



Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)
Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)

MEMBERS OF ODIHR'S PANEL OF EXPERTS ON FREEDOM OF ASSEMBLY AND ASSOCIATION

2023-2026

Ena BAVČIĆ (Bosnia and Herzegovina)



Ena Bavčić has a MA in Human Rights and Democracy in South-East Europe. Currently, she is a Project Coordinator working on Cybersecurity and Civil Society for DCAF – Geneva Center for Security Sector Governance, co-ordinating civil society research on cybersecurity, gender, and human rights. Before this, for over seven years she worked as a Programme Officer and country manager for Civil Rights Defenders in Sarajevo. In this position, she worked on freedom of association and assembly in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Balkans, advocating against harmful legislation and promoting international standards in these fields. She has also supported over 30 human rights organizations and media in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Kosovo, and Serbia, through mentoring, funding, capacity building and networking efforts. She is also the author of several short documentary films and has edited publications looking into the position of human rights defenders, environmental activists and cybersecurity in relation to human rights, including freedom of peaceful assembly and association. Additionally, Ena Bavčić was a co-organizer of 1st and 2nd Pride Marches in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The 1st Pride was the biggest in the Western Balkans, gathering over 3,000 participants.

Anja BIENERT (Germany)



Anja Bienert studied law in Cologne (Germany) and Lausanne (Switzerland). She has a PhD in criminal procedure and a Master's degree in humanitarian assistance. She has many years of work experience in the area of humanitarian assistance and security issues in various countries affected by non-international armed conflicts and other situations of violence. Since March 2011, she is in charge of the Police and Human Rights Programme (www.amnesty.nl/policeandhumanrights) of the Dutch Section of Amnesty International providing guidance, advice and training within Amnesty International on policing issues (see Position papers and Short paper series here: [Publications archive - Police and Human Rights Programme - Amnesty International](#)). Dr. Bienert is the author of the Amnesty International "*Guidelines for Implementation of the UN Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement officials*" (2015), of the second edition of the ICRC manual "*To serve and to protect - Human Rights and Humanitarian Law for Police and Security Forces*" (2014) as well as the articles [Action, Not Just Words – The Practical Implications of Human Rights Law for the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials](#) (2016) and [Command Responsibility and the Use of Force by the Police](#) (2018). From 2008 to 2011, Dr. Bienert acted as a Geneva-based ICRC advisor for headquarters and ICRC delegations worldwide on issues related to police and security forces.

Adam BODNAR (Poland)



Adam Bodnar is a professor of law and Dean of the Law Faculty of the University of Social Sciences and Humanities (SWPS) in Warsaw. He is the former Ombudsperson of Poland (2015-2021). During his mandate as Ombudsperson, his office sent several requests for legal opinions to ODIHR. This resulted in legal analyses on Polish (draft) legislation to prevent torture, reform of the Polish Judiciary, legal framework on public participation of persons with disabilities and more. Furthermore, he is a visiting professor at the University of Cologne; a member of advisory boards of International IDEA, World Organization Against Torture (OMCT), Liberties and World Justice Project; member of CURE Network and the European Implementation Network.

Milena COSTAS TRASCASAS (Spain)



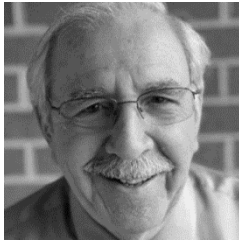
Milena Costas Trascasas is a jurist specialized in human rights holding a PhD in Law and with more than twenty years of experience in the field. She works as an independent consultant for international organizations and NGOs and teaches human rights in different postgraduate programs. Milena Costas Trascasas is member (and currently Chair) of the UN Human Rights Council's Advisory Committee and the UN Working Group on Communications. From 2013 to 2015, she worked as a research fellow at the Geneva Academy of International Humanitarian Law and Human Rights, coordinating a project on social protests and the use of force by law enforcement officials. Previously, as a research fellow at the Universidad Jaume I of Castellón, she also coordinated a collaborative project on armed conflict, peacekeeping and transitional justice funded by the European Commission. As member of the ODIHR Panel of Experts on Freedom of Assembly and Association since 2016, she has been engaged in different activities related to its mandate and more specifically in the update of the OSCE/ODIHR-Venice Commission joint Guidelines on Freedom of Peaceful Assembly.

Tatiana GLUSHKOVA (Russian Federation)



Tatiana Glushkova has a law degree from the Moscow State University, specializing in Constitutional Law and International Human Rights Law. Since 2022, she has worked for the NGO Human Rights Protection Centre "Memorial", where she is a board member and a senior lawyer. Her responsibilities include advocacy work with international organizations, state bodies, with the press, broadcast and new media; selecting cases for litigation and developing case strategies; casework: preparation of applications to the European Court of Human Rights and individual communications to UN Human Rights Committee. In 2015, she started working for the Human Rights Centre "Memorial", on similar tasks as in her current position. Human Rights Centre "Memorial" was forcibly dissolved due to Russian "foreign agents" legislation. Furthermore, Tatiana Glushkova has also worked for the NGO Autonomous Non-Profit Organisation "Lawyers for Constitutional Rights and Freedoms" from 2011 to 2014.

David GOLDBERGER (United States)



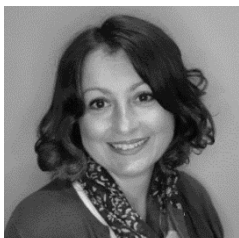
David Goldberger is a professor emeritus of law at The Ohio State University College of Law. Prior to joining the College of Law faculty, he was legal director at the Illinois Division of the American Civil Liberties Union. At The Ohio State University, he taught courses on the First Amendment, the United States Constitution and clinical studies. He published articles on First Amendment issues including the right to freedom of assembly. He also litigated First Amendment cases in United States federal courts and the United States Supreme Court. In one set of cases, *Village of Skokie v. National Socialist Party of America* and *Collin v. Smith*, he represented a faction of the American Nazi Party which had been denied the right to hold a public assembly. He has represented clients from across the political spectrum including the Communist Party of the United States, the Ku Klux Klan, anti-war protesters seeking to hold assemblies in Chicago parks and on Chicago streets, and an African American barred from picketing near a public school to protest its racially discriminatory admissions policies. Professor Goldberger has served as a member of the OSCE/ODIHR Panel of Experts on Freedom of Assembly and Association since 2006, and was appointed as Emeritus Member from 1 January 2023.

Jane GORDON (United Kingdom and Ireland)



Jane Gordon has a MA (Oxford) and LLM. She is a human rights lawyer, academic and criminal justice policy advisor with over 25 years' experience working at domestic, regional and international levels. Jane has advised national human rights institutions, oversight bodies and parliamentary committees and litigated cases before the European Court of Human Rights. As Human Rights Advisor to the Northern Ireland Policing Board (2003 – 2008), Jane designed the first ever framework for monitoring the human rights compliance of the police. From 2009 to 2010, Jane acted as Legal Advisor to Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Policing national review of public order policing. Jane was Senior Fellow at LSE's Human Rights Centre and Centre for Women, Peace and Security (2008-2017) and served on the expert working group advising the UN CEDAW Committee on development of its general recommendation 35. From 2014 to 2020, Jane co-founded an international NGO working to combat violence against women and girls and delivered technical legal reform and capacity building programmes across India, Indonesia, the UK and the Commonwealth. Jane is legal expert to the College of Policing and is currently advising Police Scotland on the development of a human rights framework for policing across Scotland.

Katerina HADZI-MICEVA EVANS (North Macedonia)



Katerina Hadzi-Miceva Evans is a human rights legal expert, who has worked for over 20 years with organisations, movements, authorities and philanthropists to protect civic freedoms. Since 2012 she has served as the Executive Director of European Center for Not-for-Profit Law (ECNL). Under her leadership, ECNL engaged successfully in advocacy for a UN General Comment 37 on the right to peaceful assembly, provided expertise and facilitated civil society and expert input in the drafting of the document. She also worked with her team to broaden ECNL influence and expertise to respond to new trends (e.g., technology and counter-terrorism, climate crises) affecting civil society, while continuing to address challenges in public participation, the right of freedom of association and of peaceful assembly. She has helped empower partners to defend their spaces and freedoms through designing innovative tools to monitor civil society laws, and researching trends and good practices to guide reforms. She has spoken at different forums to reflect on various civic space issues e.g., at TEDx event, EU Parliament, launch of Community of Democracies' Democracy and Security Dialogue Initiative, UN. In addition to serving as a member

of the ODIHR Panel of Experts on Freedom of Assembly and Association, she is part of the Council of Europe Expert Council on NGO Law. She also volunteers her time in the board of several organizations.

Michael HAMILTON (UK and Ireland)



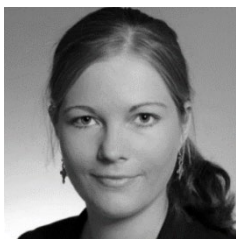
Michael Hamilton joined the International Secretariat of Amnesty International as a legal advisor on the right to protest in October 2022. He is a Visiting Associate Professor at the University of East Anglia (UEA), having previously been Associate Professor in Public Protest Law at UEA (2012 – 2022). He was Associate Professor (2009 – 2012) and Acting Chair of the Human Rights Program (2011 – 2012) at the Legal Studies Department, Central European University, Budapest. Michael's [research](#) focuses on the legal protection and regulation of freedom of assembly and he has published in leading academic journals including the [Oxford Journal of Legal Studies](#) and the [International & Comparative Law Quarterly](#). In 2019-20, he worked with the European Centre for Not-for-Profit Law (ECNL) to [support](#) the UN Human Rights Committee's drafting of General Comment No. 37. He is currently part of an interdisciplinary research team exploring '[Participation, Protest and Policing](#)' at the 2021 UN climate Summit (COP26) in Glasgow, and a co-editor of the forthcoming Oxford Handbook of Peaceful Assembly. Michael is a Board member of the US-based [Article20 Network](#) and a member of the Netpol Lawyers Group (since 2016). He has been a member of the OSCE Panel of Experts on Freedom of Peaceful Assembly since it was first established in 2006, and has served as its secretary and has been interim chair since 2021.

Rafael ISHKHANYAN (Armenia)



Rafael Ishkhanyan is a lawyer working at the Helsinki Committee of Armenia (HCA). Rafael graduated from the American University of Armenia with a master's degree and bachelor's degree in law from the French University in Armenia. He has been participating in the monitoring of peaceful assemblies in Armenia conducted by HCA since 2014. Starting from 2016, he has been the coordinator and researcher of the monitoring project. In this capacity, Rafael Ishkhanyan is periodically conducting training courses for assembly monitors and delivering thematic training for legal professionals on the topic of Freedom of Peaceful Assembly. He has authored or co-authored all publications by HCA related to the Freedom of Peaceful Assembly since 2016, including legal analysis of most of the relevant legal amendments during the same period in Armenia.

Nela LARYSOVA (Czechia)

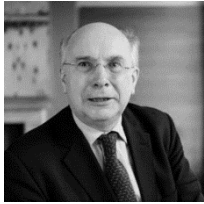


Nela Laryšová is a researcher focusing on human rights and rule of law issues in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. She specializes mainly in freedom of association and the role of NGOs in the international system. She holds PhD in International Law from Charles University in Prague, along with a degree in Law and Eastern European studies at the same university. Currently, Nela works as a Vice-Chair of Memorial Czechia. Prior to that, she worked for the EU-Russia Civil Society Forum, where she coordinated the Legal Dialogue Programme (a programme focused on public interest law issues in the EU countries and Russia) and the Campaign to Uphold Rights in Europe (campaign aimed at the strengthening of the Council of Europe system). In the past, she also coordinated the programmes on Russia in the Centre for Human Rights and Democracy at People in Need. She has also contributed to the work of international organisations such as the Council of Europe ("The Legal Status of Non-Governmental Organisations in Europe", 2021) and the OSCE Moscow Mechanism's mission of experts "On Violations Of International Humanitarian And



Human Rights Law, War Crimes And Crimes Against Humanity Committed In Ukraine Since 24 February 2022”).

Jeremy McBRIDE (Ireland and United Kingdom)



Jeremy McBride is a Barrister, Monckton Chambers, London specializing in human rights cases before the European Court of Human Rights¹ and the United Nations Human Rights Committee.² In addition, he acts as an expert on human rights law for the Council of Europe, the OSCE, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and UNDP. He is the President of the Expert Council on NGO Law of the Council of Europe's Conference on INGOs. He was a member of the European Union network of experts on fundamental rights (2002 – 2006), a former Member (2008 – 2013) and Chair (2010 – 2013) of the Scientific Committee of the European Union's Fundamental Rights Agency, Reader in International Human Rights Law, University of Birmingham (1978 – 2006), a Visiting Professor, Central European University and co-founder and Chair of INTERIGHTS (the International Centre for the Legal Protection of Human Rights). Some relevant publications he has authored or co-authored include: [Non-governmental Organisations and the Implementation of Measures against Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing](#), (Council of Europe, 2022), [The Legal Space for Non-governmental Organisations in Europe](#), (Council of Europe, 2021), and the [Guidelines on Freedom of Association](#), (OSCE/ODIHR – Venice Commission, 2015).

Jonathan PETERS (United States)



Jonathan Peters is a media law professor at the University of Georgia (United States), where he is the chair of the Department of Journalism and a faculty member in the School of Law. His research focuses on media law and policy, including press rights at protests. He also conducts international and comparative research in media law, and he is the author of articles about global free expression and European press regulation. His work has appeared in journals published by the law schools at Berkeley, Harvard, NYU, and Virginia, among others. He is a co-author of the book “The Law of Public Communication”, and he has blogged about the First Amendment for the Harvard Law Review. Peters is a frequent commentator on media law issues for The New York Times, The Washington Post, CNN, NBC News, CBS News, and NPR. He has been a consultant to numerous groups on press rights and protests, such as the OSCE, the UN Development Programme, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and the European Center for Not-for-Profit Law. Peters has a Ph.D. in journalism from the University of Missouri (United States), a law degree from Ohio State University (United States), and a bachelor’s degree in journalism from Ohio University (United States).

¹ e.g., *Nada v. Switzerland*, ECtHR [GC], no. 19593/08, judgment, 12 September 2012; *Proceedings under Article 46 § 4 of the Convention in the Case of ilgar Mammadov v. Azerbaijan* [GC], no. 15172/13, 29 May 2019; and *Slovenia v. Croatia* [GC], ECHR, no. 54155/16, admissibility decision, 18 November 2020.

² e.g., *Saxena v. Canada*, UNHRC, no. 2118/2011, Views of 3 November 2016.

Denis SHEDOV (Russian Federation)



Denis Shedov is a researcher at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies of the University College London ([HuRIEE project](#)). Additionally, Denis is finalizing his thesis on Islam-State relations in modern Russia, planning to defend it at the University of Helsinki.

In addition to academic research, Denis is engaged in human rights activism. He is a board member of the Human Rights Defence Centre “Memorial” and an analyst at the Human Rights Media Project [OVD-Info](#), focusing on political persecution and freedom of assembly. Much of his relevant research is published on [the OVD-Info website](#). In September 2022, OSCE published [a report](#) “The Impact of the COVID-19 Pandemic on the Right to Freedom of Peaceful Assembly”. Denis was one of the co-authors of this report, responsible for covering East European and Central Asia countries.

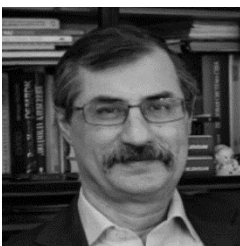
Volodymyr YAVOSRKYY (Ukraine)



Volodymyr Yavorskyy is a human rights lawyer currently working at the Center for Civil Liberties in Kyiv, Ukraine. This organization was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2022. Volodymyr Yavorskyy is responsible for organizing the monitoring of peaceful assemblies and freedom of association, organizing educational events, and analyzing draft and existing legislation. Furthermore, he has drafted numerous laws and comments on the legislation of Ukraine, Belarus, and other countries. Prior to working at the Center, he was the Executive

Director at the Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union for 8 years. In this position, he represented cases in national courts and the European Court of Human Rights in support of peaceful assembly, such as *Vyerentsov v. Ukraine* and *Shmushkovich v. Ukraine*. In 2016, he prepared an Amicus Curiae brief on behalf of the Ukrainian Helsinki Human Rights Union for the Constitutional Court of Ukraine's case on public assembly of religious organizations.

Yevgeniy A. ZHOVTIS (Kazakhstan)



Yevgeniy A. Zhovtis is a graduate from the High Law School “Adilet”, Almaty, Kazakhstan. The primary focus of his work is on civil liberties. Since 1993, he has been working for the NGO Kazakhstan International Bureau for Human Rights and the Rule of Law (Director since 2016). He is also a member of the Board of Directors of the Interlegal Foundation. Furthermore, Yevgeniy Zhovtis has an extensive record of accomplishment as a defense lawyer (License 2001). The Kazakhstan International Bureau for Human Rights and the Rule of Law has issued more than 500 publications on the problems of democratization and economic transformation, human rights situation and the rule of law in Kazakhstan. Further experience includes working for the Independent Trade Union Center of Kazakhstan (Confederation of Free Trade Unions of Kazakhstan) as Vice-President and Head of the Bureau on Information, Analysis and Consultations and the Institute for Mining Researches of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan as Senior Researcher; Researcher; Junior Researcher; Senior Engineer.