

INTRODUCTION :

Democracy in crisis, leadership in crisis of legitimacy?

“We need a visionary political leadership”. This is the message of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, Thorbjørn Jagland to young leaders in eastern and south-eastern Europe. In a context fraught with difficulties, lack of leadership has instilled a crisis of confidence within our societies. The citizens of the western democracies are apparently experiencing widespread disillusionment, reflected in increasing abstentionism at elections. Politics is no longer seen as a means of improving daily lives and ensuring practical responses to problems. Beyond this, however, freedom of the press, media and judicial independence and equality among citizens would no longer seem to be taken for granted, even in the older democracies.

In order to bridge the yawning gap between them and their political, economic and social leaders, citizens are feeling the need to reaffirm and reappropriate the values and foundations of our democracies.

At the inaugural session, Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, defined leadership as the capacity for identifying the requisite upstream action and the ability to conceive of policies beyond the short term, to explain them to the citizens and to take responsibility for them, especially when they are strongly criticised.

What is the hallmark of this crisis? According to Wendelin Ettmayer¹, the lack of solutions to problems fosters a crisis situation. For instance, the collapse of the Lehman Brothers Bank in the USA in autumn 2008 had terrible repercussions on the world economy and caused problems for many countries. Trade dropped off, industrial production plummeted, and budget deficits and public debts soared. Globalisation, which is characterised by interconnecting countries and economies, exacerbated the crisis, which quickly took on worldwide dimensions.

This situation, in which the world economy and finance spun out of control, showed up the politicians' weaknesses and undermined their legitimacy. By intensifying the political crisis and highlighting the weaknesses of some of its mechanisms, the economic and financial crisis is forcing us to search through all the available instruments for the appropriate remedies.

What is the relevant level of governance for effective public action? It would appear that in Europe, the nation state is still the main framework for such action. In Wendelin Ettmayer's analysis, *we are still stuck with 19th-century structures for resolving crises and conflicts and coping with the new challenges facing us*. A new type

¹ Former Austrian Permanent Representative to the Council of Europe.

of European leadership is nevertheless emerging, proposing an alternative for taking up our common challenges together.

“Innovation distinguishes between a leader and a follower”, says the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, Thorbjørn Jagland, quoting the head of the Apple Company, Steve Jobs. “He is right. Europe is more in need of innovative leadership than ever”².

For the fifth year in a row the Summer University in Strasbourg has brought together the new generation of European leaders to address the issue of the crisis of leadership from three different angles: the crisis of democracy, the crisis of politics and civil resistance and democratisation.

² Speech of Thorbjørn Jagland, <http://www.schoolsofpoliticalstudies.eu/speech-thorbjorn-jagland-2010.aspx>

OPENING LESSON BY

Sylvie Kaufmann, *Editor-in-chief of the Le Monde newspaper, Paris*



“Europe’s problem is captaincy”

“I am not madly keen on football, but it is very difficult to avoid soccer fever at the moment in France. The defeat in the last World Cup and all the subsequent ups and downs, the revolt and then the players’ strike in protest against the exclusion of one of their colleagues, Nicolas Anelka, who had abused the coach, and the whole shambles which inevitably led to France’s elimination from the Cup, forced us into a major debate on the reasons for the crisis in French football. Of course the players are too rich, too spoilt, too arrogant and too individualistic. The team is split up into various clans, the clan of the suburban players, the provincial players, the Muslims, the African blacks and the Caribbean blacks; all these clans reflect the compartmentalisation of French society, preventing the team from playing as a team, since it lacked the team spirit. However, the main criticism was directed at the coach, who had failed in his role as a leader. At the end of the day, the French rout was a crisis of leadership, because neither the coach nor the team captain managed to impose a team spirit, which is a *sine qua non* for any chance of a successful soccer team.

Nor was the French team alone in facing such problems, even though our “Blues” provided the biggest spectacle – outside the stadium, unfortunately. The Italian and English teams also suffered, and in each case the leadership was under challenge. The Wall Street Journal summed it up in a headline: “Europe’s problem is captaincy: Faltering football powers seem to be suffering from weak leadership at the World Cup”. The challenge facing the team leaders was to affirm their authority without alienating the players whom they needed in order to win. For the French coach it was too late: when he tried to exert his authority on the pitch, at the crucial moment, he had already been discredited.

In fact, I think that if the problems with the European football teams continue during this World Cup, especially against the Latin American teams, which have shown great consistency so far, it should not be long before our American friends start publishing press articles comparing the decline in European football with the decline in Europe in general. If you removed the reference to “football” from the title of the Wall Street Journal article I have just quoted, it would read “Europe’s problem is captaincy: Faltering powers seem to be suffering from weak leadership”. And to tell the truth, even if the parallel is rather simplistic, it is not completely unjustified. The European Union does have a leadership problem, and some of its Member States are also absorbed in their own leadership problems, often because of weak governmental coalitions. And here again the challenge for the government is sometimes to assert its

authority, that is to say to lead without alienating the “players” – in this case the workers, the citizens – whom it needs in order to win.

The challenge for the government is to assert its authority, to lead without alienating the citizens, whom it needs in order to win

Let us, however, return to the crisis in the soccer teams. Another leadership crisis simultaneously occurred with consequences that were potentially much more serious, this time on the other side of the Atlantic. This crisis began last Monday when the news began to circulate in Washington that General Stanley McChrystal, NATO Chief of Staff in Afghanistan, had spoken to a journalist from the American magazine Rolling Stone. The fact of a US General at war speaking out is already objectionable in itself, in a world where each word is now regularly checked by the communication services. But General McChrystal was not just over-talkative: he actually made sarcastic, contemptuous comments to the Rolling Stone journalist about the representatives of the American civilian authorities, including the Vice-President of the United States, concerning the requisite strategy for Afghanistan.

Apparently, this was not the first time this General had criticised the Vice-President, and some are now saying that President Barack Obama should have reacted faster. This time in any case, Barack Obama was determined not to pass over the insult, however valuable General McChrystal was to him in his role as military leader in Afghanistan. He could not possibly under-react to such a challenge at a time when he himself was facing other challenges on the domestic and international stage, namely a question of leadership.

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Two days after the Rolling Stone article was published, the President summoned the General to the White House and announced that he was being replaced by another high-level general, the man who successfully disentangled the United States from the Iraqi fiasco, General David Petraeus.

In this case President Obama exercised his leadership to the full. His authority had been challenged and he restored it by sacking the arrogant, garrulous general, even if the timing could not have been worse, because General McChrystal was to have organised the “surge” strategy on the ground in Afghanistan, with new reinforcements to combat the Taliban, in a war which has been going on for nine years without really producing the expected results.(...) The swift, firm decision by Barack Obama was welcomed in Washington as proof of his restored leadership, whereas his popularity ratings were dropping and he might seem weakened generally.

Will this be enough? Of course not. If General Petraeus fails in Afghanistan, President Obama will be criticised for not having kept General McChrystal on, and his leadership will be under renewed attack. So in fact leadership is not solely a question of authority. It also involves goals and results.

A French businessman of my acquaintance who runs a major company has for many years, in fact since his time at university, followed a definition coined by Rontchewski, a rather obscure French philosopher but someone whom he greatly

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admires, to the effect that *authority is a quality which motivates men without the need for physical or symbolical violence*. In other words, authority or leadership is not exercised by physical or mental force.

I find this definition interesting, because it applies to the two examples which I have just mentioned, the French football team, and President Obama in dealing with his presumptuous general.

Let us now take the example of Barack Obama's predecessor at the White House, George W. Bush, who had the same powers as Barack Obama. The United States lost its leadership under the Presidency of George W. Bush. Why? Because he went for the wrong goals, and the results were not achieved. This weakened the authority of the US President and his country vis-à-vis the rest of the world.

Of course America showed leadership in deciding to invade Iraq in 2003, whether we agreed with the decision or not. Europe was divided on the issue. Very many countries, including France, condemned this intervention, but others agreed to join in. But what happened? The invasion of Iraq was based on false arguments – the famous weapons of mass destruction – and above all, the Americans had not prepared for the subsequent phase, the occupation and rebuilding of the country. The Neo-Conservative idea of imposing democracy from the outside on an unprepared people proved to be an illusion, and perhaps even a serious mistake. After a brilliant military operation, the intervention turned into a fiasco and alienated a large part of the Arab-Muslim world. This was a blatant example of failed leadership. George W. Bush never recovered from it, a President whose leadership had been saluted after the 9/11 attacks. And even that period is now being challenged, because under the Obama Presidency it is being acknowledged that the Bush Administration went far too far in suppressing people suspected of taking part in terrorist activities. The Guantanamo Prison Camp, which President Obama has still not managed to close because several dozen prisoners remain within its walls, is a persistent black spot which has horribly weakened American leadership worldwide.

By contrast, Barack Obama based his leadership right from the outset on his moral authority, his personal experience and his political commitments, presenting himself as “Not Bush”. Mid-term, his popularity is slipping among his compatriots because of the difficulties he is encountering in implementing the promised reforms, but outside the Arab-Muslim world, he is still a globally respected leader. At the G20 Summit in Toronto this weekend, the American leadership was not challenged, not in the sense of the United States having to be the masters of the world but of Barack Obama being the legitimate leader of a country which happens to be a superpower.

China was also at the G20 meeting. China is also a superpower, and yet it does not exercise leadership. Why? Because for the moment it does not want to do so, but also, and above all, because China lacks the moral authority of the United States and Europe. Because unlike the United States, China is exemplary in terms neither of governance nor of democracy, nor, for the moment, of technological or intellectual

innovation. It is a country which has a very high growth rate and spectacular economic performance, but whose moral authority is undermined, in the eyes of the world, by its restrictions on public liberties. So here we see again that leadership is not just a question of power, it is also a matter of moral authority, goals and results. If China aspires to exercising regional leadership, or in a possible future, world leadership, it must become a model, an “inspiring power”.

I have spoken to you about football, Barack Obama and China. I would also like to give you two examples closer to my home, France, from our recent, indeed current history. The examples are of two French presidents who were very strong presidents, who were elected by a large majority under absolutely democratic conditions, but who both ran into problems of leadership.

The first is our current President Nicolas Sarkozy. He has often been nicknamed the “hyper-President” because he is hyperactive; this is his personal and political nature. He is active on all fronts at the same time, and concentrates a great deal of power in the Elysée Palace. This is due to our political system, but he has his own way of accentuating it. Last week he even interfered in the problems of the French football team. He invited Thierry Henry to his office on the very day the player got back from South Africa. He has also attempted to interfere with the sales of my newspaper, something which is actually still going on as we speak. And this interference has shocked many people in France, because a President of the Republic should have no hand in the change of ownership of an independent newspaper. The outcome of this hyperactivity has been great confusion at a time when the country should be closing ranks to cope with dire economic straits. You will know all the western European countries, and also other newer EU member states, are discussing strict austerity plans and strategies. At a time when the political world needs to unite the population behind it, doubt is spreading about the President’s leadership, because he is considered as being actually responsible for everything, including the many financial scandals and affairs concerning privileges reserved for members of the government, which are front-page news at the moment.

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The other example was François Mitterrand, a socialist President who was triumphantly elected in 1981, putting an end to twenty-three years of right-wing rule. Re-elected in 1988, François Mitterrand also completed his second term in the midst of confusion. I think he had even lost some credit among those who had brought him to power. In this case, it was the lack of transparency, and even occasional mendacity, which weakened his leadership. François Mitterrand lied to the French about his past during World War II, his private life and especially his illness, which he concealed from the population, a disease which struck him down at the end of his second term of office.

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What lesson should we draw from all these examples? Leadership is not mere power or force. Leadership embraces moral authority, goals, results, inspiration and also, obviously, respect for values such as transparency, power-sharing with all the democratic institutions, and respect for the independence of these institutions, including the independence of the media and integrity.”

Conference A:

Leadership in a time of crisis (financial and economic, globalisation, terrorism, organised crime, etc...)

Chair:

Wendelin Ettmayer,
Ambassador, expert in
international relations and
writer, Vienna

Speakers:

Mindia Ugrekhelidze, former
Judge in respect of Georgia,
European Court of Human
Rights

Masahiro Kawai,
Dean and Director General of
the Asian Development Bank
Institute

CHAPTER 1:

Leadership in a time of crisis (financial and economic, globalisation, terrorism, organised crime, etc)

The financial and economic crisis has had an impact on the world's economies: the inevitable domino effect of the crisis has affected some countries more radically than others. Some are still struggling to recover and rebuild, while others, for example in Asia, have regained rapid growth.

A number of dysfunctions have been brought to light, such as various shortcomings in the financial, economic and political systems. One of the causes of the currency crisis in Europe has been weak political leadership. A single European currency without any real European economic governance to supervise it constitutes a deficiency which was accentuated by the crisis. This weakness in the monetary policy conducted since the late 1980s has been highlighted and aggravated by the crisis.

This shows the need for strong institutions capable of responding to such challenges by means of mechanisms for dealing with crises. This is where the leadership concept comes in. Without appropriate leadership, how can we hope to take up regional, national and global challenges?

Nor should we forget that crisis situations are often conducive to corruption and the activities of criminal organisations and terrorists. Leadership is doubly important, whence the urgent need to define it and decide the form which it must take and the optimum means of reinforcing it. Even if it is difficult, indeed impossible, to single out one exemplary model for leadership, it is important to ascertain the potential components of such a model.

Mr Ettmayer, Mr Ugrekhelidze and Mr Kawai provided us with outline analyses in their presentations, summarised below.

Wendelin Ettmayer, *Ambassador, expert in international relations and writer, Vienna*



“Lack of sovereignty in Europe, the trans-Atlantic divide and globalisation: leadership in crisis”

“(…) Any discussion of leadership in times of political, economic and financial crisis and any debate on globalisation, terrorism or organised crime call for a number of comments. In my view, “leadership in times of crisis” is a highly optimistic title, because in many periods of crisis there is no one to take the helm. If leadership is the capacity to motivate people to overcome difficulties, we can also say that it is the capacity to mobilise people to achieve common goals. I have a feeling that it is not so much the leaders who decide the future, but rather it is the future which decides what the leaders will say.

Let us take the example of Europe. The recently concluded Lisbon Treaty set up a series of new institutions, pointing to a new style of leadership in Europe. But when the President of the United States, Barack Obama, is looking for a leader to speak to in the European Union, he does not phone the new EU President but turns to the German Chancellor or the French President. To me, this is a symptom of a crisis, because the real leaders are not the purported leaders of the European Union. Can nation states respond to the international and global crises challenging democracy today? The G20 Summit which took place in Toronto recently once again showed that rhetoric has taken the place of analysis, initiative-taking and leadership. Fanciful ideas are replacing foreign policy.

What obstacles are awaiting our future leaders? The divided sovereignty of Europe represents one structural difficulty. (...) Sovereignty used to be absolute within the individual State, but nowadays, inside the European Union, we are facing a lack of genuine leadership. The fact is that in many fields, such as security, finance and the economy, we are delegating our authority. The sovereignty which Austria has forfeited over its own currency and borders has not really been transferred to the European Union, and that is where the problem lies (...): there is no European (economic and financial) governance or government. Some countries are demanding leadership, while others want stronger government. In this context, how are we to exercise genuine governance, in the absence of any legitimate authority?

The divide between us and the United States, which is widening because of a revolution in European diplomatic relations, is the second problem. For centuries, the legitimacy of foreign policy was geared to reinforcing the power of the States. In contemporary Europe, the war mindset in foreign policy has given way to a values mindset. This revolution has taken place in Europe, but not in the United States, which has preferred to follow the traditional way of foreign policy based on the army, the military. To Americans, foreign policy without an army is like a baseball team without players. (...)

In contemporary Europe, the war mindset in foreign policy has given way to a values mindset. This revolution has taken place in Europe, but not in the United States, which has preferred to follow the traditional way of foreign policy based on the army, the military

The lack of sovereignty in Europe, the trans-Atlantic divide and globalisation explain the leadership crisis. The weakness of the international community is a fact. How are we to reinforce its role, and who will do so: the UN, OSCE, the Council of Europe or NATO? Furthermore, the difficulties linked to such individual characteristics as responsibility, courage and populism, as well as our personal attitudes, also make leadership a difficult task.

Mindia Ugrekhelidze, former President of the Supreme Court of Georgia from 1990 to 1999, and former Judge with the European Court of Human Rights from 1999 to 2001.



“Between autocracy and anarchy: proper balance in leadership”

“Leadership has been the subject of many studies. It is a multifaceted issue which can *per se* signify two different things. First of all, there is the so-called “static” approach, which corresponds to the leader’s status, role and function. Secondly, leadership can refer to the dynamic aspect, the fact of making things work as a leader. These two simple definitions many seem confusing, particularly in a period of crisis, because leading becomes more difficult at such times. What does leadership require, and what extra elements are needed in times of crisis? In the normal run of things, the work of leaders is fairly clear: broadly speaking, they must inspire, unite, organise and lead a group of persons. Leadership validity can be tested by means of sociological research methods, gauging the strength of the interpersonal connections forged by the leadership. Another method can be used to measure the condition and reliability of inter-institutional connections. It is vital to institutionalise interpersonal relations. Where this has been done, we must ascertain whether or not the relations have been adequately institutionalised, otherwise emergency measures will be needed. The success of leadership therefore lies in a proper balance between interpersonal and inter-institutional relations.

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(...) In periods of crisis, the leader’s task is not only to make things work and to unite people. Crises have either positive or negative repercussions, depending on the situation or the leader’s personal characteristics. New relations are required at certain times between the leaders and the public, on the one hand, and between the leaders and the institutions, on the other. The role of leadership increases in times of crisis, because it must offset the shortcomings and lacunae, overcome the difficulties and solve the problems of the critical situation with the leaders’ help. If the leaders fail to offset the crisis, they become an integral part of it and can no longer help the country to overcome it: there is even a risk of exacerbating the crisis.

Again the requisite solution to the crisis depends on how the latter was triggered. The measures needed cannot be exhaustively listed; we must confine ourselves to formulating a general “model hypothesis” for all types of situation. Kurt Lewin originated the concept of “leadership styles”, according to which there are three different styles: autocratic, democratic and “laissez-faire”. The first style takes leadership as being concentrated in the hands of the leader, who does not consult others and takes decisions on behalf of the whole group. The second, democratic leadership, involves making decisions with the agreement, or at least after consultation, of the whole community. The third case, laissez-faire leadership,

The device of concentrating power on one political leader must be confined to crisis situations and be accompanied by certain safeguards.

involves refraining from intervening, although laissez-faire sometimes lapses into anarchy. (...)

If the crisis is rooted in the leader's autocratic style, democratisation may be the only solution. At the opposite extreme, unduly liberal and democratic leadership may produce anarchy and chaos. It is therefore necessary and legitimate to reinforce the leader's authoritarian style. Autocratic leadership cannot, however, be used as a long-term solution to a crisis. The device of concentrating power on one political leader must be confined to crisis situations and be accompanied by certain safeguards. (...)

As for the long-term perspectives, various constitutional reforms would appear promising in crisis situations. I consider constitutional reform as the right way forward, even if it is not unanimously accepted and if it causes confrontation between the government and opposition.

In conclusion, I would like to raise the question of charisma. Is it good or bad for a leader to have charisma? What form should charisma take? (...) The leader should never be incompetent, or excessively egotistical or arbitrary. We must make genuinely democratic choices, adopting reasonable and realistic solutions. Our awareness of democracy is indispensable, and we must constantly reinforce our culture of democracy."

Masahiro Kawai, *Dean and Director General of the Asian Development Bank Institute, Tokyo*



“Innovation? Stability? Responses to the economic and financial crisis”

“(…) I would like to speak to you about the world financial crisis, and more specifically about the manner in which this crisis has been managed, the reforms which have been advocated and the role of Asia, a region which plays a predominant role in the world.

There are several reasons for this crisis, including mistakes in the field of macroeconomic policy, especially in the United States, the United Kingdom and other countries outside the Euro zone. These countries have long been implementing unduly lax monetary policies. Large quantities of liquid assets have been injected into the market, which has fostered property speculation. The second problem is the failure of national and international surveillance, whether in the United States, the United Kingdom or other countries outside the euro zone such as Iceland or the Baltic States. The crisis was not confined to the US and the UK but extended to other economies too (...). Where Asia, Latin America and Africa were concerned, the crisis particularly affected trade, which fell in 2009, accompanied by a decline in industrial production and GDP. These indicators began rising again when interest rates were lowered, and the latter have in fact remained low ever since in most of the crisis-hit countries. Central bank balance sheets have had to be increased in order to provide assets to inject into the money markets. There has also been a budgetary deficit in many countries, and an increase in public sector debt.

This time we managed to avoid the worst-case scenario, namely a Great Depression as in the 1930s, when all the states attempted to assure their own protection to the detriment of their neighbours by increasing customs tariffs, devaluing currency, etc. This game always has losers, and it led to the beginnings of a globalised economy in the 1930s. This time round there was a macroeconomic response in terms of monetary policy, budgetary expansion and support for the financial sector. Furthermore, there was international political co-operation, particularly in the G20. This was supported by the global institutions (IMF, WTO, World Bank, Financial Stability Board, etc) without recourse to protectionist policies, which only worsen the problem. Furthermore, the emerging economies are currently very dynamic, which has helped prevent the collapse that occurred in the 1930s.

At world level, reforms have been initiated in the financial field with the introduction of regulating and surveillance mechanisms. Legislative Bills which would seem headed in the right direction have been tabled in the United States and the United Kingdom. Some progress has been noted at EU level. On the other hand, the question

In connection with the leading role played by Asia in this crisis, I think that it has shown a very high level of leadership thanks to a series of stimulus measures at the national level

in this field is how to encourage the financial sector to continue innovating while preserving stability. The authorities lay the emphasis on stability, owing to the recent crisis, but the financial sector wants to function within a system that does not stifle financial innovation. There is an ongoing debate between innovation and stability. Moreover, the global economic and financial architecture has changed, particularly through the intermediary of the IMF. Consequently, at global level the economy must face up to certain long-term problems: the Doha cycle of trade negotiations which must be completed, the post-Kyoto framework for climate change which is still to be determined, and lastly, the global recovery.

In connection with the leading role played by Asia in this crisis, I think that it has shown a very high level of leadership thanks to a series of stimulus measures at the national level (China in particular has introduced incentive measures to support its growth and that of neighbouring countries; Japan increased its contribution to the IMF by \$ 100 000 000 after the crisis, etc). We can see many schemes under way in the Asia region to support growth and prevent the financial downturn from affecting it. This new leadership in Asia reflects several factors: increased economic vigour, confidence, maturity and trade activities in Japan, Korea, China and India. Enterprises in these countries are increasingly active in interconnecting the countries of Asia and forging links with the rest of the world. Asia underwent a financial crisis in 1997 and 1998, and the lessons which it learnt have stood it in good stead. Even so, it is still facing major challenges, such as establishing institutions to foster regional co-operation. (...) Asia has much to learn from European integration. Furthermore, it must maintain its support for the Doha cycle at the WTO and take action on climate change to mitigate the environmental effects. We must ensure that our projects comprise efforts to change the growth model which has so far targeted European and North American markets and centred on a type of growth detrimental to the environment and to the social situation of the emerging economies in Asia.

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At times of crisis you must further emphasise your commitment with a rules-based system like the WTO's. You must not increase your customs tariffs when your economies are in difficulty. This crisis may be an opportunity for new reforms. There again, what is needed is leadership, and the leaders must be able to persuade the citizens and the industrial sector

(...) This leadership issue is a critical matter. It is vital to be able to respond quickly, decisively and effectively to any crisis. (...) I think the financial community responded fairly responsibly to the world financial crisis, without resorting to policies that would be detrimental to neighbouring countries. This has averted a re-run of the 1930s Great Depression, which is positive in itself. However, this leadership capacity must also take account of the long-term impacts of the crisis, and incorporate long-term responses. (...) The international community has reacted very well. At times of crisis you must further emphasise your commitment with a rules-based system like the WTO's. You must not raise your customs tariffs when your economies are in difficulty. This crisis may be an opportunity for new reforms. There again, what is needed is leadership, and leaders must be persuasive with their citizens and the industrial sector.

Furthermore, you must work with the international community and not withdraw into introspective policies. Such international forums as G20, the IMF, WTO and the FSB (Financial Stability Board) are indispensable. I think that this time, thanks to these bodies, the international community has managed the crisis extremely well”.

Conference B:

The crisis of politics and democracy

Chair:

Klaus Schumann,
*former Director General of
Political Affairs, Council of
Europe*

Speakers:

Zarko Puhovski, *Professor,*
*former President of the
Helsinki Committee for
Human Rights for Croatia,
Zagreb*

Gert Weisskirchen,
*former Member of the
Bundestag, Wiessloch*

Volodymyr Schapoval,
*President of the Central
Electoral Commission of
Ukraine*

CHAPTER 2 :

The crisis of politics and democracy

The crisis of politics and democracy raises the question of the actual state of democracy in Europe and beyond. The “crisis” concept requires us to ponder the dysfunctions in our current political systems.

The issue of the democratic deficit at the centre of the debates in Europe points to a malaise and a malfunction in society. What are the reasons behind this situation? Who should take responsibility for this setback? While we often point to the citizen’s lack of interest and involvement in politics, particularly in the light of the high rates of abstention at elections, the citizen is not the only one to blame. Various factors have led to the democratic deficit, and they vary from country to country: suspicion of politicians, lack of transparency and clarity in the function of the institutions, and lack of legitimacy in some governments.

To challenge a dysfunctional system is to challenge its values. The fact is that respect for values is necessary to the health and balance of any society. The context of a recent economic crisis has also exacerbated the acknowledgement of political crisis, or more precisely of policies. The resurgence of populist, and sometimes xenophobic discourse is a threat to our democratic societies. This type of political strategy raises the question of ethics in democracy and the roles of the different players: if society is to function properly, the citizens, the media and the politicians must place themselves at the service of democracy and the common interest.

Ethics is an essential value which really comes into its own in this context. It is in times of crisis (whether political or economic) that the leadership concept must play a frontline role in problem-solving. We might, however, wonder what makes an individual a legitimate leader in a democratic society. Must he or she necessarily be democratically elected, or is charisma enough?

Thanks to their experience, Klaus Schumann, Gert Weisskirchen, Zarko Puhovski and Volodymyr Schapoval provided analytical data on the crisis of politics and democracy and what role leadership should play in this setting.

Klaus Schumann, former Director General of Political Affairs, Council of Europe



“Crisis of democracy and lack of ethics”

We face a world of paradoxes: there have never been so many people living in democracies, and at the same time there have never been so many people disappointed with democracy.

Citizens are turning their backs on institutional politics, participating neither in the political debate nor in elections, with abstention rates of 80%, particularly during the recent European elections in some countries. When citizens do vote, it is often in order to express populist, or even occasionally xenophobic views.

We are confronted with identity politics and rhetoric. This holds for the north, south, east and west of Europe. And the economic crisis is exacerbating the political crisis, the crisis of democracy, as is the lack of regulation and political supervision of financial interests.

The result of this imbalance of power between the economy and democracy is that all the major decisions are increasingly being taken outside of Parliament, beyond the democratic process. So this leads to doubt as to the relevance and reliability of the decision-making process (...).

We are seeing a lack of mutual trust among politicians, but also a loss of citizen trust in the authorities and more generally, democratic fatigue. This is a deontological crisis, an ethical crisis; there is a glaring lack of moral authority (...).

We should also mention the ambivalent role of the media, which reduces the political debate to a clash of personalities. More often than not, the media come across as a business, a source of profits, rather than placing themselves in the service of democracy as public-interest service providers.”



Gert Weisskirchen, *former Member of the German Parliament (Bundestag), from 1976 to 2009; former Vice-President of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly (2005)*

“Morality and ethics for the proper functioning of democracy”

“(..) Politicians are weak, playing a kind of game. (...) Politicians do not always engage in open dialogue with the electorate. They sometimes deliberately disguise their weaknesses and are insincere in their dealings with the general public. People wishing to enter a career in politics should bear this in mind and use their competences to serve their democracies to the best of their abilities.

Morality or ethics in politics is an essential element for democracy, which comprises elements of admiration. A politician who is responsible for his constituency, indeed for his country, is one who is capable of changing and improving realities. Any chasm between expectations of a democratically elected representative and his day-to-day behaviour will try people’s patience, arouse suspicion of democracy and ultimately lead to crisis between the political institutions and the electorate. This crisis is currently looming large in many European countries.

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Why is demagoguery on the increase, particularly at a time of crisis? Why do politicians never manage to carry out what they have promised?

When we see what our leaders, world leaders, actually do, we realise that there is a very serious crisis in political circles. They should produce a new statutory framework to sort out the finances of the different countries. They should also ensure that the citizens and peoples of nation states worldwide can find renewed confidence in their leaders in the face of the crises we are experiencing. I also hope that journalists will have the courage to criticise mistakes which have been committed and that the politicians will hear these criticisms.”

Zarko Puhovski, *Director of the European University for Peace, Austria, and former President of the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights for Croatia, Zagreb (2000-2007)*



“Living with conflict is in the very nature of democracy”

“(…) I think the theme of the Conference, “The Crisis of Leadership”, is misleading. When we look at democracy from a theoretical and practical viewpoint, the leadership concept is extravagant. It is a problem which relates to the very foundations of democracy. These foundations are very simple: we citizens are autonomous political subjects, adults who, as we say in psychology, do not need leaders. (…)

The word “leader” does not in fact necessarily refer to a democratic leader: the first idea it suggests is really one of “charisma”. The question of strong leadership is primordial, automatically pushing the idea of democracy into the background. (…)

The citizenship issue is central to the debate on the crisis in politics, because there is no democracy without citizens. The cradle of democracy is the crisis of the old regime. Democracy lives through crises, and is in permanent conflict with the concept of stability. The aim is not to swing from one extreme to the other, but to constantly seek compromise. However, increasing stability does not always have the effect of increasing democracy.

The advantage of living with conflicts in democracy is that we can deal with them not by wielding power and resorting to violence but by means of resolutions and dialogue. Living with conflict is in the very nature of democracy.

Two words which are important to the community are “politics” and “media”. *Politica politica* originally referred to an activity geared to promoting the common weal. Politicians were the actors of the common good. “Media” refers to mediation. The verb “to mediate” refers to a set of institutions and practices situated between the source and the target of the information. Both these concepts have now lost their initial meanings. A parliamentary election in any democratic community now boils down to a political “genocide”, in the sense that the people are no longer needed. Where the media are concerned, they do not play the role of mediator, as they should, but rather see themselves as producing information. They have the power to “fashion” information and we have no means of supervising journalists. All the politicians whom I know live in fear of journalists. This means that the media are the problem of modern democracy, because it is a new power which lacks a democratic counterbalance. The wealthy control the media for their own purposes. We can draw two conclusions from this situation. First of all, politicians are playing a new role; and secondly, how are we to fill in the time between elections? Should we “sleep”

politically for the intervening years or can we act in between times? Demonstrations and all other forms of peaceful action are selective means of challenging the situation in a given country.

Countries and citizens need leadership, a direction, support. However, they cannot confer a political role on experts. In this context, the idea of “participatory democracy” comes into its own, because it is a system in which more or less all decisions are taken by all members of society by public deliberation. (...)”

Volodymyr Schapoval, *President of the Central Electoral Commission of Ukraine*



“The different perceptions of leadership”

“(...) There is no one definition of leadership. In Europe we consider that there are groups of countries with differing perceptions of leadership.

In Ukraine and Ireland the political approach differs widely, for a variety of reasons. The politician is part of society, and can put forward certain ideas, give them concrete expression and execute them. The characteristics and attitudes peculiar to post-Soviet states, namely collectivism in public affairs, lead to a specific kind of leadership. There are times when this approach has played an important and positive role for society. However, it often involves outright rejection of individualism. These features necessarily influence the approach to leadership. (...)

The question of status must also be taken into account in any discussion of leadership. In a parliamentary system, the Prime Minister must be considered as the leader. In Ukraine, for instance, the post of President predetermines the leadership status of the person occupying this post. In fact, I think there are three categories of situation. A party can generate or create a leader, but this is politically rather unclear. In the United Kingdom, for example, over the last ten to fifteen years, the main political parties have failed to pinpoint political leaders with the same status as Margaret Thatcher.

Another fairly common scenario is where the parties gather round behind leaders who have already proved their worth. The latter may have lost the leadership of a party, as happened in Ukraine when President Yanukovich became the head of a party which already existed. Valid candidates can join, become members or leaders of a party, or stand for election.

A leader reflects society, he or she is the product, the result of changes in society at a given point in time, and the political personality must reflect society's values. (...)

An elected leader must be appointed to a post if he or she is to have any legitimacy. He must be legitimately recognised, whence the importance of elections.

In recent history, Joseph Potoski was acknowledged as a great leader just before World War II when he play a key role for Poland. He refused to stand for the Presidency even though he had a very good chance of election. This political figure, who is now rather obscure, was acknowledged as the Father of the Nation, even though he never won any elections, and he has been pushed into the background. Elections are vital, because they constitute a democratic process which helps ensure status and legitimacy. And I think legitimacy is of the essence.

In conclusion, I would just mention the enormous complexity of the concept of leadership in the contemporary world. It is very difficult to reduce everything to a single leadership model. I believe that the strongest and most legitimate leader is one who has been recognised by society. Only such a leader will have the requisite authoritative competences and instruments to influence events.”

CHAPTER 3:

Civil resistance, democratisation and democratic stability

In a world which is characterised by intense trade and interconnected economies, climate change, the terrorist threat and organised crime are common challenges to be taken up by global actors in unison. What is the optimum response to these challenges, which threaten our societies on a daily basis?

Leaders do not hold exclusive responsibility for the proper functioning of democracy. All members of society can contribute actively to changing society, or at least to attempting to resolve dysfunctions. This is the principle of active citizenship, where everyone has the “capacity to take an active role in public affairs, whether through formal democratic structures, through the press, through public debate, through associations, political parties, trade unions, local clubs and societies or simply through informal networks and mutual aid amongst neighbours, friends and family”³.

This Chapter introduces the whole concept of “civil resistance”, which prioritises the tactic of “non-violence” and places the citizen at the heart of the action. In so-called democratic societies, citizens must be allowed to express disagreement and combat injustices. However, in many societies where freedom of expression is trampled underfoot, civil resistance is becoming more organised and developed and thus offers an alternative to violent resistance, which is unfortunately too common. This Chapter also introduces the issue of effective contestation. How can we ensure the effectiveness of resistance, in order to establish lasting democratic stability? In other words, we should be thinking about the means of ensuring that popular democratisation processes introduce changes which are enduring and above all are based on genuine values. In the decision-making process, the issue of respecting human rights must be central to all action.

Peter Ackermann, Arwa Hassan and Goran Svilanovic, who are specialists in these questions of civil resistance, democratisation and democratic stability, provide their insights.

³ <https://eurofound.europa.eu/areas/qualityoflife/active.htm>

Conference C:

**Civil resistance,
democratisation and
democratic stability**

Chair:

François Friederich,
Co-ordinator of the Council of
Europe Schools of Political
Studies Programme

Speakers:

Peter Ackerman,
Founding President of the
International Centre on
Nonviolent Conflict (ICNC),
Washington DC

Arwa Hassan,
Specialist in international
development and civil society
organisations in the Middle
East, Frankfurt

Goran Svilanovic,
OSCE co-ordinator for
economic and environmental
activities, Vienna

Palais de l'Europe,
28 June 2010,
14.00-16.00, room 9



Peter Ackerman, *Founding President of the International Centre on Nonviolent Conflict (ICNC), Washington DC, and member of the Council on Foreign Relations and of the International Institute for Strategic Studies.*

“Civil non-violent resistance for more democratic governance”

I would like to mention some misunderstandings about civil resistance, which is sometimes a bit like a change of regime; when we talk about triggering change, it means an individual attempting to bring about change from the outside, that is to say a coup d'état in a different form. These movements necessitate mass participation, and they can seldom be initiated from the outside, even if people can sometimes influence events from the inside.

Secondly, you do not have to be a pacifist to take part in peaceful or passive resistance. Looking at all the resistance movements that have been initiated since 1900, we note that they were led by people who would have used an option other than force if they had had the choice. Civil resistance is used as a means of changing the regime in power because people consider the strategic consequences of conflict. What are we to think of Martin Luther King, for instance, who opposed the use of violence? He wrote a book entitled *Why We Can't Wait* in which he tells how despite protests, he decided to continue resisting until he obtained results. The key element here, as in the case of Gandhi, (...) was the fact of creating these disturbances in order to undermine the opposing party's power structure.

Another interpretation problem shows that this approach does not work against all violent regimes, as proven by the history of civil resistance. Non-violent resistance is essentially an act of disruption and disturbance which makes it more difficult for the opposing party to remain in power and retain its legitimacy. The key element in civil resistance is the fact of a change of loyalties in the bureaucracy, among individuals who are in power in terms of economic structures, and civil resistance movements succeed most definitely when they also involve soldiers and members of the military. Studies have been conducted on this subject. There have been 350 insurrections since 1900. We have noted two different tactics, namely non-violence and violence, as the two main methods. In two-thirds of the 320 violent insurrections, the success rate was 25%. In the civil resistance movements, the success rate was higher, namely 50%. (...)

You will also notice that since civil resistance movements require mass co-operation and participation by society, they lead to more democratic forms of governance once the transition has been completed.”

Arwa Hassan, *Specialist in international development and civil society organisations in the Middle East, Frankfurt.*



“Rethinking strategies for the self-fulfilment of civil society”

“I would like to stress that corruption is still one of the major problems which civil society is attempting to combat in the Middle East. Corruption is a stumbling block not only for the full implementation of human rights but also for development in the Middle East. This problem intensifies when corruption becomes systemic: corruption really impregnates all spheres of society and prevents basic service provision for the citizens. Over the last twenty years we have seen the emergence of several initiatives promoting the full development of civil society, even though this area is still fraught with difficulties. There have been a number of efforts to introduce reforms, and various Bills have been tabled, but unfortunately governmental structures are highly centralised and very few responsibilities go to civil society. (...)

In Egypt, corruption affects many spheres of society and remains difficult to combat. It has completely paralysed the normal functioning of society, and bribing an official to speed up a procedure is commonplace. It can take ages, for example, to obtain a passport, but money under the table will expedite proceedings. The poorer sections of the population are being marginalised, excluded from bribery because of their modest resources. Activists are facing major challenges, and Egypt provides some very telling examples of these problems.

A few years ago, the Government published the so-called “NGO Law 84”, which dramatically restricted NGOs’ freedom of action and made completely neutral activities subject to prosecution. The fact of emailing a so-called “foreign” entity in the United States or Europe became a punishable offence. Only a small number of civil organisations have managed to challenge the governmental policy and demand more rights by handing out tracts. However, the law has succeeded in blocking even this small opening.

The blatant lack of transparency between communities is a further challenge. Governments manage to persuade donors to pay their aid directly to the central authorities; they claim that the NGOs are badly organised and do not deserve the money donated. NGOs need to improve their strategy and increase mutual solidarity in order to overcome these obstacles, by using much more imagination.

The “Chefin.com” group, which means “we see you” in Egyptian Arabic, has managed this feat. This group is mainly made up of women from a variety of backgrounds. It was set up in 2005 at a time when non-violent female demonstrators were being harassed by governmental forces. The government denied any responsibility, despite video recordings which proved the opposite. The idea was therefore to propose a secure platform for hearing citizens’ complaints, monitor the government and show it

Governments manage to persuade donors to pay their aid directly to the central authorities; they claim that the NGOs are badly organised and do not deserve the money donated. NGOs need to improve their strategy and increase mutual solidarity in order to overcome these obstacles, by using much more imagination

Civil resistance can be one of the mainstays for supporting society and the media must also contribute. The watchwords are originality and inventiveness.

that the citizens were not blind. The group has adopted as its logo a black eye on a red background. The group has its own campaign funding, and its members have been working from home and from work. Before the 2005 election campaign, activists outside Cairo were training in the use of all types of technology, which was very innovative for Egypt at the time. Co-ordinators and volunteers were brought in to monitor and observe the elections. A press campaign was launched during the electoral period, and a website was also created to register complaints of electoral fraud; images of electoral irregularities were published on YouTube and a great many actions were carried out, with wide media coverage. The activists were harassed and terrorised by governmental troops, who invaded their offices. (...)

The strategy and specificity of Chefin.com have been to alert citizens by showing them that their rights were being flouted. The group exploited citizen dissatisfaction.

Participation can be promoted and the masses mobilised by means of low-risk action, and the non-aggressive nature of the action should also be stressed, making it more difficult for the government to react with violence. The main point is that civil resistance can be one of the mainstays for supporting society, and the media must also contribute. The conventional strategies for combating corruption can be complemented, and innovative techniques can often offset operational difficulties on the ground. Originality and inventiveness are the watchwords.”

Goran Svilanovic, OSCE co-ordinator for economic and environmental activities, Vienna.



“Introducing sustainable democratic values”

“I would like to talk about sustainability. What practices do we need in order to make changes last? It is not merely a case of changing the government and getting rid of a powerful individual: we must also introduce sustainable, lasting values within the country.

After their arrival in power, leaders learn a lot. They can adopt one of two attitudes: either they show a desire to remain in power for good, or they decide to support the cause which brought them to power in the first place and endeavour to establish fundamental values or ensure respect for such values.

I recently joined an interesting group of eminent persons attempting to analyse the strategies implemented by NATO and Russia. (...) The group members could not agree on human rights as a set of values to be respected from the outset. The primary concerns were the new threats to security, piracy, trafficking in human beings, and also terrorism, drug trafficking, dwindling resources, nuclear waste, money laundering and corruption. In your political careers and in your various countries, you should try to ascertain the national reaction to all these issues. They will have an impact on the future of your country, those in government and the stability not only of the European Union but also of Europe as a continent, as a territory made up of countries and nations. These threats must be properly managed at the national level. What is needed is a genuine long-term change, a real transformation at the national level in the functioning of the country. (...)

In global diplomacy, all leaders need legitimacy. They must observe the law and guarantee the Constitution, but they must also treat it critically in order to make the changes they deem necessary. This is what I would call the “supreme legitimacy factor”. (...)

What guides our leaders if not human rights? Human rights must be respected, but we must also ensure that sufficient natural resources are available. We must prevent leaders from pushing human rights to one side in their decision-making processes, particularly in the fields of climate change and the environmental threat, where human rights come in fourth place rather than first in terms of the “supreme legitimacy factors” in national politics.

The leaders’ fear of terrorism and their desire to guarantee minimum resources is quite justified. However, the human rights concept must be borne in mind too, just as we must also strike a balance in our choices. To put this concept aside is to engage in *Realpolitik*, which is a major challenge. Leaders can at any time abandon the values

In global diplomacy, all leaders need legitimacy. They must observe the law and guarantee the Constitution, but they must also treat it critically in order to make the changes they deem necessary. This is what I would call the “supreme legitimacy factor”

which brought them to power. This is part of the concept of losing power and jeopardising democracy (...).

There are very real threats. My country, Serbia, aspires to acceding to the European Convention on Human Rights. We still have work to do, but thanks to your support we will ensure that our countries develop in line with the provisions and standards of the Council of Europe.”

CONCLUSION:

Towards visionary leadership and a genuine culture of ethics

The debates during the fifth Summer University concentrated on the need to revive the idea of democracy by stressing the importance of the role of leadership. The current period of crisis and doubt in all western countries highlights the need for new leadership. This term embraces all players taking an active part in developing and improving our societies: citizens, associations, local and regional associations, state players and the international community.

A leader must propose appropriate solutions for problems which, as Bianca Jagger⁴ stressed in her closing address, concern us all and impact directly or indirectly on our lives. In addition, we must dialogue, exchange and debate with all our economic, political and social partners.

Goran Svilanovic alerted the participants in Strasbourg to the threats and pitfalls to which leaders are prone. The reality of power is often far removed from the ideals of young leaders who come to power defending certain values. The role and status of a leader must be challenged, particularly in times of crisis.

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More than just uniting, leading and organising, the leader must be firm, balanced and legitimate. Nevertheless, there is no such thing as a universal model for leadership. French leadership is different from American leadership and the Asian model, because of the differing relation to power. It is often impossible to transpose a model from one country to another. Every society has its own specificities and characteristic power structure. The powerful message from all our discussions boils down to this: "let's show solidarity by helping each other provide the best possible solutions".

The crisis has had the advantage of triggering a wind of reform and a genuine dynamic for change among leaders, whose role is to prevent any worsening of the crisis. Accordingly, political action must take the long-term perspective in order to capitalise on the public officials' and politicians' leadership qualities. Will the stability of our societies guide our decision-making, or, on the contrary, will we prioritise innovation and inventiveness? Major changes occur in times of crisis, when the existing instruments for addressing the problems are overtaken by global challenges and new players emerge to provide global solutions. The role of such international and supranational structures as the Council of Europe, the UN, the G20, the

⁴ A human rights and environmental activist, founder and President of the Bianca Jagger Human Rights Foundation.

geopolitical and economic organisations (MERCOSUR, ASEAN and the European Union) should not be underestimated.

At all events, the culture of democracy must be presented and promoted by means of genuine democratic and ethical choices. Political leaders, the media and civil society bear equal responsibility for creating and perpetuating a genuine culture of ethics in society. More ethics also means more transparency and therefore more democracy.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Programme of the 5th Summer University for Democracy

Monday 28 June
09.00 – 12.30

Opening Session Session d'ouverture

Mr Thorbjørn Jagland, Secretary General of the Council of Europe M.
Thorbjørn Jagland, Secrétaire Général du Conseil de l'Europe
Welcome by **Mr Roland Ries**, Senator Mayor of Strasbourg
Statement by **Mr Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu**, President of the Parliamentary
Assembly of the Council of Europe
Statement by **Ms Luisella Pavan-Woolfe**, Permanent Representative of the
European Commission to the Council of Europe
Address by **Ms Catherine Lalumière**, President of the European Association
of the Schools of Political Studies of the Council of Europe, former Secretary
General of the Council of Europe
Statement by **Mr Vasko Naumovski**, Deputy Prime Minister for EU
Integration of "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", on behalf of the
Chair of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe

11.00

Opening lecture by Ms Sylvie Kauffmann, Editor in chief, "Le Monde", Paris

12.15

Group photo in front of the Palais de l'Europe

12.30

Lunch at the restaurant of the European Parliament

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14.00 – 16.00

Introductory conferences

**CONFERENCE A:
LEADERSHIP IN A TIME OF CRISIS (FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC,
GLOBALISATION, TERRORISM, ORGANISED CRIME...)**

Chair:

Mr Wendelin Ettmayer, Ambassador, author on International Affairs,
Vienna

Speakers:

Mr Mindia Ugrekhelidze, former Judge in respect of Georgia, European
Court of Human Rights

Mr Masahiro Kawai, Dean and CEO, Asian Development Bank Institute,
Tokyo

**CONFERENCE B:
CRISIS OF POLITICS AND DEMOCRACY**

Chair:

Mr Klaus Schumann, former Director General of Political Affairs, Council of
Europe

Speakers:

Mr Zarko Puhovski, Professor, former President of the Croatian Helsinki
Committee of Human Rights, Zagreb

Mr Gert Weisskirchen, former Member of the Bundestag, Wiesloch

Mr Adrian Severin, Member of the European Parliament, former Minister of
Foreign Affairs of Romania

**CONFERENCE C:
CIVIL RESISTANCE, DEMOCRATISATION AND DEMOCRATIC SUSTAINABILITY**

Chair:

Mr Vladimir Lukin, Human Rights Ombudsman of the Russian Federation, Moscow

Speakers:

Mr Peter Ackerman, Founding Chair, International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, Washington D.C.

Ms Arwa Hassan, international development specialist focusing on civil society organisations in the Middle East region, Frankfurt

Mr Goran Svilanovic, Co-ordinator of OSCE Economic and Environmental Activities, Vienna

20.00 Reception offered by the Secretary General of the Council of Europe, Palais Universitaire

Monday 28 June – Tuesday 29 June

Thematic workshops

A1: International leadership, multilateralism and globalisation. The role of the States and international organisations in global governance

**Monday 28 June
16.30 – 18.30**

Chair

Leonora Kryeziu, Founder and Director of the School of Political Studies in Kosovo

Speaker:

Wendelin Ettmayer, Ambassador, expert in international relations and writer, Vienna

**Tuesday 29 June
09.30 – 12.00**

Chair:

Olsi Dekovi, Director of the Academy of Political Studies in Tirana

Speaker

Masahiro Kawai, Dean and CEO of the Asian Development Bank Institute in Tokyo

14.30 – 16.30

Chair

Sonja Licht, Director of the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence

Speaker

Ivan Vejvoda, Executive Director of the “Balkan Trust for Democracy”

A2: What kind of leadership is needed to face global challenges (financial crisis, terrorism, environment, etc.)?

**Monday 28 June
16.30 – 18.30**

Chair

Istvan Gyarmati, President of the International Centre for Democratic Transition in Budapest

Speaker:

Irina Alexieva, Director of Bulgarian School of Politics

**Tuesday 29 June
09.30 – 12.00**

Chair:

Leonora Kryeziu, Founder and Director of the School of Political Studies in Kosovo

Speaker:

THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

Julian Popov, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bulgarian School of Politics

14.30 16.30

Chair:

Nevena Crljenko, Director of the Academy for Political Development in Zagreb

Speaker:

Julian Popov, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bulgarian School of Politics

A3: Leadership in a crisis: the American experience

**Monday 28 June
16.30 – 18.30**

Chair

Nevena Crljenko, Director of the Academy for Political Development in Zagreb

Nancy Forbord, Director of the Diplomatic Tradecraft Associates (DTA)

**Tuesday 29 June
09.30 – 12.00**

Chair:

Igor Gaon, Executive Director of the School of Political Studies Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo.

14.30-16.30

Speaker:

Nancy Forbord, Director of the Diplomatic Tradecraft Associates (DTA)

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B1: Crisis of leadership and crisis of politics: challenge to democratic legitimacy and public authority?

**Monday 28 June
16.30 – 18.30**

Chair

Armen Zakaryan, Director of the Yerevan School of Political Studies in Armenia

Speaker:

Christian Saves, Political scientist specialised in democracy

**Tuesday 29 June
09.30 – 12.00**

Chair:

Boris Raonic, Director of the School of Democratic Leadership in Podgorica

Speaker:

François-Gilles Le Theule, Director of European Affairs at the ENA

14.30 16.30

Chair:

Ilgar Mammadov, Director of the Baku Political Studies Programme

Speaker:

Christian Saves, Political scientist specialised in democracy

B2: Leadership: technocracy or politics?

Monday 28 June
16.30 – 18.30

Chair

Elena Nemirovskaya, Director of the Moscow School of Political Studies

Speaker:

Alexei Makarkin, Vice President of the Centre of political technologies in Moscow

Tuesday 29 June
09.30 – 12.00

Chair:

Armaz Akhvlediani, Director of the Tbilisi School of Political Studies

Speaker:

Alexei Makarkin Vice President of the Centre of political technologies in Moscow

14.30 – 16.30

Chair:

Olsi Dekovi, Director of the Academy of Political Studies in Tirana

Speaker:

Marija Lugaric, Member of the Croatian Parliament

B3: How to make elections more democratic: electoral standards, internal democracy of political parties, gender balance in politics?

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Monday 28 June
16.30 – 18.30

Chair

Viorel Cibotaru, Executive Director of the European Institute for Political Studies of Moldova

Speaker:

Pierre Garrone, Head of the Division of Elections and referendums at the Venice Commission

Tuesday 29 June
09.30 – 12.00

Chair:

Ihor Kohut, Director of the Ukrainian School of Political Studies

Speaker:

Patrick Trees, Secretary of the Canton Bern Parliament

14.30 16.30

Chair:

Anne Juganaru, Director of the “Ovidiu Sincai” European School in Bucharest

Speaker:

Patrick Trees, Secretary of the Canton Bern Parliament

C1: Civil resistance against oppression: leadership from mobilised society

Monday 28 June
16.30 – 18.30

Chair

Maciej Bartkowski, Senior Director for Education and Research at ICNC

Tuesday 29 June
09.30 – 12.00
14.30 – 16.30

Speaker:

Anne-Marie Codur, Co-founder of the University of the Middle East Project, Independent consultant

THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

C2: Civil resistance and accountable governance: role of citizens in the fight against corruption and social and economic Injustice

Monday 28 June
16.30 – 18.30

Chair:
Shaazka Beyerle, Vice President of the Washington-based European Institute

Tuesday 29 June
09.30 – 12.00
14.30 – 16.30

Speaker:
Vijay Anand, President of the Fifth Pillar, New Delhi

C3: Role of diplomats in supporting grass-root activism and bottom-up democracy promotion

Monday 28 June
16.30 – 18.30

Chair:
Kurt Bassuener, Expert for the OSCE-ODIHR's Election Observation Union

Tuesday 29 June
09.30 – 12.00
14.30 – 16.30

Speaker:
Christopher Miller, Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID)

12.30

Lunch at the restaurant of the European Parliament

17.00

Information meeting on the "International Center on Nonviolent Conflict"

Tuesday evening – Reception offered by the City of Strasbourg, Pavillon Joséphine

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Wednesday 30 June

09.30 – 12.00 Professional Workshops

Local authorities: strengthening local democracy

Chair:
Mr Childerik Schaapveld, Director of Democratic Institutions, Council of Europe

Speakers:
Mr Owen Masters, expert on local self-government and former Member of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe
Mr Robert Herrmann, Deputy Mayor of Strasbourg
Mr Adrian Ionescu, Director of the Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative, Budapest

National authorities: reconciling citizens with their representatives

Chair:
Ms Sonja Licht, Director of the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence

Speakers:
Mr Gert Weisskirchen, former Member of the Bundestag, Wiesloch
Mr Jean-Claude Mignon, Head of the French delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe
Mr Andreas Gross, Member of the delegation of Switzerland to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Chair of the Socialist Group

Media: new technologies and training for journalists

Chair:

Mr Jack Hanning, Secretary General of the European Association of the Schools of Political Studies, Strasbourg

Speakers:

Mr Vladimir Vasak, Journalist, ARTE, Strasbourg

Mr Alexandre Heully, Co-founder and Director of the European webzine "Cafebabel.com", Paris

Civil society: reforms and European integration

Chair:

Mr Gautier Pirotte, Lecturer, University of Liège

Speakers:

Ms Vanessa Ortiz, Senior Director for Civic and Field Learning, International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, Washington D.C.

Mr Oriano Otocan, Association of the Local Democracy Agencies, Brussels

12.30 Lunch at the restaurant of the European Parliament

14.00 – 17.30 Visit to the Court / Bilateral Meetings Visites à la Cour

14.00 – 15.30 Visit to the European Court of Human Rights for the schools of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia
Bilateral meeting for the schools of Moldova and Romania
Information meeting on the Council of Europe's programmes and activities for the school of Ukraine

Information meeting on the Council of Europe's programmes and activities for the school of Belarus

16.00 – 17.30 Visit to the European Court of Human Rights for the schools of Belarus, Moldova, Romania and Ukraine

Bilateral meeting for the schools of Armenia and Azerbaijan
Bilateral meeting for the schools of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia
Free afternoon for the schools of Albania, Bulgaria, Georgia, Kosovo*, Montenegro, Russia, Serbia and "The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"

Evening – free or invitations by Permanent Representations Soirée

Thursday 1 July

09.30 – 12.00 Regional conferences

Energy and security issues in the Black sea

Regional meeting for the schools of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Russia

Chair:

Ms Elena Nemirovskaya, Director of the Moscow School of Political Studies

Speakers:

Ms Liana Jervalidze, Director of Energy and Environment Project, Georgian Institute of Public Affairs, Tbilisi

Mr Alexander Krylov, Fellow, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Moscow

THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

Energy security and climate challenges

Regional meeting for the schools of Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Kosovo*, Montenegro, Romania, Serbia and "The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"

Chair:

Ms Sonja Licht, Director of the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence

Speakers:

Mr Haakon Blankenborg, Ambassador of Norway to Serbia and to Montenegro, Belgrade

Mr Zoran Morvaj, National Project Manager, Energy Efficiency Project, UNDP Croatia

European integration and Eastern Partnership

Regional meeting for the schools of Belarus, Moldova and Ukraine

Chair:

Mr Ihor Kohut, Director of the Ukrainian School of Political Studies, Kyiv

Speaker:

Mr Egidio Canciani, Directorate General for the External Relations, European Commission

Mr Oleksandr Chalyi, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine, Kyiv

- 14.00** People Power: The Game of Civil Resistance, video game presentation by International Center on Nonviolent Conflict
- 14.00 – 15.30** **Visit to the European Court of Human Rights** for the schools of Georgia, Kosovo*, Russia and Serbia
Regional meeting for the schools Albania, Montenegro and "The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"
National meeting for the school of Bulgaria
- 16.00 – 17.30** **Visit to the European Court of Human Rights** for the schools of Albania, Bulgaria, Montenegro and "The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"
Bilateral meeting for the schools of Georgia and Russia
Bilateral meeting for the schools of Kosovo* and Serbia
Free afternoon for the schools of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Moldova, Romania and Ukraine

Evening – free or invitations by Permanent Representations Soirée

Friday 2 July 2011

10.00 – 12.30

Closing session

Chair:

Mr Thorbjørn Jagland, Secretary General of the Council of Europe

Statement by Mr Bamir Topi, President of the Republic of

Address by **Ms Ludmila Alexeeva**, Chair of the Moscow Helsinki Group, Sakharov prize-winner 2009

Address by **Ms Bianca Jagger**, Council of Europe Goodwill Ambassador for the fight against the death penalty, Founder and Chair of the Bianca Jagger Human Rights Foundation, London

**11.30
finale**

Presentation of the Final Declaration *Présentation de la Déclaration*

Award of diplomas to the participants by the Secretary General

Closing of the 5th Summer University by the Secretary General of the Council of Europe

19.30

Garden party at the Jardin des Deux Rives

Appendix II: List of experts

Peter Ackerman,

Ph.D. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at the Tufts University. Founding Chairman of the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict (ICNC), based in Washington D.C., Member of the Council on Foreign Relations and of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London.

Armaz Akhvediani,

Degree in political science from the Lomonosov State University of Moscow. Former member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe between 2000 and 2004. Founder and Director of the Tbilisi School of Political Studies.

Ludmila Alexeeva,

A graduate of the History Faculty of Moscow State University. Chair of the Moscow Helsinki Group since 1996. Member of Russia's Presidential Human Rights Commission since 2002. Sakharov prize-winner in 2009 on behalf of Memorial.

Irina Alexieva,

M.A. in business administration from the American University in Bulgaria and M.A. in economics. Business journalist and Director of Bulgarian School of Politics.

Vijay Anand,

President of the NGO Fifth Pillar of India fighting against corruption, relaunched in 2007.

Maciej Bartkowski,

Ph.D. in political science and M.A. in international relations and European studies from Central European University in Budapest. Former lecturer and European Union observer for elections. Senior Director for Education and Research at ICNC.

Kurt Bassuener,

M.A. in European studies from the Central Europa University in Prague. Expert for the OSCE-ODIHR's Election Observation Union. Co-founder and Senior Associate of the Democratization Policy Council, Washington D.C.

Shaazka Beyerle,

M.A. in international relations from George Washington University. Senior Advisor of the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict in Washington D.C. Founding Vice President of the Washington-based European Institute.

Haakon Blankenborg,

Norwegian Ambassador to Serbia and to Montenegro since 2005. A graduate from the University of Oslo in history and political science. Former member of the Norwegian Parliament (1981-2005).

Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu,

Degree in international relations and M.A. in economics. Member of the Turkish Parliament for Antalya since 2002. President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

Egidio Canciani,

Civil servant at the Directorate General of External Relations of the European Commission.

Olekandr Chalyi,

Candidate of Sciences (Law), Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Ukraine. Former Permanent representative of Ukraine to the Council of Europe. State Secretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs on European integration issues (2001-2004). Foreign advisor of the President of Ukraine (2006-2008).

THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

Viorel Cibotaru,

Executive Director of the European Institute for Political Studies of Moldova. Director of Information and Documentation Center referring to NATO since 2007.

Anne-Marie Codur,

Ph.D. in economics and sustainable development from Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris. Co-founder of the University of the Middle East Project (UME). Academic Director of UME (1999-2005) and then Executive Director (2005-2008). Independent consultant since 2008.

Nevena Crljenko,

Executive Director of the Academy for Political Development in Zagreb, founded in 2004. Former coordinator at Pro Notis (Zagreb) and marketing manager.

Olsi Dekovi,

Director of the Academy of Political Studies in Tirana established in 2007. Director of the Information Office of the Council of Europe in Albania.

Wendelin Ettmayer,

Ph.D. of law at the University of Vienna, degree from the Diplomatic Service of Austria and from the Institute for Political Science in Paris. Former permanent representative of Austria to the Council of Europe until 2009. Ambassador to Finland (1994-2000) and to Canada (2000-2003).

Nancy Forbord,

Independent management consultant linked to the US Foreign Service. Principal since 1995 of Diplomatic Tradecraft Associates (DTA) (training in diplomacy and management).

Igor Gaon,

Doctor in natural sciences of the University of Sarajevo. Former Special Representative of the Secretary General of the Council of Europe in Georgia. Executive Director of the School of Political Studies Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo.

Pierre Garrone,

Ph.D. from the Geneva University and M.A. in European studies from the College of Europe. Head of the Division of Elections and referendums at the Venice Commission.

Andreas Gross,

Degree in history and political science. Journalist and co-founder of the Scientific Institute for Direct Democracy in Zurich in 1988. Member of the Swiss Parliament since 2001 and member of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe since 1995.

Istvan Gyarmati,

Ph.D. in political science. Former Hungarian Foreign Service officer. President of the International Centre for Democratic Transition in Budapest.

Jack Hanning,

Secretary General of the European Association of the Schools of Political Studies since 2008. Educated at Malvern and the University of Oxford. Former Director of Communication Department and former Director of External Relations at the Council of Europe.

Arwa Hassan,

M.A. in modern languages from Cambridge University. International development specialist focusing on civil society organisations in the Middle East region, Frankfurt.

Robert Herrmann,

M.A. in public management. Deputy Mayor of Strasbourg and general councilor of Bas-Rhin.

Alexandre Heully,

Degree from the Institut d'Etudes Politiques of Strasbourg. Founder (2001) and Director of Cafebabel.com, a European webzine.

Adrian Ionescu,

Director of the Local Government and Public Service Institute in Budapest since 1997. Certificate from Harvard University, MBA from University of Quebec in Montreal and M.Sc. from the Polytechnic University of Bucharest.

Bianca Jagger,

Prominent international human rights and climate change advocate. Council of Europe Goodwill Ambassador for the fight against the death penalty, Founder and Chair of the Bianca Jagger Human Rights Foundation, Member of the Executive Director's Leadership Council of Amnesty International USA and Trustee of the Amazon Charitable Trust.

Thorbjørn Jagland,

Secretary General of the Council of Europe since 2009. President of the Storting (Norwegian Parliament) from 2005 to 2009. Former Prime Minister (1996-97) and Minister of Foreign Affairs (2000-2001). Degree in economics from the University of Oslo.

Liana Jervalidze,

Caspian region policy specialist and analyst with Orbeliani Centre for Advanced Strategic and National Security Policy Studies. Director of Project of the Georgian Institute of Public Affairs in Tbilisi.

Anne Juganaru,

Degree in strategic studies and national defense, in international relations and Ph.D. in military science from the National Defense University. Journalist and Director of the "Ovidiu Sincai" European School in Bucharest.

Sylvie Kauffmann,

Former reporter in Southeast Asia. Executive Editor of "Le Monde" in Paris since 2010. Correspondent of the Agence France Presse in London (1980-84), Warsaw (1984-85) and Moscow (1986-88). Former correspondent of *Le Monde* in Washington, D.C. and New York.

Masahiro Kawai,

Ph.D. in economics from Stanford University. Dean and CEO of the Asian Development Bank Institute in Tokyo. Former Chief Economist of the World Bank's East Asia and Pacific Region (1998-2001) and Deputy Vice Minister of Finance for International Affairs of Japan's Ministry of Finance from 2001 to 2003.

Ihor Kohut,

Educated at the National University "Kiev-Mogiliansky Academy". Political analyst and Chairman of the Board for the Agency for Legislative Initiatives. Director of the Ukrainian School of Political Studies since its creation in 2005.

Leonora Kryeziu,

Founder and Director of the School of Political Studies in Kosovo, founded in 2003.

Alexander Krylov,

Degree from the Lomonosov University in Moscow. Fellow at the Institute of World Economy and International Relations in Moscow. Former Associate Dean in the Department of Economics and Management at the National Institute of Business (NIB) and co-founder of the Bremen School of Economics.

THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

Catherine Lalumière,

Ph.D. in public law and degree in political science and history of law. Former Secretary General of the Council of Europe (1989-94) and former Vice President of the European Parliament (2001-2004). President of the European Association of the Schools of Political Studies of the Council of Europe. President of the French Federation of the Maisons de l'Europe.

François-Gilles Le Theule,

M.A. in public law, studies at the "Ecole Polytechnique" and at the ENA (Ecole Nationale d'Administration). Director of European Affairs at the ENA since 2006 and expert transferred to the European Commission.

Sonja Licht,

Diploma in sociology from the University of Belgrade, Faculty of Philosophy. President of Foreign Policy Council at the Serbian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Director of the Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence.

Marija Lugaric,

Member of the Croatian Parliament since 2000, working in the Committee for Education, Science and Culture, Committee for Family, Youth and Sports and Committee for Interparliamentary Cooperation.

Vladimir Lukin,

Degree from the Department of history of Moscow Lenin State Educational Institute. In office at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1987-1989). Deputy at the Russian Duma since 1990 and Chairman of the Duma's Foreign Affairs Committee. Human Rights Ombudsman of the Russian Federation since 2004.

Alexei Makarkin,

Studies in history at the Moscow State University. Member since 1995 and Vice President since 2004 of the Centre of political technologies in Moscow.

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Ilgar Mammadov,

Degree from Lomonosov Moscow State University and Central European University in Budapest. Political analyst and Director of the Baku Political Studies Programme.

Owen Masters,

Former member the Congress of the British Delegation to the Congress of Regional and Local Authorities of the Council of Europe since 1998. Deputy Head of the Council of Europe Election Observation Mission for the Kosovo Municipal Elections in 2000.

Jean-Claude Mignon,

Member of the National Assembly since 1988 and Mayor of Dammarie-lès-Lys since 1983. Head of the French delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

Christopher Miller,

M.A. in international affairs from the American University School of International Service, Washington D.C. and B.A. in sociology from Ithaca College. Foreign Service officer with the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID).

Zoran Morvaj,

Ph.D. in power systems from the University of Zagreb and MBA in Finance from the Imperial College in London. National project manager on energy efficiency project, UNDP Croatia.

Vasko Naumovski,

Degree in law and M.A from the "Rheinische-Friedrich-Wilhelm" University in Bonn, Germany. Deputy Prime Minister for EU integration of "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia".

Elena Nemirovskaya,

Degree in architecture and art. Founder (1992) and Director of the Moscow School of Political Studies. Has been awarded the Order of the British Empire and the "Pro Merito" medal of the Council of Europe.

Vanessa Ortiz,

M.A. from The Fletcher School at Tufts University. Senior Director for Civic and Field Learning at ICNC. Former Project Officer at the International Rescue Committee.

Oriano Otocan,

Member of the Government of the Istria region and of the governing board of the Association of the Local Democracy Agencies.

Luisella Pavan-Woolfe,

Degree in political science at the Padua University. Civil servant at the European Commission since 1975, notably at the Directorate General of employment, social affairs and equal opportunities. Permanent Representative of the European Commission to the Council of Europe.

Gautier Pirotte,

Lecturer in the department of socio-anthropology of development at the University of Liege. Ph.D. in sociology and expert on organisations comprising civil society both in Central and Eastern Europe and in the Sub-Sahara region.

Julian Popov,

Diploma in literature from Sofia University. Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Bulgarian School of Politics since 2006. Consultant on numerous projects on institutional development, public relations and education policy.

Zarko Puhovski,

Studies of political science in Germany. Professor, notably of political philosophy at the Zagreb University and political analyst. Scientific Director of the European Peace University in Austria. Former President of the Croatian Helsinki Committee of Human Rights (2000-2007).

Boris Raonic,

Degree in law. Founder and Director of the School of Democratic Leadership in Podgorica. Programme Director of the Youth Initiative for Human Rights in Montenegro and founder of the Nansen Dialog Center.

Roland Ries,

Degree in French language and literature. *Ad interim* Mayor of Strasbourg from 1997 to 2000. Mayor since 2008. Senator, Chairman of the Commission of Economic Affairs and Vice President of the Commission of European Affairs at the French Senate.

Christian Saves,

Degree in law and political science and from the ENA (Ecole Nationale d'Administration). Political scientist specialised in democracy.

Childerik Schaapveld,

Degree in history from the University of Leiden. Former Programme Manager for the European Commission EuropAid (2000-2002) and NGO Advisor to the OSCE in Warsaw. Director of Democratic Institutions at the Council of Europe since 2009.

Klaus Schumann,

Ph.D. in political science from the University of Cologne. Director of Committees and Studies in the Secretariat of the North Atlantic Assembly in Brussels. Senior civil servant at the Council of Europe (1974-2005). Former Director General of Political Affairs (2000-2005)

THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

Adrian Severin,

Degree in law from the University of Bucharest and from the London Business School. Member of the European Parliament. Former Deputy Chairman (1992-2007), Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania (1996-97).

Goran Svilanovic,

M.A. in law from the University of Belgrade and studies at the International Institute for Human Rights in Strasbourg. Former Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from 2000 to 2004 and then Minister of Foreign Affairs of Serbia and Montenegro. Currently Coordinator of OSCE Economic and Environmental Activities.

Bamir Topi,

President of the Republic of Albania elected in 2007. Diploma from the Agricultural University of Tirana and from the Veterinary Medicine Faculty. Former member of the Parliament and former Minister of Agriculture and Food (1996-97).

Patrick Trees,

M.A. in public administration from the University of Bern. Secretary of the Canton Bern Parliament. Head of Foreign Relations of the Canton of Bern from 2000 to 2008.

Mindia Ugrekhelidze,

Ph.D. in law from the Tbilisi State University. Chairman of the Supreme Court of Georgia from 1990 to 1999. Judge at the European Court of Human Rights between 1999 and 2001.

Vladimir Vasak,

DEA (Diplôme d'études approfondies) in business law at Paris I University, Pantheon-Sorbonne. He majored in journalism and reportage at the Formation Centre for Journalism in Paris. Journalist at ARTE since 1992.

Ivan Vejvoda,

Degree from the Institut d'Etudes Politiques of Paris and in philosophy at Belgrade University. Executive Director of the "Balkan Trust for Democracy", based in Washington D.C. Former Senior Advisor on Foreign Policy and European Integration to two Serbian Prime Ministers.

Gert Weisskirchen,

Degree in education science, political science, and economic and social history from the Heidelberg University. Member of the German Parliament (Bundestag) from 1976 to 2009. Member since 1994 and Vice President between 2002 and 2005 of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly.

Armen Zakaryan,

Director of the Yerevan School of Political Studies in Armenia created in 2005.

Appendix III: List of Participants

MOSCOW SCHOOL OF POLITICAL STUDIES

BEREZKINA	Inna	Moscow School of Political Studies, programme co-ordinator Volgodonsk Common Court of Arbitration, Chairperson; Volgodonsk
BINKOVSKIY	Vladimir	Municipal Duma, Deputy
BOLKVADZE	Arsen	Perm Municipal Duma, Deputy
BONDARENKO	Liudmila	The insurance company "Tsaritsa", general director
BOTVIN	Timur	Color-IT Company, director
CHERNOV	Alexander	The advertising-information magazine for VIP "Tochka (The Point)", company "Basko", correspondent
CHUMBADZE	Ketevan	Moscow State Institute of International Relations (University) of the MFA of Russia, master's degree student
DYATLENKO	Dmitry	Director of Municipal district, Chairman of Municipal Assembly, Deputy of Municipal Assembly
EVLIKOVA	Viktoria	PA & PR company CROS
FORMALNOVA	Evgeniya	Yedinaya Rossiya, Smolensk regional branch, press-secretary South telecommunication company, Kabardino-Balkarian Office, PR manager
GENDUGOVA	Marianna	Moscow School of Political Studies, manager
GONTAREVA	Anastasiya	Line Resource Company, General Director
GRACHEV	Alexey	Vesty PC Internet Project, owner and editor in chief
KALYADIN	Dmitry	Voronezh Levoberezhny District Police, Officer Department, acting head
KHABAROV	Roman	Nizhnii Novgorod Association of Residential Real Estate Owners, Director
KLIMINA	Olga	Green Party Rukhanyat, vice-chairman, leader of youth wing
KOKTYSHEV	Pavel	Russian Federation State Duma, Assistant to Deputy
KORYAKINA	Darya	Cheboksary Municipal Duma, Deputy/ Society with limited liability "INKRIT", Director
LADYKOV	Alexey	Deputy of Smolensk City Council
LAZARENKOV	Ilya	Smolensk Municipal Council, Youth Council, member
LEBED	Anastasia	Municipal Council of Municipal District "Yaroslavskiy", Moscow, deputy
MALYSHEVA	Yulia	Co-ordinator of the Ukrainian School of Political Studies
MATVIENKO	Svitlana	Press-service Daggosuniversiteta, employee
MUSAEV	Musa	Director of the Moscow School of Political Studies
NEMIROVSKAYA	Elena	Information and Documentation Center on NATO, Republic of Moldova
PANAINTE	Polina	Kultaevo's district hospital, doctor
PONOMAREV	Aleksey	ROO Omsk Oblast Entrepreneurs Union, Vice President
PROVOZIN	Alexey	Municipal Council, Chairman
REPNIKOV	Aleksey	CJSC AF "FINANCES - N", CEO
SAPELKIN	Vitaly	ZAO "EZH Media", Human resources manager
SHAGZHINA	Sayana	Lecturer, Orel SAU, director education Center "Career"
SHCHEGOLEV	Evgeny	Republican Social Organization "City without Narcotics", executive director
SHIPANOVA	Larisa	Self-employed entrepreneur, web resource manager
SHMELEV	Alexandr	Government of Moscow, Administration of Khoroshevsky district, lawyer
SHMELEVA	Svetlana	Mari State Technical University, lecturer
SHVETSOVA	Tatiana	Non-Profit Organization Fund "Kostroma Center for the Support of Civic Initiatives", Founder, CEO;
SOROKIN	Nikolay	Kostroma Center for Regional Research Ltd, Founder, CEO ; Ph.D. in History
STEPANOVA	Anastasiya	Vladimir State TV and Broadcasting company, special correspondent
TIMAKIN	Alexander	Russian National Scout Organisation/International Commissioner
TITOV	Dmitry	Management of social protection of the population of Azov, manager
YAKHIKHANOV	Zelimkhan	Parliament of the Chechen Republic, Head of the press-service

TBILISI SCHOOL OF POLITICAL STUDIES

AKHVLEDIANI	Armaz	Director of the Tbilisi School of Political Studies
CHAKHVADZE	Tea	Lawyer of Batumi Sea Port
CHITUNASHVILI	Dali	National Center of Manuscripts, Scientific Employee
DIASAMIDZE	Teimuraz	Chairman of the Department of Tourism of Adjara AR
DIASAMIDZE	Zviad	Director of Center for Regional Development and Initiatives
GOGIASHVILI	Aleksandre	Art Director of LTD "Key Group"
GOGUADZE	Nino	Member of the Central Election Commission of Georgia
GUJABIDZE	Nikoloz	Deputy Director of LTD "New Service"
GURTSKAIA	Soso	Judge of Tbilisi City Court
GVAZAVA	Guranda	Assistant Professor of Batumi State University
JANELIDZE	Nino	Journalist of Newspaper "P.S"
KADAGIDZE	David	Managing Partner, MIT Group
KAZUMOV	Oktai	Representative of "Caucasian House"
KHELADZE	Sophiko	News Anchor of Radio "Commersant"
KHOJEVANISHVILI	Aleksandre	Chief of General Inspection of Ministry of Economic Development
KIRTADZE	Davit	Deputy Chairman of the Central Election Commission of Georgia
KLDIASHVILI	Giorgi	Director of Institute for Development of Freedom of Information
KOCHORASHVILI	Ketevan	Member of the Tbilisi City Assembly
KOIAVA	Giorgi	Lecturer of Intern.Financ.Reporting,Caucasus School of Business
LIM	Valeri	Project Officer of the Association of Disabled Women
MAKHVILADZE	Giorgi	EU National Project Co-ordinator KAS-TSPS
MANIA	Esma	National Center of Manuscripts, Scientific Employee
MESKHI	Irakli	Head of Financial Analysis Department of Batumi Hospital
MIKADZE	Lasha	Journalist, TV "Imedi"
NASRASHVILI	Lali	Director of the Immovable Property Registration Service Center
OTKHMEZURI	Konstantin	Co-ordinator of Political Analysis, International Center on Conflict
PAKSASHVILI	Paata	Deputy Head, General Inspection of Ministry of Defence
SHURGAIA	Mamuka	Senior Auditor of LLC "Ernst and Young"
SIKHARULIDZE	Juga	Head of sales Department, Georgian Steel
TABAGUA	Anri	Specialist of the Tbilisi City Assembly
TSERTSVADZE	Tinatini	Director of the Dochanashvili Authoring School
TSISKARAULI	Taia	Specialist of the Tbilisi Regional Center of Revenue Service
TURMANIDZE	Sulkhan	News Anchor of Radio "Commersant"
TUSIASHVILI	Tatia	Assistant Professor of the Technical University
ZARGINAVA	Lasha	Journalist; Director - Radio "Harmonia"

Bulgarian School of Politics

ALEKSANDROVA	Violeta	Economist
ALEXIEVA	Irina	Executive Director of the Bulgarian School of Politics
ADEM	Fatme	Chemical engineer
AHMEDOV	Mustafa	Industrial engineer
APOSTOLOVA	Antoaneta	Mayor, musician
ARNAOUDOVA	Stanislava	Economist
BALABANOVA	Donika	Head of Centre for Social Rehabilitation and Integration, social manager
BANKOV	Zahari	Development manager (Easy Asset Management)
CHAKAROVA	Gergana	Assistant of the Direction, French philologist
CHIFLICHKI	Ivo	President of YNSMP, engineering designer
DILOVA	Nadia	Economist
DIMITROVA	Ani	Marketing Director Emporiki Bank Bulgaria-Credit Agricole Group, marketing

DREKOV	Liubomir	International Trade, economist
DUSHKOVA	Rayna	PR specialist
EMIN	Myumin	Student
ETEM	Ayhan	Economist
GEORGIEV	Kiril	Manager, economist
HARIZANOVA	Elena	Public Communication Expert
HRISTOVA	Milena	Member of Parliament, jurist
IBRIAMOVA	Ayrin	A youth co-ordinator and projects expert, political scientist
ILIEV	Ivan	Expert strategy & planning - Bulatsa
IVANOVA	Valentina	Software Engineer
KARASTOYANOVA	Polina	Executive Director, National Tourism Board, economist Director, engineer, Directorate "Economic development and European programmes"
MARKOV	Stoyan	
MARKOV	Boris	Chairman of the Election Committee of UDF, Bulgaria, economist
MILCHEVA	Gabriela	Manager of company, economist
NIKOLOV	Valentin	Member of Parliament,
PANCHUGOV	Hristo	Political scientist, Deputy Secretary General - Union of Democratic Forces
PARGOV	Kaloyan	Sofia Municipal Councillor - Bulgarian Socialist Party, economist
PETROVA	BISERKA	Member of Parliament, lawyer, social pedagogue
PETROVA	Elisaveta	Advisor of the National Assembly, political scientist
RACHEVA	Rositsa	Clinical psychologist
RAICHEVA	Galina	Executive Director, finance
SIMEONOVA	Daniela	Programme Director, Bulgarian School of Politic
SLAVCHEV	Simeon	Engineer
SLAVKOVA	Galya	Assistant, political scientist
STEFANOV	Svetoslav	National Organiser, international relations expert
STOYANOV	Georgi	National co-ordinator of political party, economist
TCONEVA	Antoaneta	Consultant
TOMOV	Alen	Attorney at law
VASILEVA	Marta	Speech and language pathologist and therapist

EUROPEAN INSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL STUDIES (CHISINAU)

BARBAROSIE	Arcadie	Executive Director, Institute for Public Policy
BODIU	Dorian	Democratic Party of Moldova
BOIAN	Victoria	Programme Co-ordinator IESPM, APE
BUCĂȚARU	Iulian	Businessman
BUTUC	Marin	Lecturer at the Moldova State University
CHIOSA	Nicolae	Assistant Mayor, Lăpușna, District of Hîncești
CIBOTARU	Viorel	Director, IESPM Director of the Center of Information Technologies, Comrat State University
CILCIC	Vladimir	
CIORICI	Dumitru	President, Young Journalist Centre
CIUDIN	Alexandru	MA Student, Academy of Public Administration
FLEAS	Alexandru	Adviser of General Mayor of Chisinau Municipality
FURTUNĂ	Ana	MA Student, Academy of Public Administration
GAJIU	Aurica	Editor-sociologist
IONITA	Irina	Project Manager, UNDP Moldova
IVAS	Adrian	Youth Co-ordinator, Pretura district Center, municipality Chisinau
MIHAILOV	Veronica	Public Lawyer, BAA "Avocații Publici" Head of the Local Public Administration Department, The State Chancellery of the Republic of Moldova
MOCANU	Gheorghe	
MOCANU	Elena	Student
MOROȘANU	Raisa	Accountant
MUNTEANU	Constantin	Priest
NASTAS	Diana	Main specialist, Ministry of Constructions and Regional Development

THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

OSIPOV	Dorina	Director "Odoras" Journal
RAILEANU	Ana	Senior Adviser Parliamentary Commission for Mass-Media
RAPCEA	Vitalie	Student of IESPM
REVENCO	Beatricia	Operational assistant EC Project "TACIS"
ROȘCA	Natalia	Human Resources Department, Democratic Party of Moldova
SĂRBUȘTEANU	Irina	Inspector, Center for Combating Economic Crimes and Corruption
SHEVCHENKO	Natalia	Ministry of Justice (Transnistria)
SINCARIOVA	Elena	Bureau for Reintegration, Government of the Republic of Moldova
STEGARESCU	Grigore	Programme Assistant, ADEPT
STERCUL	Natalia	Lecturer, Moldova State University
TALMACI	Eugeniu	Project Manager, "Lobster" SRL
TÎRBU	Rodica	Lawyer, Ministry of Health
TURCANU	Traian	Assistant to the SRSG
VÎNTU	Anatolie	Philologist, lawyer
ZAHARIA	Mariana	Secretary-referent, alliance MOLDOVA NOASTRA party

PRISTINA INSTITUTE FOR POLITICAL STUDIES

ABRASHI	Dafina	Kosovo President's Office, Protocol Manager
ALIU	Shemsedin	European Commission – Center for Regional Development of the North
BAKIJA	Jetmir	NDI, Manager
BEGOLLI	Gent	AAK, Head of Youth Forum
BELEGU	Alba	UNDP, Project Officer & Assistant Professor, AUK
EMINI	Visar	LDK, Vice President of the Youth Forum
GECI	Mehdi	Kosovo Assembly, Head of Kosovo Independent Supervising Council
GJONBALAJ	Labinat	Kosovo Customs, Intelligence Unit
GOJANI	Mimoza	Office of Deputy Prime Minister – European Affairs Officer
HAIJZERAJ	Rita	Kosovo Assembly, Member of Parliament & Vice president of AKR
HASANI	Arjeta	PIPS Project Co-ordinator
HOTI	Faik	MH, Director of the Information Department
HOXHA	Elisa	MIA, Officer for Public Safety
KASTRATI	Shefki	NDI, Legislation Office, Legal Officer
KELMENDI	Petrit	Liberal Institute for Policy Research
KRASNIQI	Njomza	Kosovo Government, Media Officer
KRYEZIU	Leonora	PIPS Executive Director
LATIFI	Luan	IMK, Head of Licenses Division
MALIQI	Aferdita	IPSB "Pjetër Budi" – Policy Development Co-ordinator
MARLEKU	Alfred	WUS, Co-ordinator of Brain Gain Programme
NUSHI	Venhar	Club for Foreign Policy, Co-ordinator
OSMANI	Arianit	OSCE, Local Governance Monitoring Officer MH, Head of Medical Supply Division & Assistant Professor, Faculty of Pharmacy
PAJAZITI	Arbenita	Daily Newspaper "Zëri", Journalist
PAJAZITI	Ardiana	NGO Center for Peace & Tolerance – Information Officer
POPOVIC	Srdjan	Kosovo Assembly, Protocol Advisor for the Head of Parliament
RECICA	Skender	Regional Institute for Democracy and Human Rights, Co-ordinator
REXHAJ	Astrit	CEC, Co-ordinator of the Voters Service
RRUSTEMI	Adnan	Kosovo Police, Information Officer
SADRIU	Brahim	TV Alsat, Director for the Kosovo Office
SALIHU	Bul	KDI, Manager of the "Central Governance" Programme
SELMANAJ	Driton	Prime Minister's Office, Director of the Community Office
SENTIC	Srdjan	Pristina Mayor's Office, Media Advisor
THACI	Burbuqe	Director of the Directorate for Local Governance, Ministry of Local Self Governance
UKIMERAJ	Rozafa	KDTP, Deputy Head of Party, Pristina
USTAIBO	Cuneyd	

XHEMAJ	Bashmir	PIPS Information officer
ZUZAKU	Agim	MPS, Political Advisor

SKOPJE SCHOOL OF POLITICS

AGOVSKI	Boris	Lawyer, Council of Municipality Karpos, Skopje
BAKIU	Bashkim	Analyst in Center for Research and Policy Making
BAZERKOVSKA	Jovana	Sociologist (specialised in equality and diversity) Professional Assistant, Pension and Disability Insurance Fund, Tetovo branch office
BEXHETI	Flakron	Programme Manager, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs - Macedonia
CHAPAROSKI	Filip	Political scientist, NGO activist
DIMOV- MARKOVSKA	Dona	
DODOVSKA	Ivanka	Assistant professor at Faculty of Law, University St. Cyril and Metody
DOJCINOVA	Hristina	Interpreter - EU Accredited; Masters in European Studies
EVROSIMOVSKI	Mihajlo	Management Consultant
GJORGJIEV	Goran	Mechanical Engineer - FENI Industry
GOLEVA	Natasha	Sociologist, Master of philosophy
HAMITI	Demir	Lawyer
IVANOVSKI	Aleksandar	Lawyer/ Legal expert
JOVANOSKI	Aleksandar	Civil servant - Secretariat for European Affairs
JOVANOVSKA	Nadica	Project Manager
KAMCHEV	Petar	Acting Deputy Head of Sector for Integration - Secretariat for European Affairs, Government of "the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia"
KARAMANDI	Ljubica	Lawyer
KICEVA	Blagica	Lawyer - Prevention Inspector MOI Social Worker - Programme and financial assistant at Westminster Foundation for Democracy
KOSTOVSKA	Marija	M.Sc. Economics; Teaching and research assistant within the Faculty of Economics-University "Ss Cyril and Methodius", Skopje
MAMUCHEVSKA	Daniela	Civil servant, Ministry of Labour and Social Policy
MEMETI	Elvis	Project Assistant at the Skopje School of Politics/Forum-CSR
MIHAJLOVSKA	Cvetanka	Procurement Specialist
MRKEV	Vlatko	Assistant Head of Department for Legal Matters
NEZIRI	Teuta	Consultant
NIKOLOVSKI	Ljupcho	Journalist
PETROVSKI	Konstantin	University Assistant
QERIMI	Njomza	Executive Manager
RAMANCHEVA	Tanja	Journalist
RASHIDI	Nazim	Assistant at the Tetovo University, Philological Faculty
SALIHI	Salajdin	Director, Skopje School of Politics
SENTIC-GABER	Kalinka	Professor in SEE University in Tetovo
SHABANI	Arafat	Head of International Relations Office/State University of Tetovo
SHEHU	Shefik	Programme and Budget Analyst
SPASEVA	Verica	Political scientist - United Nation Population Fund (UNFPA)
TRAJKOVSKA	Makedonka	Media analyst
ZDRAVEV	Damjan	

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BELGRADE FUND FOR POLITICAL EXCELLENCE

ALEKSIC	Tatjana	Journalist in the information programme, RTV B92 Head of the party caucus in the Vozdovac Municipal Assembly, Serbian Progressive Party (SNS)
ANTONIJEVIC	Ljubisa	Head of the party caucus in the Novi Pazar Municipal Assembly, Sandzak Democratic Party (SDP)
BACEVAC	Muamer	Co-ordinator, YuRom Center
BALIC	Sanja	

THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

BANDOVIC	Igor	Programme Manager, European Fund for the Balkans
DJURETA	Valentina	Alumni Programme Co-ordinator, Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence
GAVRILOVIC	Tanja	Co-ordinator for Public Procurement, PE Elektromreza Srbije
GROZDANOVIC	Milos	Deputy in the Niš City Assembly, Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) Vice-President and Spokesperson of the Party, Democratic Action Party (SDA)
IMAMOVIC	Enis	
IVANCEVIC	Jelena	Programme Assistant, Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence
JOVANOVIC	Nenad	Assistant to the Mayor of Lebane, Democratic Party (DS)
JOVETIC	Zeljko	Mayor of the Obrenovac Municipality MP at the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, Democratic Party (DS)
JOVISIC	Jadranka	
KOVACS	Elvira	MP at the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, Deputy Member of the National Assembly Delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Alliance of the Vojvodina Hungarians (SVM)
LICHT	Sonja	President, Belgrade Fund for Political Excellence
MARIC	Drazen	Teaching Assistant, Faculty of Economics in Subotica
MEHANDZIC	Jovana	Speaker of the Vracar Municipal Assembly
MILOSEVIC	Vojislav	Project Manager, European Movement in Serbia
MRDOVIC	Boris	President of the Priboj Municipal Board (SPS) MP at the National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia, Democratic Party (DS)
NIKOLIC	Dejan	Spokesperson of the SPO Vojvodina Board, Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO)
PAJIC	Nikola	
PAUNOVIC	Sasa	Mayor of the Paracin Municipality
PESIC	Ljiljana	Head of the Nis Book Centre, PE <i>Textbook Publishing House</i> Head of the party caucus in the Belgrade City Assembly, Democratic Party (DS)
PETRIN	Zlatko	MP at the Vojvodina Assembly, Mayor of the Titel Municipality, Democratic Party (DS)
PETROVIC	Milivoj	Deputy Mayor of the Novi Beograd Municipality, Liberal Democratic Party (LDP)
PETROVIC	Milos	
SIKMAN	Jelena	Master Studies in European Integration , Novi Sad University
TRIVAN	Dragan	Vice-President of the Belgrade Chamber of Commerce Deputy in the Kragujevac City Assembly, Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO)
UROSEVIC	Milan	
VLAHOVIC	Vuk	Advisor at the Office of the Prosecutor for Organised Crime Member of the DSS Council Board for Foreign Policy and European Integration, Democratic Party of Serbia
ZIVKOVIC	Uros	

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SCHOOL OF DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP (PODGORICA)

ABAZOVIC	Dritan	Co-ordinator, Forum 2010
AGOVIC	Samedin	Bosniac Council, member
AGOVIC	Samir	Berane, President of Local Assembly
BOSNJAK	Branka	PZP, member of Presidency
BRAJOVIC	Ljiljana	Nova, chief of President's cabinet
BULAJIC	Tatjana	Ministry for european integrations, advisor
CAMAJ	Nikola	Tuzi, President of Local Assembly
CRVENICA	Blazo	CDT, programme co-ordinator
CUPIC	Pavle	MANS, co-ordinator of Parliamentary programme
DJONOVIC	Jelena	UNDP, programme manager
GOLUBOVIC	Svetozar	SNP, Member of Parliament
HAJDARPASIC	Satka	Liberal party, Vice President
HASANAGA COBAJ	Edina	SDR, Administrative manager
IVANOVIC	Darko	Journalist/Editor, TV IN
KADOVIC	Ana	NDI, Deputy Director
KALAC	Hazbija	Bosnian Party, Vice President

KALEZIC	Mirko	NDC, Office manager
KEKOVIC	Srdjan	Syndicate, Secretary General
KOVACEVIC	Spasoje	SNP, President of local board Danilovgrad
KRALJEVIC	Natasa	Council of Europe, project manager
KRIVOKAPIC	Milan	SDP, president of Municipal board Kotor
KRSTOVIC	Snezana	Pljevlja Municipality, advisor
LLUNJI	Mentor	Forca, member of Presidency
MINIC	Milica	RTV Atlas, Editor
MINIC	Ljiljana	Daily "Dan", Editor
NURKOVIC	Osman	Bosnian party, Vice President
RADONJIC	Goran	Nova, Member of Presidency
RADOVIC	Milan	Youth Initiative for Human Rights, Co-ordinator
RAONIC	Boris	SDR, Director
RISTOVIC	Boris	Journalist, Vijesti
RUBEZIC	Nebojsa	DPS, member of Youth wing Presidency
SJEKLOCA	Dragan	TVCG, editor
SUSIC	Ivana	Student, Winner of show "We choose new leader"
VUJICIC	Dubravka	LP, vice president
VUKOVIC	Natasa	SNP, Member of Parliament

SCHOOL OF POLITICAL STUDIES BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

AHMETOVIC	Djenita	Project assistant, School of Political Studies Bosnia and Herzegovina
BAIER	Dajana	Member of the SDP main board
BANDIC-DRNDO	Alma	MP at FBiH Parliament and president of SDA women's organisation
BEGANOVIC	Kemal	Member of SDP main board in Zenica
BEHREM – STOJANOV	Maida	CCI NGO, project manager
BERA	Goran	Economy, PaoloIntesa bank
BULJUBASIC	Aida	Member of the SBiH youth board
CRNADAK	Igor	Deputy President of PDP party
GASPAR	Ivica	Cantonal Minister of Interior
GAZIBEGOVIC	Azra	NGO "REVOLT" activist
GOVEDARICA	Vukota	MP at RS Parliament and deputy president of SDS party
HADZIABDIC	Sanjin	"Centre for promotion of civil society", NGO
HAJDER	Ermin	Mayor, city of Bosanski Petrovac
HANUSIC	Adrijana	Lawyer
JOSIC	Zeljko	Mayor, city of Domaljevac
KOVACEVIC	Sasa	Member of the SNSD youth board
KOVC	Daniel	Member of RS minorities council
KRSTANOVIC	Luka	Member of the HDZ main board in Tomislavgrad
MAGAZINOVIC	Sasa	MP at FBiH parliament
MAHMUTOVIC	Dzevad	Member of the SDA main board in Tuzla
MARKOTA	Marijana	Siroki Brijeg municipality chancellor
MASIC	Damir	MP at FBiH parliament
MATISIC	Drazen	BiH Ministry of Communications and Transport Programme co-ordinator, School of Political Studies Bosnia and Herzegovina
MAVRIC	Esad	
MILETOVIC	Sanja	Member of the PDP youth board
NINKOVIC	Ljubo	Member of the SDS board in Banjaluka and SDS Youth organisation
PERIC	Zvonko	President of HDZ 1990 Youth organisation
PETROVIC	Dusan	Member of the SNSD main board in Zvornik
RIFATBEGOVIC	Ahmed	OSCE, advisor
RISOVIC	Sasa	Member of the PDP main board
SALIHBEGOVIC	Dijana	Head of public administration department, St.Grad Sarajevo
SAVIC	Mladen	Member of the main board of DP party

THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

SOPIN	Milanka	Minister assistant, RS ministry of LSG
STAJCIC	Vladimir	SG of the DP party
SUPLJEGLAV	Predrag	Mostar city administration
TANASIC	Milica	Member of the SNSD main board in Doboj
VASIC	Krasnodar	SG of the HSP party
VRANJES	Zlatko	Member of the HDZ BiH main board, custom inspector
ZULJEVIC	Aner	Member of the SDP main board and head of SDP in Mostar

ACADEMY FOR POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT (ZAGREB)

ALECKOVIC	Lamija	Journalist, Croatian National Television
AUGUST	Andrea	Head of Centre for HITRO.HR, Financial Agency
BAJKUSA	Mario	Programme Co-ordinator at Forum for Freedom in Education
BESIREVIC	Natasa	Assistant - Junior Researcher, Faculty of Political Science
BILUSIC	Ivana	Judge - Municipal Court in Split
BRKIC	Ivana	Journalist and Reporter for RTL Television
BRNCIC	Ana	Member of the Steering Board of Academy for Political Development, Consultant at EU Info Center of the DEU in Croatia
BUZINKIC	Emina	Secretary General at the Croatian Youth Network
CRLJENKO	Nevena	Executive Director, Academy for Political Development
CURCIJA	Josip	Business Development Manager in King ICT
DUMICIC	Mirna	Advisor in Financial Stability Department in Croatian National Bank Product Designer, Vice President of the City Organisation of Youth of HDZ in Rijeka
ESKINJA	Maja	
FRESL	Tomislav	Researcher for Documents - Centre for Dealing with the Past
GLIBIC	Denis	Int'l Sales and Consulting Projects, Mobilkom Austria Group GmbH
HORVAT	Vedran	Head of the Office in Croatia, Heinrich Böll Stiftung
HREBAK	Dario	Vice President at the Bjelovar-Bilogora County Assembly, Member of Presidency of HSLs, President of the Youth of HSLs, Employee of Ministry of Interior Affairs
HUSAK	Miran	CEO - Thermal Water Park Aquae Balissae Daruvar, Vice President of the Bjelovar-Bilogora County Organisation (HSS)
KATICIN	Danijel	Mayor of Municipality of Tkon
KEGLOVIC – HORVAT	Ana	Assistant at Faculty of Transport and Traffic Science
KOSTRO	Milan	Journalist at RTL Croatia Economic Advisor of Independent Union of Research and Higher Education Employees of Croatia
KRISTOF	Marko	
KUTLIC	Goran	Zagreb City Council Member (Social Democratic Party of Croatia)
MARKOVINOVIC – ZUNKO	Ivana	Attorney-at-law
OTOCAN	Oriano	Head of Department for International Cooperation and EU Integration, Region of Istria and Member of Governing Board of ALDA
PAJDAKOVIC – SEBEK	Petra	Journalist and Editor, Croatian National Television
PERESA	Irena	Project Assistant - GONG
PETROVIC	Vlatka	Technology Transfer Professional Deputy at the City Assembly of Vrgorac (independent), Member of the Board of MI Pivac company
PIVAC	Miljenko	
RADACIC	Ivana	Researcher at the Ivo Pilar Institute of Social Sciences Assistant Researcher, Department of Power Systems, Faculty of Electrical Engineering and Computing
ROBIC	Slavica	
SIMIC	Ana Marija	Journalist, Media and Cultural Critic
TOKIC	Josip	Agroeconomist, Member of the City Assembly of Djakovo (HSP)
VASILJEVIC	Snjezana	Senior Assistant, Faculty of Law University of Zagreb
ZECEVIC PEDIC	Tomislava	Professor, Member at the City Council of Rijeka (HDZ)
ZELIC	Dragan	Deputy Executive Director at GONG

“OVIDIU SINCAI” EUROPEAN SCHOOL (BUCHAREST)

ANCA	Andrei	Social Inspector, Territorial Labour Inspectorate, Timis county
ANTON	Anca Daniela	Advisor, National Commission for Hospital Accreditation
BARBUT	Dan Marcel	State Inspector, Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure
BOTIZAN	Mihaela	Legal Advisor, National Authority for Property Restitution
COJOCARIU	Eugen	Secretary General, Radio Romania International
CONSTANTINESCU	Adrian	Lawyer, Vrancea Bar
DINCU (URSU)	Mirela	English Language Teacher, "Spiru Haret" National College
DRAGASTAN	Maria Mirela	Director Co-ordinator, Romanian Post Company - Bacau branch
DUMITRICA	George Ionut	MP, National Liberal Party
ENACHE	Adriana	Administrative Assistant, Embassy of Canada
FILLOREANU	Rucsandra	Programme Assistant, QVORUM European Institute
FRUMUZACHE	Veronica	Chief-Economist, Agriteam Expert Company
HUIU	Iulia	Head of Analysis and Strategy, National Liberal Party
IONESCU	Dan Alexandru	Expert, National Bank of Romania
IONITA	Andrei Constantin	Lawyer, Arad Bar
IUGA	Tibor	Advisor, Executive Presidium, Hungarian Democratic Union
JUGANARU	Anne Rose Marie	Director, "Ovidiu Sincai" European School
KEDVES	Zalan	Advisor, Ministry of Regional Development and Tourism
KOSZTI	Andrei	Lawyer, Bucharest Bar
MATEESCU	Barbu	Researcher, "Ovidiu Sincai" Institute
MIKLOSI	Ildiko	Media Advisor, Hungarian Democratic Union
MOISE	Alina Daniela	Executive Secretary, Conservative Party, Bucharest branch
MOLDOVEANU	George Marius	Local Councillor, 4th District, Bucharest, Conservative Party
ORBAN	Andrei	Director of the Timis County Prefect Chancellery
PENDIUC	Emanuela	TV Moderator and Journalist, Romanian Public Television
PETRE	George	Legal Advisor, Human Rights Department, Romani CRISS
PETRESCU	Luiza-Maria	Legal Advisor, National Authority for Property Restitution
POENARU	Lucian Traian	Lawyer, Stoica & Associates Law Firm, Bucharest
POPESCU – CRETULESCU	Andreea	Special Reporter and Moderator, <i>Realitatea TV</i> channel
RATA	Marinela	Editor, Political Section, <i>Evenimentul zilei</i> daily newspaper
RISTA	Diana	Project Assistant, "Ovidiu Sincai" European School
RIZEA	Roxana Silvia	Advisor, European Parliament
STOICIU	Victoria	Project Co-ordinator, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung - Bucharest Office
STROE	Ionut-Marian	MP, National Liberal Party
SURUPACEANU	Mugurel	MP, Deputy Leader of the Social Democratic Party group
TABARA	Cristian	Director of the Movie Department, Romanian Public Television
TIUGEA	George-Vadim	Project Assistant, "Ovidiu Sincai" European School
WINZER	Cristian-Gabriel	Associate Lawyer, <i>Danila, Petre & Partners</i> law firm, Bucharest

YEREVAN SCHOOL OF POLITICAL STUDIES

ANANYAN	Artyom	Mother See of Holy Etchmiadzin, Co-editor of the Official Review "Etchmiadzin"
ATOYAN	Vardan	Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Armenia, Assistance to the Deputy Minister-Chief Treasurer
AVETISYAN	Georgi	"Democratic Way" Party, Head of Youth Branch
AVETYAN	Armine	"168 hours" Newspaper, Journalist
BALOYAN	Aramayis	Staff of the Office of the President of the Republic of Armenia, Office of Amnesty, Citizenship, Awards and Titles, Leading Specialist
BEZHANYAN	Vardan	Yerevan State University Law Faculty, Civil Procedure Department – Lecturer; Converse Bank CJSC, Head of Internal Legal Support Unit

THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

DADUNTS	Marat	"Rights Information Center" NGO, President
GABRIELYAN	Mkhitar	Yerevan State University, Faculty of History, Vice-Dean
GALSTYAN	Narine	Armenian-Greek Friendship Centre, NGO Project Co-ordinator
GEVORGYAN	Gohar	www.tert.am- Informational Website, Journalist
GHAZARYAN	Artak	USAID/CAPS Project, Nathan Associates/Armenia, Director
GHUKASYAN	Vard	"Union of Communities of Armenia" Union of Legal Entities, Assistant to the President of Board of Communities Association of Armenia, Vice-President of Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe
GISHYAN	Lusine	Yerevan Municipality, Financial Department, Non-Commercial Organisations Functioning Division, Leading Specialist
HAKOBYAN	Alik	"AR Television Studio" ltd, News Department Director
HAKOBYAN	Lusine	Constitutional Court of the Republic of Armenia, Assistant to Judge, Chief Specialist, Lawyer
HAYRAPETYAN	Ruben	Armenian State University of Economics, Lecturer; "Elola" CJSC, Deputy Director
HOVHANNISYAN	Kristine	Constitutional Court of the Republic of Armenia, Assistant to Judge, Chief Specialist, Lawyer
ISAKHANYAN	Voskehat	National Assembly of the Republic of Armenia, Assistant to the Member of Parliament
KARAPETYAN	Edgar	Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University, Faculty of Economics and Finance, Associate Professor
KATRJYAN	Haykanush	"European Integration" NGO, Project Co-ordinator
MANUKYAN	Yevgenia	"Democracy Starts with You!", EU Project Administrator, "Press Club Ararat" NGO
MARGARYAN	Hovhannes	Ministry of Finance of the Republic of Armenia, Non Tax Revenue and Custom Policy Division of State Revenue Policy Department, Senior specialist
MINASYAN	Sergey	Caucasus Institute, Deputy Director
MIRZOYAN	Dianna	Central Electoral Commission of Armenia, Foreign Relations Department, Leading Specialist
MKRTUMYAN	Elina	Yerevan School of Political Studies, Project Co-ordinator
REVAZYAN	Robert	"Helsinki Committee of Armenia" Human Rights Defender NGO, Lawyer
SARGSYAN	Anna	"Shoghakat" TV Company, TV Journalist
SARGSYAN	Iren	Civil Court of Appeal of the Republic of Armenia, Assistant to Judge, Lawyer
SAROYAN	Garik	Ministry of Urban Development of the Republic of Armenia, Head of Law Department
SEROBYAN	Alla	"Hayastani Hanrapetutyun" Daily, Journalist
SOGHOYAN	Armen	Yerevan State Medical University, Associate Professor; Armenian Medical Association, Vice-President
STEPANYAN	Khachatur	Armenian State Pedagogical University after Kh. Abovyan, Lecturer of the Chair of the History of Armenia
TER-BALYAN	Vahram	Member of Civil Service Council of the Republic of Armenia
TOVMASYAN	Hrayr	German Technical Cooperation (GTZ), Legal Advise Project, Lawyer
ZAKARYAN	Armen	Yerevan School of Political Studies, Director

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UKRAINIAN SCHOOL OF POLITICAL STUDIES

BREZA	Iryna	Head of Uzhgorod Press Club
BUNDUKOV	Oleh	Deputy Minister, Ministry of Coal Industry
DEMCHENKO	Maksym	Executive Director of the Light of Hope Charity Foundation for Supporting HIV-positive and AIDS Patients
DEMKOVA	Maryana	Deputy Chairman of the Board, Director of the Centre for Political and Legal Reforms

5th SUMMER UNIVERSITY FOR DEMOCRACY

DUKHNICH	Ol'ga	Lecturer of the Political Sciences and the General Psychology Department, Representative of the Psychology Faculty in the Coordination Council for International Activities of Taurida National University, Trainer and Training Programme Methodologist of the Integration and Development NGO
FEDOROVA	Alla	Assistant Professor, Secretary of the Academic Council, Institute of International Relations, Taras Shevchenko National University, Department for Comparative and European Law
IAKOVLEV	Denys	Assistant Professor of the Political Sciences Department, Deputy Head of the Department for Training and Methodology, Mechnykov Odessa National University
KHMARA	Oleksii	President of TORO Art Union, Transparency International Contact Group in Ukraine
KOHUT	Igor	Director of the Ukrainian School of Political Studies, Chairman of the Board of the Agency for Legislative Initiatives
KONDRATYUK	Ihor	Mayor of Izyaslav, Khmelnytskyi Oblast
KOSTENKO	Oleksandra	Chief of Staff of Shevchenkivsky District State Administration in Kyiv
KRASOVSKY	Kostyantyn	Chief Legal Adviser, Cadogan Petroleum Plc
KRYKUN	Taras	Head of Section for Adaptation of Ukraine's Legislation to EU Law, Coordination Bureau of the European and Euro-Atlantic Integration of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine
LEMISH	Olha	Editor of Xenodocuments.org.ua, Free Reporter for the Ukrainian and Russian Versions of the Deutsche Welle Radio
LYUTYY	Taras	Manager of the Programme Development, Social Capital and Academic Publications Programme, International Renaissance Foundation Assistant Professor, Lecturer of Philosophy, Faculty of Humanities, National University Kyiv Mohyla Academy, Researcher of the Section of Philosophical Anthropology, Skovoroda Institute of Philosophy of the National Academy of Sciences
MAKSYMCHUK	Anatolii	Vice President, Director of Legal Department, CJSC International Media Centre – STB
MASHTAKOVA	Olga	Adviser to the Sector of Methodological Work and Administrative and Territorial System of the Department for Organisation Support to the Operation of the Council and its Bodies, Executive Secretariat of Donetsk Oblast Council
OKHRUSHCHAK	Artem	Head of Traffic and Service Unit, Kyivstar GSM
OLEKSIV	Ihor	Assistant Professor of the Department for Management and International Entrepreneurship, National University L'vivska Polytechnica
OSOVETS	Oleksandr	Head of Department of Innovation and Investment Policy and Entrepreneurship Development of the Head Economy and Investment Policy Department, Rivne Oblast State Administration
PANIUSHKINA	Svitlana	Programme and Projects Manager of Rinat Akhmetov's Charity Fund Development of Ukraine
PASTUKH	Taras	Head of Buchach District State Administration
PETRENKO	Ol'ga	News Correspondent, Presenter of Information and Educational Programmes, On-air Present, Alex Regional TV Channel; Press Secretary to a Member of Parliament, Press Secretary of the Party of Regions Faction in Zaporizhzhia City Council
SAHAN	Ivan	Mayor of Horodok, Lviv Oblast
SHCHELUSHCHENKO	Oleksandr	Director and Co-owner of Tsekh Gallery, Owner and Manager of Pan Oformlyuvach Framing Shop
SHCHERBININA	Yuliya	Head of Section for Relations with Private Sector, UN Office in Ukraine
SHTOGRYN	Roman	First Deputy Head of the Main Department for Internal Politics, Mass Media and Public Relations of Vinnitsa Oblast State Administration
SOKOLENKO	Nataliia	Vikna-News Special Correspondent, STB TV Channel
STANKOV	Vladyslav	Director of Odessa Sport Palace Municipal Company, Member of the 5th Convocation of Odessa Oblast Council, Deputy Head of Odessa City Organisation of the Party of Regions
SYNELMYK	Iryna	Adviser to the Mayor, Chernihiv City Council

THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

SYNOOKYI	Oleksandr	Deputy Chairman of the Board of the Agency for Legislative Initiatives
SYROVATKA	Sergii	Commercial Director, Production Processes Administration, LLC Agroproekt Holding
SYTNIK	Margarita	TV News Service Special Correspondent, 1+1 TV Channel
TATARENKO	Oleksii	Manager for Liaison with Public Authorities, Shell
TRESTER	Iuliia	Parliamentary Assistant, Press Secretary of a Member of Parliament of Ukraine
VEREMCHUK	Valeriy	Director of Perspektiyya Plus Company, Head of L'viv City Organisation of the People's Movement of Ukraine, Member of the Central Council of the People's Movement of Ukraine, Member of L'viv City Council
VOLODINA	Yulia	Head of the Representative Office of the Bank of Cyprus in Ukraine
YEVGENYEVA	Anzhela	Development Director of the Agency for Legislative Initiatives
ZAGARIIA	Valentyn	Managing Partner of Spenser and Kaufmann Law Company

BAKU POLITICAL STUDIES PROGRAMME

ADILOV	Natig	Journalist, Azadliq daily
AHMEDOVA	Gunel	Public Relations Director, Rotaract Club of Baku International
ALIYEV	Alakbar	Writer
ALIYEV	Rovshan	Teacher, Baku Slavic University
ALIYEV	Sabuhi	Director, Legal Department, "AtaBank" OJSC
AMIROV	Agshin	Member of the Executive Board, Bank Respublika JSC Youth and Information Programmes Co-ordinator/OSI-AF (Soros Foundation)
ASGAROVA	Shams	
ASLANOV	Anar	Counterpart International, National Advocacy Manager
ATAYEV	Jeyhun	Project Specialist, Politico-Military Unit, OSCE Office in Baku
BAYRAMOV	Hacibaba	Member of municipality of Quba town
BAYRAMOVA	Jeyran	Journalist, Zerkalo daily
GARAIYEV	Zaur	Deputy Chairman of Executive Board, Bank of Baku
GASIMOV	Read	CEO, Kuwait Azerbaijan Investment Company
GOJAYEV	Vugar	Co-ordinator in Azerbaijan, Norwegian Helsinki Committee
GULIYEV	Zaur	Chairman, Beylaqan Youths Enlightenment and Social Development NGO
HASANOV	Fuad	Director, "Democracy Monitor" NGO
HUSEYNOV	Ramal	TV anchor, Xazar TV
JALIL	Nurlana	Project Leader, Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung in Azerbaijan
KARAMOV	Jeyhun	Chairman of the Board, US Educated Azerbaijani Alumni Association
KARIMOV	Gunduz	General Director, Crocus Trading
KAZIMLI	Elnur	Head of Sector of International Relations, Ministry of Transport
KERIMOV	Ruslan	Adviser, Central Election Commission of the Republic of Azerbaijan
MAHARRAMOV	Farhad	Member of Board, Citizen&Development Party
MAMMADLI	Afag	Special projects manager, Video International Azerbaijan
MAMMADOV	Ilgar	Director, Baku Political Studies Programme
MEHDIYEV	Farhad	Head of the Department of International, Qafqaz University
MURADOVA	Sevinj	TV anchor, Azerbaijan State TV
MUSAYEV	Jabbar	Head of Protocol Section, Ministry of Communications and Information Technologies
OVCHUYEVA	Mehriban	Legal Expert, Azerbaijan Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan Limited
RAHIMLI	Mubariz	Freelance journalist; Teacher, Azerbaijan University
RAHIMLI	Mehriban	Project co-ordinator, BPSP
RASULLU	Rashad	Secretary General, Azerbaijan-Turkey Business Association
SALAMLI	Vugar	Executive Director, OL! Azerbaijan Youth Movement
SHAHVERDIYEVA	Khalisa	Women Bar Association, Project Director
TAGIYEVA	Tahmina	Director, Gence City Media Centre Project
TEMNIKOV	Roman	Political observer, "Novosti-Azerbaijan" news agency
VALIYEVA	Naila	Chief consultant, Ombudsman Office
ZEYNALOV	Mikayil	Vice-President, Youth for Exchange and Understanding (YEU)

ACADEMY OF POLITICAL STUDIES (TIRANA)

ARAPI	Oriana	Co-ordinator for the National Strategy on Development & Integration, Council of Ministers
BEQIRI	Evarist	State Information Service, Law department
BISHA	Eglantina	Business Centre " Eurocol"
BOGDANI	Aleksandra	Editor in chief in Topnews TV
CEJKU	Qemal	Chief of cabinet for Kamez Municipality
CELA	Suela	Ministry of agriculture, specialist at the law department
CELMETA	Rezana	General directory of Tax, Chief sector of Public relations
CEPA	Dritan	Deputy Mayor, Municipality of Elbasan
COMO	Fjorel	Specialist at the Ministry of Transport, PD Youth forum activist for Gjirokastra district
DEKOVI	Olsi	Director of the Academy of Political Studies
FILLO	Sotirag	Deputy Mayor, Municipality of Korca
FISHKA	Alban	Central technical inspectorate, specialist
GJERMENI	Blerta	Editor in chief, ORA News TV
GJINI	Giomela	Technical Director, General directory of Tax
KADIA	Arber	Director, Regional directory of National culture
KASTRATI	Genard	Registration Center Stake Executive Director
KERAJ	Bilbil	Chief of Cabinet for Kukes Municipality
KITA (DIMUSHI)	Irena	Legal specialist, Legal department, Credins Bank
KOLA	Afrim	Chief of Air controller in Albanian Air Forces
LAFE	Ols	Director at the Ministry of Tourism, Culture, Youth & Sports
LULA	Elton	Tirana Legal Aid, Project manager
MEJDINI	Fatjona	Journalist at Shqip newspaper
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THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP

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