Room 3  
Title: Democratic Governance: OSCE/ODIHR Supporting Legal Reform and Promoting Transparent and Inclusive Law – Making Process  
Convenor: OSCE/ODIHR Democratization Department  
Language: English

Summary: The OSCE/ODIHR's activities in the area of democratic governance have been significantly reinforced since 2004. The purpose of this side event is to offer an insight into a key component of these activities, namely the assistance provided by the OSCE/ODIHR in co-ordination with OSCE field operations in support of legal reform on the one hand, and the consolidation of inclusive and transparent law-making processes on the other hand. A legal framework that does not sufficiently reflect OSCE commitments may not be conducive to the conduct of genuine and meaningful democratic elections. The OSCE/ODIHR has developed mechanisms to strengthen its capacity to provide expert advice on electoral reform initiatives. In other areas, similar efforts are underway and they all benefit from the establishment within the OSCE/ODIHR of a focal point on legislative assistance, which is responsible for co-ordinating this work and ensuring its consistency and high-level quality. Furthermore, while reviewing individual pieces of legislation, the OSCE/ODIHR has found that some defects result from failures in the legislative process itself. In response, the OSCE/ODIHR has developed a pilot methodology that aims to make legislative process efficient, open, and transparent. The side-event will include a presentation of this methodology as well as examples of how it has been applied so far.

**Refreshments will be provided**

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## ANNEX III.

### INFORMATION ON SPEAKERS, MODERATORS AND INTRODUCERS

#### **Opening Keynote Speech: Mr. Andreas Gross**

As a citizen, a member of the Swiss Federal Assembly and a political scientist with international experience, Mr. Andreas Gross has been involved with popular initiatives and referendums since 1974. Mr. Gross has an academic background with leading universities in Europe and the United States. He wrote many publications on democracy building, direct democracy, conflict prevention and peace politics.

Mr. Gross is a Member of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly Socialist Group from 1996 to 2002 and again since 2004. As such, Mr. Gross is a Member of the Sub-Commission on Human Rights, Sub-Commission on External Relations and the Commission on Political Issues.

Mr. Gross has been appointed by the PACE as a monitoring rapporteur for Lithuania and Azerbaijan and a special rapporteur on Chechnya. He has recently presented the PACE report on the State of Democracy in Europe.

#### **Closing Keynote Speech: Ms. Anastasia Crickey**

Personal Representative on Combating Racism, Xenophobia and Discrimination, also focusing on Intolerance and Discrimination against Christians and Members of Other Religions.

Current Chair of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, Anastasia Crickey is also a lecturer at the Department of Applied Social Studies at the University of Ireland, where she has played a key role in the development of the Centre's professional education and training programmes for community and youth workers at postgraduate, non-graduate and part-time levels. Anastasia did her initial Social Science Degree at UCD, Professional Studies at University College Swansea, and further postgraduate studies at the University of Bradford. She worked for a number of years with the Irish community in Britain. Anastasia, in her work, integrates academic and professional approaches. She is currently Chairperson on Racism and Interculturalism and Irish board member of the European Network against Racism. She has long been involved in work with Travellers in Ireland through Pavee Point and other groups, and was instrumental in seeing successful traveller involvement in NUI, Maynooth Community and Youth Work courses, where one fifth of the current part-time course are from the Traveller community.

She is a board member of Area Development Management which is the National Intermediary for Local Development Programmes, and has been particularly involved in the development of community work over the past decade.

### **Working Group I**

#### **Moderator: Mr. Ivan Doherty**

Ivan Doherty is a Senior Associate at NDI and Director of Political Party Programmes. As the Institute's principal in-house expert on political party development, he currently oversees party development programmes in more than 50 countries and is responsible for building NDI's relationships with political party international organizations and other democracy foundations. Mr. Doherty also serves as a member of the Steering Committee of the World Movement for Democracy, and leads NDI's participation in a number of other global and

regional initiatives, including the Community of Democracies, the OAS Inter-American Forum on Political Parties, and the UN Conference on New or Restored Democracies. Mr. Doherty has an extensive background in political party development and international affairs. He worked for more than 15 years with Ireland's Fine Gael Party in a number of senior positions, including Assistant National Director of Organization, Deputy General Secretary, and General Secretary from 1990 to 1994. Appointed government programme manager in 1994, Mr. Doherty was assigned to Ireland's Ministry of Tourism and Foreign Trade. He has served as Senior advisor to the European People's Party parliamentary grouping in the European Parliament, played a role in the Irish Presidency of the EU and the WTO Ministerial in 1996, and conducted Irish trade promotion missions around the world. Mr. Doherty speaks and writes often about political parties and political party development. He is a regular guest lecturer at a number of institutions including the US Department of State's Foreign Service Institute. His publications include "Democracy Out of Balance: Civil Society Can't Replace Political Parties", which appeared in Policy Review in 2001.

**Introducer: Dr. Olexiy Haran**

Dr. Olexiy Haran is Professor of Political Science and founding Director of the School for Policy Analysis at the University of Kyiv Mohyla Academy (UKMA). His recently co-edited books include: *The Ukrainian Left: Between Leninism and Social Democracy* (2000) and *Russia and Ukraine: Ten Years of Transformation* (Moscow 2003). Dr. Haran is a member of the NGO Consultative Board at the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 2005-2006 he served as the Eurasia Foundation's Regional Vice President for Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova. He is a frequent commentator on Ukrainian politics in the Western media.

**Working Group II****Moderator: Mr. Eric Bjornlund**

Mr. Bjornlund is co-founder and president of Democracy International. Mr. Bjornlund has designed and managed democratic development programmes in more than 25 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe, Eurasia, and the Middle East in the areas of international and domestic election monitoring, election systems and administration, political party building, legislative development, constitutional and legal reform, decentralization, women's political empowerment, civil-military relations, civic and voter education, and civil society advocacy. He currently serves as Senior Technical Advisor for Democracy International's indefinite quantity contracts for Elections and Political Processes and Democracy and Governance Analytical Services.

From 1989 to 2000, Mr. Bjornlund worked for the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) in various senior positions in Washington and overseas. As Senior Associate and Asia Director, he developed and managed democracy and governance programs in 14 countries in South, Southeast, and East Asia. As NDI Country Director in Indonesia (1999-2000), he developed and oversaw a multimillion-dollar USAID-funded program in support of elections, election monitoring, political parties, legislative strengthening and NGO advocacy in the world's largest predominately Muslim country. He also served as Country Director in the West Bank and Gaza (1995-96), Director of Programme Coordination and General Counsel (1992-95), and Senior Programme Officer (1989-92). From 2000 to 2001, Mr. Bjornlund was a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. From April to October 2004, he served as Field Office Director for The Carter Center in Indonesia, where he directed a comprehensive international election monitoring program.

Mr. Bjornlund has written and spoken extensively about transitional and postconflict elections, democratization, legal reform and international democracy promotion. He is author of *“Beyond Free and Fair: Monitoring Elections and Building Democracy”* (Washington, Baltimore and London 2004), which explores the history and evolution of international and domestic election monitoring and offers insight into how the international community can more successfully advance democracy around the world.

**Introducer: Dr. Gulnara Ibraeva**

Dr. Ibraeva is a journalist, a researcher and a well known activist on women’s issues in Kyrgyzstan and Central Asia. Currently she is Chair of the Sociology Department at the American University in Central Asia as well as Director of the women's NGO, Agency for Social Technologies.

She is the author of numerous research and reports on gender, social poverty, sociology of political communications as well as family and marriage sociology. She has worked extensively as an expert in several projects of the IOM, the UNDP, the McArthur Foundation as well as other international donors.

**Introducer: Ms. Suzana Dobre**

Ms. Suzana Dobre is Executive Director at the Romanian Academic Society (SAR). She received a Master’s degree from the London School of Economics in European Social Policy. She is responsible for the implementation of the development plan and the overall management of the organisation and provides expertise in the area of social and regional policy for the research activity of SAR.

In 2005, as a Member of the Freedom House team in Romania, she conducted the audit of the National Anticorruption Strategy contracted out by the Romanian Ministry of Justice. In her capacity of consultant to the EC Delegation in Romania, Ms. Dobre was in charge of technical assistance for the implementation of programmes for civil society, including involvement in preparation of call for proposals, discussions over contracts, monitoring of co-financed projects and assisting NGOs for a successful implementation of their projects.

### **Working Group III**

**Moderator: Mr. Alvaro Pinto Scholtbach**

A political scientist by training, Alvaro Pinto Scholtbach has been working as a journalist, a policy adviser and as the International Secretary and Vice-Chair of the Dutch Labour Party. He is one of the founders of the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy and member of its Board and since 2004 Director Multilateral Programmes. He has substantial experience in: political party affairs, policy- and decision-making with special emphasis on European and international issues, co-ordination and management of political programmes, statements and events at national and international level, all-round political experience in parliamentary as well as party level; development and management of strategies and programmes for support and assistance to political and civil society organisations in new democracies. His main areas of interest and research are European and international politics, democracy and governance in new democracies.

**Introducer: Mr. Andrew Ellis**

Mr. Andrew Ellis is Director of Operations at International IDEA. Most recently he was Senior Adviser in Indonesia for the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

(NDI), responsible for constitutional and political law reform issues and the development of local government associations. Mr. Ellis has been a technical adviser on electoral issues in a variety of countries, including design of European Commission technical assistance to Cambodia for the 1998 election, coordination of registration observation for OSCE/ODIHR in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and acting as European Commission supported chief technical adviser to the Palestinian Election Commission from 1994 to 1996. He has also been involved in UK politics for twenty years through the Liberal Party and Liberal Democrats, including six years as Vice Chair of the Party and four years as Secretary-General. Mr. Ellis writes extensively on Indonesian constitutional and electoral matters.

## **Working Group IV**

### **Moderator: Dr. Krzysztof Drzewicki**

Dr. Drzewicki is an LL.D., *Doctor Habilitus* in international public law and a Professor of the University of Gdansk, Poland (on leave since 1997). In 1994 he was employed at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as the Government Agent before the European Commission and Court of Human Rights and from 1999 till 2003 he was also seconded as a minister counsellor to the Permanent Representation of Poland to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. Since 2003 he has worked as Senior Legal Adviser to the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, The Hague. He has written more than 100 scholarly contributions on the international protection of human rights and international humanitarian law of armed conflicts.

### **Introducer: Ms. Catherine Fearon**

Ms. Fearon has worked in and written about deeply divided societies in transition for the past 16 years. Currently she is the Head of the Government and Parliament Section in the Political Department of the Office of the High Representative and is based in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Previously she worked directly with political parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the US NGO the National Democratic Institute. She was a member of the Women's Coalition negotiating team in the Good Friday Agreement talks in Northern Ireland, and worked as a political advisor in the first Northern Ireland Assembly. She is author, inter alia, of *Women's Work: The Story of the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition* and the 2005 Freedom House Nations in Transition Bosnia Country Report.

## ANNEX IV.

### OPENING REMARKS

#### **Ambassador Christian Strohal, Director of the OSCE/ODIHR**

Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Welcome to all of you to Warsaw, to the ODIHR, and to this Human Dimension Seminar. We are gathered here for the next three days to talk about democracy – or, as we call it in our title: *“Effective Participation and Representation in Democratic Societies”*. The Seminars, as you know, have a particular place on the menu of OSCE Human Dimension events. They place a premium on taking a broader view on developments in the OSCE region, on freeing our minds and on brainstorming ideas for future action. This we will do, while at the same time staying practical and focused on the *acquis* of OSCE commitments. *“To build, consolidate, and strengthen democracy as the only system of government of our nations”* – it is with these words that participating States circumscribed, in the 1990 Paris Charter for a New Europe, their common groundwork.

A brief word on the background to this event first. This 22<sup>nd</sup> Human Dimension Seminar follows up on a previous discussion on Democratic Governance that took place in this very room three years ago, as well as on another meeting on Effective Representation that took place last fall in Vienna. These meetings allowed us to develop our thinking on the subject, and permitted us at the ODIHR to further sharpen our programmatic work. Their results are among the various background materials prepared for you. On this basis now, we will address issues gravitating around people’s effective participation in the exercise of public power within the OSCE region, and I am excited that so many of you have chosen to join.

Let me begin my short introduction with a quote from Nobel laureate Amartya Sen who underlined that democracy has demands that transcend the ballot box: *“To ignore the centrality of public reasoning and effective representation in the idea of democracy not only distorts and diminishes the history of democratic ideas. It also detracts from the interactive process through which a democracy functions and on which success depends.”*

In order to identify the ingredients of what is arguably the success story of our time, democratic and accountable government, it is essential to ask a number of interrelated questions: What is representation? Who chooses the representatives? Do they represent the common interest of their electors? Are citizens who do not vote in a given election ‘virtually’ represented in representative bodies such as the legislature? What is the responsibility of elected representatives to their electors? Do the elected holders of public power, especially within the executive, have an inherent representative function in seeking the common interest on behalf of society as a whole?

In the light of those questions, and the silences we sometimes encounter, it is understandable why many people come to suppose that the problem of the connection between the will of the individual and the general will of society may not be entirely resolved by what Thomas Jefferson termed ‘the glorious right of representation’.

It was also Thomas Jefferson who foresaw that, even under a republican constitution, it would be necessary to use law to control abuse of public power, abuse by representatives. This is one side of the debate about larger implications, and contradictions, of democracy, and it is naturally that part in which the notion of separation of powers is regularly invoked as an essential safeguard. Central to the idea of democracy is, on the other hand, the desire and the claim of people to govern their affairs themselves. Their legitimate claim to participate provides a second check on how public power is exercised.

Experts on democracy often use adjectives ‘representative’ and ‘participatory’ when describing democratic governance in action. But as I have tried to emphasise, both terms should not be used inter-changeably. Participation and representation are two sides of the same coin.

Hence the title of our Seminar.

Democracy, of course, is about process – debate, interaction, transparency, decision-making, evaluation, and accountability. The functioning of democracy depends on people, and on institutions. People’s representatives need a proper infrastructure and processes to carry out their functions. Parliaments are the bedrock of this infrastructure. I hope that this Seminar will provide a good opportunity to revisit the discussion started at the SHDM last fall on how to empower parliaments to carry out their responsibilities.

Parties, on the other hand, remain indispensable vehicles for both participation and representation. They aggregate the views and ‘represent’ them on the political arena. But it cannot go unrecognized that in addition to the traditional political institutions, contemporary political life is characterised by a multitude of non-governmental organizations, media, the internet, all of which have a growing impact on the way citizens interact with their administrators.

The Seminar will focus on two further crucial elements of political participation and representation: on the effect and design of electoral systems, and the participation of underrepresented groups and national minorities. The questions we aim to answer here is how to ensure that representation is effective and that participation contributes to the development of policies that incorporate OSCE values. We also need to take stock how the OSCE may assist in this process.

Overall, the discussions should also enable us to examine the role of the OSCE – governments, institutions, field operations, and in particular its capacity to take on a two-fold challenge. First, the challenge of what is sometimes called post-democracy – and I do not agree with this term – the challenges of the new and messy ways in which the governed interact with those who govern. Second, those challenges related to a development, observable in some quarters of the OSCE region, in which democratisation risks getting stuck in an unfinished ‘transition’. This risks, in turn, that transition is used as an excuse for the non-implementation, and sometimes blatant disregard of, OSCE commitments.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Before concluding, I take this opportunity to extend my gratitude and appreciation to the Spanish OSCE Chairmanship for having chosen this topic and for tasking us to take a *vue d’ensemble* of today’s trends in participation and representation throughout the OSCE region.

To achieve this aim, we have gathered academics and activists, diplomats and politicians, governments and NGOs, to discuss for three days these issues, and to come up with recommendations for further action.

As in all Human Dimension meetings, it is in particular the contributions from civil society representatives that add energy and a sense of realism to our discussions. As this is a meeting on participation, I encourage the over 75 NGOs who have come to Warsaw to actively partake. You will assist us all in exploring ways in which old and new forms of participation and representation should converge to safeguard the OSCE's core values that represent the collective heritage of the struggle for democracy, human rights and pluralism within our region.

As a final point, let me mention that in the addition to the main Seminar, we have a number of side events, including those that highlight the work of the ODIHR on various aspects of governance issues. You are encouraged to attend them as some of them demonstrate how the ODIHR puts theory into concrete practice of assisting the participating States in advancing democratic governance and making representation and participation more effective.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We are fortunate to have with us today Mr. Andreas Gross, a prominent Swiss parliamentarian with life-long interest and passion for issues related to the topic of the Seminar. Mr. Gross is the author of a report on the state of democracy in Europe, to be released by the Council of Europe in three weeks or so, which identifies challenges to democracy in the region. Our keynote speaker is well acquainted with our work since he has been closely cooperating with us over years.

And now allow me to welcome Secretary of State Janusz Stańczyk of Poland, our host country. It is a particular pleasure to have you back with us in one of our Human Dimension events, after last year's successful HDIM. I would like to invite you to take the floor.

Thank you.

**Address by Mr. Janusz Stańczyk,  
Under-Secretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Polish authorities I am pleased to welcome you to the ODIHR seminar on "Effective Participation and Representation in Democratic Societies".

I am honored by the opportunity to address the panel inaugurating the Seminar. Each year this Warsaw event brings together experts from OSCE states, international organizations and NGOs – that is people who consider the human dimension to be the backbone of the OSCE concept of security. Over three busy days you will be able to debate key issues concerning the involvement of citizens in political life, that is the actual influence of society on governance.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Democracy is a system of government that guarantees respect for human rights, the rule of law, peace and security. No state has ever managed to build a stable and durable democratic system in a short period of time. It is a protracted process; it not only requires the creation of institutions but also an effective and open administration, ensuring communication between the citizens and government. This Seminar will focus on the building such ties by enabling citizens to participate in political processes and ensuring their equal access to them. On the other hand, in addition to creating conditions for active participation, state institutions and NGOs should direct substantial efforts to enhance the citizens' awareness of their rights and to encourage them to become active in political life.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The OSCE can be proud of its assistance to participating States in their fulfillment and strengthening of democratic values, both in domestic and international policy. The attainments and experience of the OSCE in this sphere constitute an unquestionable value as concerns the consolidation of security and stability, within the OSCE area and beyond. A special role in the OSCE's work is played by the institution that has organized this meeting – the ODIHR. Poland highly values the work of the Warsaw Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights – one of the premier instruments of the OSCE, providing essential help in the practical implementation of commitments and democratic values. The experience and professionalism of the Office should be utilized in educational activity concerning the enhancement of participation and representation standards in democratic electoral processes, which are the guarantee of stable political systems. Preservation of the Office's autonomy is a precondition for maintaining its efficiency.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Examining the meeting agenda, I am confident that it will produce tangible and significant results. You will be able to exchange views on the chances and challenges of the civil society. I hope our guests will share their ample experience and expert knowledge. I am certain that the meeting will elaborate many key recommendations that will be subsequently used to enhance a crucial area of the OSCE's human dimension – namely active participation and proper social representation in political life. I wish you fruitful deliberations. A critical analysis of the issues on the agenda of this conference, with due reference to geographic and institutional aspects, will help us fulfill commitments undertaken in the framework of the Helsinki process.

I am confident that the professionalism of the ODIHR Director, Ambassador Christian Strohal and his team, evidenced by the excellent organization of this event, will contribute to its success. Let me take this opportunity to invite you, on behalf of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to a reception at 6 Foksal Street, 7 p.m. tonight.

**Mr. Arturo Perez Martinez, Deputy Head of Mission, Permanent Mission of Spain to the OSCE, on behalf of the Spanish OSCE Chairmanship**

Sr. Presidente,

Sras. Y sres. Delegados,

Sras. Y sres. Representantes de las organizaciones de la sociedad civil,

Sras. Y sres.:

En nombre del presidente en ejercicio, ministro miguel ángel moratinos al que tengo el honor de representar, deseo darles la bienvenida al seminario anual de la osce de la dimensión humana, dedicado en esta ocasión al tema de la “participación efectiva y representación en sociedades democráticas”.

Durante los próximos tres días vamos a debatir sobre dos cuestiones clave, desde el punto de vista de los derechos humanos: por una parte un tema que constituye la esencia de la vida parlamentaria, como es el de la representación, y fundamentalmente, la representación política; por otro lado, una cuestión que constituye una de las prioridades de la presidencia española y a la que, lamentablemente quizá no se le ha dedicado, hasta ahora, por parte de las instituciones de la osce, la atención que merece: me refiero a la participación de los ciudadanos en la actividad de sus comunidades, a todos los niveles. Local, regional y nacional. En realidad, el concepto de participación es más amplio e incluso más importante aún que el de la representación política, porque sin participación no puede haber genuina representación.

Como ustedes saben, a lo largo de los años, los estados participantes en la osce han ido asumiendo una serie de importantes compromisos orientados a facilitar la participación y la representación de sus ciudadanos en las instituciones políticas. Buena parte de esos compromisos están recogidos en el documento final de la conferencia de copenhague de 1990 de dimensión humana, así como en la carta de parís del mismo año, completados ambos en reuniones posteriores, como la de moscú de 1991, en la que los estados participantes dimos un gran paso adelante al aceptar que los compromisos adquiridos en el ámbito de la dimensión humana nos conciernen a todos y no son, por tanto un asunto exclusivamente interno de los estados.

Entre los temas que se van a abordar en este seminario hay cuestiones candentes como el ejercicio del derecho al voto universal y secreto, no siempre reconocido y garantizado en todo el área de la osce; el papel de los partidos políticos como actores en la expansión de la representación política y el de las organizaciones no gubernamentales y otras entidades de la sociedad civil, que es un papel crucial aunque distinto del de los partidos políticos: partidos y ongs tienen cada uno su propio ámbito de actuación, que no deben mezclarse, pero ambos contribuyen a fomentar la participación en la vida pública.

También se debatirá en este seminario sobre la participación de la mujer en la actividad pública y su representación política, que todavía siguen estando restringidas en algunos lugares de la región osce, así como la participación y representación de las minorías nacionales, que también, en ocasiones, sufren discriminación en zonas de nuestra región, con pretextos tales como su carácter nómada, como es el caso de algunas poblaciones gitanas, o porque se les ponen dificultades para reconocerles la nacionalidad de los estados en los que viven o simplemente, porque se las margina, convirtiéndolas en ciudadanos de segunda clase.

Como ven señoras y señores, hay mucho que analizar y debatir en los próximos días y es inevitable –y les diré que también necesario- que se mencionen no sólo las buenas prácticas, que las hay y muchas, en la región osce, sino también casos de incumplimiento de los compromisos adquiridos porque, desafortunadamente, también los hay.

sobre este tema de los incumplimientos permítanme que me detenga un momento para exponerles cual es el enfoque de la presidencia española, que está fundado en los propios principios de la organización:

nosotros asumimos que la osce está formada por estados muy variados, en los que hay diversidad de culturas, de tradiciones y de percepciones. Por tanto, aceptamos que no siempre se debe medir a un estado o grupo de estados conforme a las normas y patrones de comportamiento de otros estados de cultura y tradición diferentes: las características locales y nacionales deben ser tenidas en cuenta. Por eso, normas o instituciones que son válidas para un país pueden no serlo para otro.

sin embargo esta aceptación de la diversidad y su reconocimiento como un elemento enriquecedor tiene un límite infranqueable: el respeto a los derechos fundamentales de la persona: en esto sí somos todos iguales y los incumplimientos de los compromisos adquiridos deben ser denunciados aunque resulte incómodo para los incumplidores.

Cabe aquí distinguir entre dos situaciones muy diferentes: por un lado hay países en los que el grado de participación y representación política de los ciudadanos es aún reducido o insuficiente debido a las circunstancias específicas de esos países, pero existe en ellos una voluntad de avanzar en el cumplimiento de los compromisos. En estos casos, la osce a través de odhr, de las misiones sobre el terreno y de otras instituciones, dispone de instrumentos de ayuda y asistencia, en campos tales como la reforma electoral, la elaboración de legislación, actividades de formación, etc. Estos instrumentos están a la disposición de los estados participantes y muchos de ellos los están aprovechando ya.

Caso muy distinto es el de aquellos estados en los que la voluntad política de cumplir los compromisos adquiridos simplemente no existe, en los que no hay voluntad de avanzar. La manifestación más negativa de este supuesto se da cuando no solamente no se hacen progresos hacia la democratización y el buen gobierno, sino que incluso se experimentan retrocesos respecto de situaciones anteriores. En estos casos la osce no puede ni debe permanecer indiferente o callada.

Señoras y señores:

Concluyo deseándonos a todos una reunión muy productiva y enriquecedora, de la que sin duda saldrán propuestas concretas para fomentar una más efectiva participación de los ciudadanos en la actividad pública y una mayor representación de éstos en las instituciones de gobierno de sus estados.

Muchas gracias.

## ANNEX V.

### KEYNOTE SPEECHES

#### **Opening Keynote Speech** **Mr. Andreas Gross** *(Handout Sheet)*

*Effective participation and representation in democratic societies: 10 stimulating hypothesis as introduction to the Human Dimension Seminar*

1. We will never live in perfect democracies. But today we could really reduce their deficits. One of them concerns the unbalance between participation and representation. Or: today's politics do not allow their societies to realise fully their democratic potentials.

2. Effectiveness, participation and representation are only in first glance conflicting demands. By reducing the degree of representation for allowing increased real citizen participation in the real decision making process we may even increase the quality of the representation that is inevitable for every modern society. Essential is the question who evaluates their effectiveness? The citizens by judging the quality of their lives.

3. Prof. Bronislaw Geremek, Polish historian, former Foreign Minister and still MEP sees a discrepancy between the expectations of democracy and its actual outcome as one of the major reasons why democracy is losing the support of many people: "Every government has to be judged on its ability to improve the life of the weakest and poorest. Deficits in this sense are essential causes of the crises of democracy."

4. A German professor recently wrote, that our societies lack even the notions to establish a demanding theory of democracy, both of them seen as conditions in order to realise really high quality democracies. I would not be so harsh. But we really face a kind of a banalisation of key notions of democracy, which we have to overcome, if we really want to realize better democracies. I think about the notions like freedom, people, politics and democracy itself. Perhaps we should also add the term constitution.

5. One of the biggest political paradoxes of our time in the context of democracy is, that never ever so many people lived in democracies and so many accepted democracy as the only way to legitimize the use of political power – but never ever also have so many people seemed to be disappointed by their democracy(ies).

6. Democracy is not only a set of rules, rights, institutions and proceedings, but also a substantial promise to produce fair life chances for all and a fair distribution of the goods and richness our world is able to produce. Here, perhaps, we face the largest disappointments and institutional failures.

National democracies do not balance transnational market forces any more; the primacy of politics has been largely replaced by the dominance of market forces.

7. In order to overcome the crises of today's democracies we have to deepen democracy and enlarge it to the transnational, continental and even global level. Representation is not the

only and most essential way of realising democracy; the nation-state is not anymore the highest level of a democratic polity.

8. Concrete reforms would be: De-centralise the political power in order to enlarge the share of the local and the regional level and increase on all levels the direct involvement of citizens in the law- and decision-making processes by popular initiatives with a special attention to a citizen friendly design and to popular referendums. Such a dose of direct democracy would not undermine but improve the quality of the representative democracy. It might slow down sometimes the political process but it would increase its effectiveness.

9. Such a democratisation of democracy would soften politics: It would become more communicative, more responsive; it would increase individual and collective learning processes and (re) establish and increase the trust of citizens in democracy, politics and collective political actions.

10. Like this we could create the conditions we need to constitute new transnational polities: A European constitution with a real European direct- and indirect democracy as well as a UN-Parliamentary Assembly as well as a global convention for Human Rights with a globally respected jurisdiction on basic social needs for all Human Beings.

*Comments welcome directly or by email: [info@andigross.ch](mailto:info@andigross.ch)*

*For further arguments see the Council of Europe Report, Resolution and Recommendations concerning the State of Democracy in Europe, April 2007, [www.coe.int](http://www.coe.int) or [www.andigross.ch](http://www.andigross.ch)*

## **Closing Keynote Speech**

**Ms. Anastasia Crickley**

Friends, I am grateful for the opportunity to share some thoughts with you on the final day of the seminar. Effective participation and representation in democratic societies are issues, which certainly merit the attention you have given them here in Warsaw. They are also discussed with varying degrees of self-congratulation, references to work in progress, or commitments to doing better throughout the OSCE region and beyond. As Personal Representative to the Chair-in-Office, I am increasingly conscious of the need to reflect rhetorical commitments in action which avoids hiding behind the smoke screens and fig leaves of cultural and or religious traditions, past history and colonial legacies – although I acknowledge, not least from the experience of my own country, that these have to be seen as part of the picture overall.

I am conscious too of the commendable efforts being made by a number of OSCE participating States to strengthen participation and ensure power sharing, which in effect, is what participation rather than mere consultation is about. However, standing here as a woman, I can only say that this at best is work in progress. Fully effective participation and representation in the democracies of the OSCE region requires conditions for equal access and participation by women in all decision making arenas. In spite of the exceptions easily pointed to as the rule, this remains a target rather than a truth.

This seminar set out to review the concepts and challenges in developing and established democracies for ensuring an authentic democratic process and the papers indicate that you have done so in a systematic and rigorous fashion. I will not attempt to cover ground already better covered. I will seek instead to add a few thoughts from my own experience of working and commenting on these matters at local national European and wider levels.

It is quite true that the higher levels of political awareness achieved, in part through mass communication globally, have brought with them higher levels of alienation from power holders and the processes which put them there. This has resulted, sometimes, in recourse to violence but more often in disengagement in particular from party political processes.

To begin to address this, political parties need to see themselves as part of rather than the controllers of political engagement. Governments need to facilitate open and critical participation in governance and policy-making by the many civil society organizations which give voice to concerns of importance for the future of democracy, but which can't emerge from the party political machine. This needs to be done without unrealistic demands, for civic society organizations to speak with one voice. There are, or should be more than one political party and more than one trade union in each participating state. That participation needs to be real rather than window dressing and requires time and patience for the creative tensions of open dialogue to yield a result for all. In my experience, this is best achieved through an honest starting point with governments recognizing their class, gender and minority representation limits, and civil society organizations acknowledging government's role.

The participation of civil society organizations in the OSCE is a useful example, which continues to challenge the organization, not just in terms of inclusion but also in terms of outcomes.

A prerequisite in participating states for any of this is the existence of free and open democratic political parties and free and open non-party politically aligned civil society organizations. These cannot emerge without rights to freedom of expression, association and peaceful assembly being guaranteed and guarded. The failure to guarantee these rights, and the right to their democratic peaceful expression reflects in my view a gap between democratic rhetoric and commitment to real participation. At the same time, this failure conveniently sweeps uncomfortable issues, which sit uneasily with religious or cultural consciences under the carpet. Such action does not render to disappearance the issue as a number of European Union member states, already bound by their obligations under the EU Equality Directives, know with regard to their more recent responses to lesbian, gay and overall LGBT issues.

It goes without saying that confidence in electoral processes is essential in this regard. I would like to take the opportunity to commend and congratulate Ambassador Strohal and his team and all the parliamentarians for the election monitoring they undertake throughout the OSCE and beyond, on our behalf. Further efforts are required, however, to ensure that elections and the periods leading up to them do not become opportunities for blaming and discrimination against minorities and marginalized groups.

Declarations and Charters for political parties and candidates at times of election, such as the one currently in use in my own country, can serve a useful if somewhat symbolic purpose in this regard.

The extent to which national minorities and under-represented groups participate in democratic societies is a further barometer of the extent to which those societies are truly democratic. Monitoring mechanisms for ensuring such participation and which support its effectiveness, including the Council of Europe's Framework convention on National Minorities, illustrate the gap between written rhetoric and lived experience in a number of instances. OSCE decisions and the Lund Recommendations you are familiar with, demonstrate the commitment of this organisation to supporting participation by minorities in the democratic processes of participating states. The work of the High Commissioner on National Minorities and his staff in particular, but also the work of ODIHR and OSCE missions as well as that of the Contact Point on Roma and Sinti issues actively and commendably support this participation.

However, in the OSCE Region as well as beyond, there remain considerable challenges to be faced before it can be said that there is adequate participation by National minorities and underrepresented groups in the decision making processes of participating States. There is no room for complacency anywhere, particularly if one recognizes the reality that adequate participation can not only mean participation by men from minorities but must also extend to the challenge of finding culturally appropriate ways for women to participate. It is not either in the interests of person from marginalized groups to hide behind ongoing historical and cultural discussions about what and who does and does not constitute or belong to a minority. The photographs of decision makers often speak for themselves. The reality is that inclusive decision making is in everyone's interests, minority and majority.

Creating the condition for successful participation by national and other minorities in decision making and democratic process, means, firstly, removing the barriers to such participation. Adequate legislation and policies to address racism and discrimination and its various forms are essential. These need to be used for the purpose for which they were designed rather than any other political or control agenda. Measures already in place to address discrimination towards particular groups need to be implemented and there, I cannot but note, that the OSCE Action Plan on Roma remains to be implemented in ways that would improve participation by one of the most marginalized groups in the OSCE. Positive action only becomes discriminatory when it goes beyond creating a level playing pitch, and as we women know, being from a marginalized group needs not to be confused with representing that group.

Finally, a word for the people whom all this about and whom you have been supporting through deliberations. The ongoing commitment of so many to participation by themselves and others, sometimes, even when it is life threatening, is awesome. It deserves and should receive our best support individually and collectively. I close with an expression of my appreciation of their contribution to the humanity of all.

Integration with respect to minorities is a challenge not only for policies with regard to new minorities, but also for minorities who have been part of participating states for generations, if not centuries. Attempts at assimilation have only served to exclude and marginalize these groups, describing them, for example, as Muslims in Europe, rather than European Muslims. Integration policies and principles need to acknowledge the marginalisation of these groups and, in particular, initiatives are urgently required to address the discrimination and social and economic exclusion they often experience.

## ANNEX VI.

### CLOSING REMARKS

#### **Ambassador Christian Strohal, Director of the OSCE/ODIHR**

Excellencies,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,

I want to begin by thanking everyone for their interest and participation in this Seminar. As one participant noted, it featured a genuine discussion which goes far beyond the reading out of prepared statements. This is one of the luxuries the OSCE community affords itself at the annual Human Dimension Seminars. I would particularly like to thank those governmental delegates who eschewed the usual formalities and set the tone by speaking in their personal capacity. As another participant said: "By talking about democracy, we promote it."

The opening plenary really set the tone for the rest of the Seminar and confirmed the productive interaction between academics and practitioners, between diplomats and politicians and between government officials and NGOs. Overall, we touched upon three issues affiliated with concepts of participation and representation. Doing so, we built on the thought-provoking keynote speech of Mr. Gross. First, we discussed trends of participation and representation; secondly, we concentrated on normative issues such as laws and regulations; third, we looked at how participatory mechanisms are being built.

The discussions at this Seminar give reasons for cautious optimism. While participants at the Human Dimension Seminar on a similar topic three years ago noted an increasing popular cynicism in established as well as in the new democracies directed at democratic structures in general and political parties in particular, one of the main findings of this Seminar is that, despite the obituaries, popular will to participate in politics is very much alive.

Socio-historical, cultural, economical and technological factors may, however, condition the impact of participation and representation in democratic societies. For a Seminar with a broad topic such as this one, it is not surprising that experts and participants touched upon practically all aspects of participatory life. Let me just take out the most salient features:

- political parties are still in a situation of flux throughout the OSCE region, many facing a learning curve, others dealing with populist challenges which undermine their operation;
- the issue of women's participation has appeared prominently throughout all sessions. Their equal participation was not merely held to be an end unto itself, but as one of the main guarantors of a vibrant and effective democracy;
- new forms of participation, especially by the younger generation, such as internet fora and blogs, need to be encouraged so they benefit the ultimate objective of strengthening democratic practices;
- Electoral systems are crucial for raising voter confidence in leadership, in particular in relation to voter turn-out. They also they bring elements of diversity and competitiveness into the political arena.

Overall, the discussions demonstrated that OSCE's participating States have quite some way to go in putting into practice their commitments when it comes to political participation and

representation. But what became particularly evident in the proceedings was that challenges to effective participation and representation are not only limited to the new or restored democracies. A number of concrete recommendations have emerged from these discussions. Let me highlight four of them.

- First, support and assist initiatives towards political parties and facilitate both international cooperation between political parties and interaction among parties at the national levels;
- Second, encourage local level democracy initiatives and particularly those that focus on minority participation;
- Third, strengthen freedom of assembly and association as the indispensable pre-conditions for effective participation;
- Fourth, support initiatives in the field of gender equality, including monitoring the implementation of various international commitments and the OSCE Action Plan for the Promotion of Gender Equality.

In all these fields, there is also a case for a strengthened role for OSCE structures and institutions. As far as the ODIHR is concerned, and building on the strong partnerships we have built with committed NGOs and experts in the field of democracy, we are engaging in these domains and seeking to expand and deepen our assistance and advisory programmes in all these areas.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The Seminar also provided the venue for four side-events that focused on issues central to the broad topic of the Seminar. The French Delegation chose this event to launch their *Guide de la liberté associative dans le monde*. Second, the ODIHR's Gender Expert Panel not only highlighted their activities at their own side-event but also actively contributed to all working sessions. And finally, my Office presented its work in the area of legislative support to participating States and how it supports the implementation of the OSCE's Roma and Sinti Action Plan.

Finally, a word of thanks for the stimulating contributions of the introducers and moderators who have provided the expert input, insightfulness, answers, as well as even more questions, to feed the debate. I will also use this opportunity to thank the rapporteurs who have gone into much greater detail regarding each session that I am able to do here. As I said in my opening remarks, I am particularly grateful to the Spanish Chairmanship for their involvement in the Seminar. But let me also sincerely thank my staff who have worked hard to make this event a success, as well as the interpreters, for their contribution in showing us the way through the Tower of Babel.

Thank you and have a safe trip back home.

## ANNEX VII.

### INDEX OF DOCUMENTS

#### Distributed documents sorted by author<sup>2</sup>

List generated by the ODIHR Documents Distribution System for Conferences

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#### OSCE Participating States

<b>Germany</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>4. EU Opening Statement, Opening Plenary Session.</li><li>16. EU Closing Statement, Closing Plenary Session.</li></ol>
<b>Spain</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>10. Opening statement by Mr. Arturo Perez Martinez, Representative of the Spanish OSCE Chairmanship-in-Office, Opening Plenary Session.</li><li>18. Closing keynote speech by Ms. Anastasia Crickley, Personal Representative to the CiO of the OSCE, Closing Plenary Session.</li></ol>
<b>France</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>13. Presentation of the Guide on Freedom of Association in the World by Michel Doucin, Written contributions.</li></ol>
<b>Poland</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>7. Opening address by Mr. Janusz Stanczyk, Under-Secretary of State at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Opening Plenary Session.</li></ol>
<b>Uzbekistan</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>12. Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Uzbekistan on adoption of the EU Council the conclusion on Uzbekistan., Written contributions.</li></ol>
<b>Switzerland</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>2. Keynote Address by Mr. Andreas Gross, political scientist, Swiss MP, Rapporteur of the PACE for the "State of democracy in Europe", Opening Plenary Session.</li></ol>

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#### OSCE Institutions

<b>OSCE ODIHR</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Consolidated Summary of the HD Seminar on "Democratic Institutions and Democratic Governance", Background Documents.</li><li>8. Provisional List of Participants, Background Documents.</li><li>15. Final List of Participants, Background Documents.</li><li>6. Opening Remarks by Ambassador Christian Strohal, Director, Opening Plenary Session.</li><li>17. Closing Remarks by Ambassador Christian Strohal, Closing Plenary Session.</li></ol>
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#### International Organizations

<b>International IDEA</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>9. Introductory speech by Mr. Andrew Ellis, WG III: Role of democratic electoral processes in enhancing participation and representation.</li></ol>
<b>Office of the High Representative to Bosnia-Herzegovina</b>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>11. Introductory statement by Ms. Kate Fearon, WG IV: Participation of persons belonging to national minorities and underrepresented groups in democratic societies.</li></ol>

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<sup>2</sup> Please note that the first number appearing on the list refers to the registration number under which the documents were distributed during the Seminar.

## Non-Governmental Organizations

<b>EI Yntymagy political party, Kyrgyzstan</b>	5. Written contribution: "Parliament of Political Parties - Conditions for Expanding Activities and Institutional Strengthening of Political Parties in Kyrgyzstan", Written contributions.
<b>Foundation of Regional Initiatives</b>	3. Written contribution on "Programmatic Approach to Improving Quality of Representation and Electoral Legal Relations in Ukraine: National and International Components", Written contributions.
<b>International Association of Independent Democrats Against Authoritarian Regimes</b>	14. Written contribution on "The dictatorship and lack of electoral system ensuring an effective representation", Written contributions.