



Community of Democracies  
Invitations Process

International Advisory Committee (IAC)

## Statement and Recommendations on Government Invitations

February 2007

“Invitations to participate [in the Community of Democracies] will be issued to genuine democracies and those countries undergoing democratic consolidation, in accordance with the established criteria.”

*Community of Democracies Criteria for Participation and Procedures  
Seoul, September 2002*

The Community of Democracies, a global association of states committed to upholding and defending democratic principles and practices, has adopted a novel approach to selecting which governments adhere to its core values and therefore merit invitation. For each biennial ministerial meeting, its Convening Group of 16 states that serve as the body’s agenda-setting committee, evaluates which states meet the official criteria for participation based on international norms of democracy and human rights. Those states which fulfill the criteria are invited as full participants to the meeting; governments that do not meet the criteria but “are in a transition process and have given concrete steps” toward fulfillment of the criteria may be invited as observers.

The value of such an approach is three-fold: first, it holds all states to the same universal standards of democracy and human rights; second, by requiring a regular review, it acknowledges that democracy is not an end-state but a process in which states may advance on or fall away from the path of democracy; and third, it offers the incentive of membership to governments pursuing genuine progress on democratic reforms. In practice, however, such a task is undoubtedly complicated by competing political, economic and security interests.

To be credible, the Community of Democracies Invitations Process demands objective analysis of a broad cross-section of information by independent experts. For this purpose, an international blue-ribbon panel of prominent figures was composed from politics, diplomacy, academia, media and civil society, all of whom are independent figures known for their commitment to democracy and human rights around the world. Supported by a Secretariat convened by the Democracy Coalition Project and including the Bertelsmann Stiftung in Germany, Freedom House in the United States and the Center for

Democratic Development in Ghana, the 13 Members of the International Advisory Committee for the Community of Democracies Invitations Process dedicated their personal time to evaluate the state of democracy in the world, with special attention given to 46 countries in which the trend toward respect for democracy and human rights is in flux.

Over a period of ten months, a wide variety of national and international studies and reports were reviewed and supplemented by consultations with researchers with expertise in particular countries or areas. In November 2006, the Committee met in Berlin to discuss the recommendations and then finalized its decisions in January 2007.

The result is the Committee’s final statement found in this booklet, which makes recommendations on invitations to the next Community of Democracies Ministerial Meeting, which will be hosted by Mali. A second publication, containing in-depth reports on 35 countries and shorter briefs on 11 other countries prepared by the Secretariat team, includes suggestions for steps governments could take to improve their records on democracy and human rights. These reports are available on the attached CD-ROM and online at [www.demcoalition.org](http://www.demcoalition.org).

We hope that, in producing these materials, a process of serious reflection on the quality of democracy and human rights can move forward and that governments adopt reforms so that some day all nations of the world may be welcomed into the Community of Democracies.

**Ted Piccone**  
*Executive Director  
Democracy Coalition Project*

February 2007



## Statement on Government Invitations to the IV Community of Democracies Ministerial Meeting

February 20, 2007

The International Advisory Committee for the Community of Democracies Invitations Process was established in 2006 for the purpose of assessing the quality of democracy in countries belonging to or aspiring to belong to the Community of Democracies, a global association of governments dedicated to strengthening democracy around the world. The Committee's specific task was to evaluate the fulfillment by governments of their commitments to respect fundamental principles of democracy and human rights in accordance with the Criteria for Participation adopted by governments at previous Ministerial Meetings. Based on our assessments, we sought to make recommendations to the 16 members of the Convening Group<sup>1</sup> of the Community of Democracies regarding invitations to its Fourth Ministerial Meeting to be held in Bamako, Mali, in November 2007.

We welcome the ongoing dialogue between representatives of this Committee and senior officials from the Community of Democracies Convening Group governments. We appreciate the Convening Group's recognition of the value of objective, independent research and analysis and its appreciation for the importance of establishing a credible and transparent process for determining participation in the Community of Democracies. We also appreciate the Convening

Group's decision to welcome this initiative and to use our report in its deliberations regarding invitations to the Bamako Ministerial Meeting.

In preparing our recommendations, the Committee relied on a variety of available information collected and analyzed by a Secretariat composed of four organizations – the Bertelsmann Stiftung, the Democracy Coalition Project, Freedom House and the Ghana Center for Democratic Development. We also relied on our own personal knowledge and sources gained from years of experience in politics, human rights and research. Based on these inputs and our own deliberations, we have reached consensus on the following set of recommendations regarding invitations to the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the Community of Democracies.

The Community of Democracies represents an innovative and important contribution to one of the most positive trends over the last several decades – the growing number of societies from every region of the world governed by their citizens in accordance with the rule of law. We heartily endorse the Community of Democracies' recognition at its Santiago meeting that supporting the development and strengthening of emerging democracies contributes to building "a safer world in which individuals, women and men equally, can live freely and in an environment of peace, stability and well-being characterized by respect for the rule of law."<sup>2</sup> We also applaud the commitment made in Santiago to "supporting processes of transition to democracy, to the strengthening of institutions and democratic processes, at the national, regional and international levels, and to working in partnership with those promoting democracy, including civil society."<sup>3</sup>

We believe that the value of the Community of Democracies rests to a great extent on the character of its membership. Governments which themselves practice the fundamental principles of democratic governance – transparency, account-

ability, respect for human rights and the rule of law – are naturally inclined to respect and defend these values in their international relations. The over one hundred governments which have endorsed the Community of Democracies' commitments have recognized this by establishing specific standards for inviting to its ministerial meetings "only those countries where constitutional rule and democratic practices exist."<sup>4</sup> In elaborating this norm, the participating governments have promulgated a comprehensive definition of democracy well-founded in the major principles of international law and standards codified in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international instruments. It is this set of universal standards, as set forth in the Community of Democracies' official Criteria for Participation and the Warsaw Declaration, which this Committee has applied when assessing whether a government merits an invitation to the Bamako Ministerial in 2007.

While the Committee sought to uphold these standards rigorously, we are also mindful of the Community of Democracies' desire to keep the door open to those countries which have not yet met the criteria for participation. For this purpose, the Convening Group has created an "observer" status for those governments that "fail to meet international standards of democracy and human rights, but are in a transition process and have given concrete steps along the lines of the Criteria."<sup>5</sup>

In evaluating which governments meet the official criteria for participation, we have strictly followed the criteria itself. In order to be invited to each ministerial meeting, a government must meet the standards for democracy and human rights that the governments have set for themselves in the key official documents and declarations of the Community of Democracies process; if they do not, according to the same criteria, they must demonstrate they are making progress in that direction to be invited as an observer. If neither test is met, then they should not be invited.

We believe that every society is capable of attaining the comprehensive standards established by the Community of Democracies. As the Community of Democracies is a privileged intergovernmental forum for the defense and promotion of democracy, however, we focused in particular on a government's demonstration of political will to continue or advance a democratic transition process. This approach allowed us to take into account differing levels of democratic development while upholding the basic aim of the invitations process.

There is no such thing as a perfect democratic society and no one model of democratic government. We do believe, however, that there are minimum standards and practices that constitute democracy and that citizens and their freely elected political leaders have an ongoing obligation to deepen and strengthen democracy regardless of a country's level of economic or social development. To underscore this point, we have identified steps certain governments should take in order to fulfill the criteria for participation in future meetings. In addition, the country reports prepared by the Secretariat incorporate suggestions for specific measures governments of particular concern could take to meet the criteria for participation in the future.

We urge the members of the Community of Democracies Convening Group, when communicating to other governments the results of the invitations process, to convey a common message of concern regarding actions taken that undermine or violate respect for democracy and human rights and measures to address them. A collective approach would leave little doubt of the international community's support for the millions of people who yearn to live in free and open societies but are blocked by rulers unprepared to share power, tolerate dissent or abide by the law. We ask that such a process be as transparent as possible to allow a full and open discussion by all interested actors of the democratic deficits demanding attention.

<sup>1</sup> The members of the Convening Group are: Cape Verde, Chile, Czech Republic, El Salvador, India, Italy, Mali, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, the Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, South Africa, and the United States.

<sup>2</sup> The Community of Democracies 2005 Santiago Ministerial Commitment, April 30, 2005, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Section VI, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Community of Democracies Criteria for Participation, September 27, 2002.



## Recommendations on Government Invitations <sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> As a result of the limited availability of reports and information on Comoros, the Solomon Islands and Tonga, no recommendation is submitted.

### Governments to be invited as Participants to the IV Ministerial Meeting of the Community of Democracies \*

Albania	Estonia	Madagascar	St. Vincent & Grenadines
Andorra	Finland	Malawi*	Samoa
Antigua and Barbuda	France	Malta	San Marino
Argentina	Georgia*	Marshall Islands	Sao Tomé Príncipe
Australia	Germany	Mauritius	Senegal
Austria	Ghana	Micronesia	Serbia
Bahamas	Greece	Moldova*	Seychelles
Bangladesh*	Grenada	Monaco	Slovakia
Barbados	Guatemala*	Montenegro*	Slovenia
Belgium	Guyana	Mozambique	Spain
Belize	Honduras	Namibia	Sri Lanka*
Benin	Hungary	Nauru	Suriname
Bolivia*	Iceland	Netherlands	Sweden
Bosnia-Herzegovina	Indonesia	New Zealand	Switzerland
Botswana	Ireland	Nicaragua	Tanzania
Brazil	Israel	Niger	Trinidad & Tobago
Bulgaria	Jamaica	Nigeria*	Turkey
Canada	Japan	Norway	Tuvalu
Colombia	Kiribati	Palau	Ukraine
Costa Rica	Latvia	Panama	United Kingdom
Croatia	Lebanon*	Papua New Guinea	Uruguay
Cyprus	Lesotho	Paraguay	Vanuatu
Denmark	Liechtenstein	Peru	Venezuela*
Dominica	Lithuania	Romania	
Dominican Republic	Luxembourg	St. Kitts & Nevis	
Ecuador *	Macedonia	Saint Lucia	

\* Countries which deserve close monitoring in the coming months to allow further examination of an evolving political situation (e.g., the conduct of elections, constitutional reform, trends in human rights, etc.). In the case of Montenegro, because of its recent independence and lack of specific indicators for it, selection was made based on the indicators for Serbia and Montenegro.

### Governments that should be invited as Observers to the IV Ministerial Meeting of the Community of Democracies

Afghanistan	Haiti	Liberia	Timor-Leste
Algeria	Jordan	Malaysia	Yemen
Armenia	Kenya	Mauritania	Zambia
Bahrain	Kuwait	Nepal	
Burundi	Kyrgyzstan	Sierra Leone	

*Governments that should be invited as Observers*

### Governments that should not be invited to the IV Ministerial Meeting of the Community of Democracies

Angola	Côte d'Ivoire	Kazakhstan	Swaziland
Azerbaijan	Cuba	Laos	Syria
Belarus	Djibouti	Libya	Tajikistan
Bhutan	Egypt	Maldives	Thailand
Brunei	Equatorial Guinea	North Korea	Togo
Burkina Faso	Eritrea	Oman	Tunisia
Burma	Ethiopia	Pakistan	Turkmenistan
Cambodia	Fiji	Qatar	Uganda
Cameroon	Gabon	Russia	United Arab Emirates
Central African Rep.	The Gambia	Rwanda	Uzbekistan
Chad	Guinea	Saudi Arabia	Vietnam
China	Guinea-Bissau	Singapore	Zimbabwe
Congo, DR	Iran	Somalia	
Congo (Brazzaville)	Iraq	Sudan	

*Governments that should not be invited*

### Members of the Community of Democracies Convening Group <sup>7</sup>

Cape Verde	India	Mongolia	Portugal
Chile	Italy	Morocco	South Africa
Czech Republic	Mali	Philippines	South Korea
El Salvador	Mexico	Poland	United States

<sup>7</sup> Since the Convening Group governments will be responsible for issuing the invitations to the CD Ministerial, the IAC does not submit any specific recommendation on them



## Country Commentaries

### The Committee wishes to express particular concern about the following countries:

**Armenia:** The success of the constitutional reform process remains in doubt due to serious concerns regarding the November 2005 referendum and the lack of meaningful implementation of its provisions. Other signs of the government's lack of will to advance the democratic process include increased attacks on freedom of the media and ongoing corruption. The conduct of the parliamentary elections, to be held in May 2007, is a key indicator of the government's will to move forward seriously on a reform path. A decision whether to invite Armenia as an observer, or not at all, should be deferred pending the assessment by independent national and international monitors of the parliamentary elections process.

**Bahrain:** While there are some notable changes underway in the Kingdom of Bahrain, particularly the modest openings created by the recent parliamentary elections, the political system remains under the control of the monarchy, which dominates all three branches of government. There are three key areas in need of serious attention: a) respecting civil liberties already established by legislation; b) working to end unequal treatment of Shi'ite citizens; c) starting a comprehensive dialogue on the reform project's aims, including dialogue on possible institutional changes. Significant progress on these fronts would merit favorable consideration of observer status.

**Fiji:** The recent military coup instigated by Commander Frank Bainimarama is totally unacceptable and should be condemned by the Community of Democracies. In addition to withholding an invitation, the Convening Group and other members of the Community should work together to seek a peaceful return to civilian rule as soon as possible.

**Iraq:** The ouster of Saddam Hussein, and the subsequent process of political reform has generated important progress in some areas. New and free media are widely disseminated, and Iraqis have been able to elect a new government and parliament to vote on their constitution. However, it is very clear that dramatic challenges remain to be addressed before Iraq can approach observer or full participant status. The ongoing violence and insecurity is an all-pervasive problem which threatens every aspect of the progress achieved so far. Ongoing serious allegations of the use of torture by government security forces must be resolved. Reports alleging that sectarian death squads have acted with the participation or tacit approval of some elements of the government are deeply worrying, since such actions clearly add fuel to the sectarian violence and underline the basic impunity and lack of accountability that exists in the Iraqi state.

**Mauritania:** The transition process underway in Mauritania is cause for optimism but cannot be fully evaluated until after the cycle of elections, culminating in presidential polls in March, is completed and a new democratically elected government takes office. We recommend an invitation to observe pending an assessment of the elections process and the first actions of the new government.

**Nepal:** After a long period of suppression of democratic rule and declared state of emergency, political pressure and popular protests forced King Gyanendra to relinquish his direct rule in May 2006. The re-establishment of parliament and popular sovereignty has been coupled with solid steps in the peace process to end the Maoist insurgency, active since 1996. The current

progress on the road to both pacification and democratization, including the election of a constituent assembly to write a new constitution, the signing of a peace accord between the government and the Maoists in November 2006, and the entry by the latter in the transitional government in January 2007 are all positive signs that recommend Nepal's participation as an observer in the Bamako Community of Democracies Ministerial Meeting.

**Russia:** The Russian government's adherence to basic norms of democracy and human rights has steadily deteriorated over the last few years, leading us to conclude that it does not merit an invitation to the Bamako Ministerial Meeting. Of particular concern are the government's moves to re-centralize power, reduce institutional checks and balances, control independent media, and severely restrict nongovernmental organizations. Ongoing human rights violations, particularly against critics of the government, and in the context of the conflict in Chechnya, also demonstrate the serious shortcomings of Russia's qualifications for participation in the Community of Democracies.

**Thailand:** The military coup led by Army chief General Sonthi Boonyaratglin, supplanting Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra with retired General Surayud Chulanont, completely disqualifies Thailand from participation in the Community of Democracies. As in the case of Fiji, the Convening Group and other members of the Community should work together to seek a peaceful return to civilian rule as soon as possible.

**Timor-Leste:** Despite the positive democratic trend shown since independence in 2002, which granted Timor-Leste participation status in the 2002 and 2005 Community of Democracies Ministerial meetings, the turmoil and unrest experienced by the country throughout 2006 has seriously damaged its fragile democracy. Indeed, factional violence has unveiled the weaknesses

and structural shortages of the East Timorese political system and institutions. However, the situation is slowly improving in the last months under the leadership of the new Prime Minister, José Ramos-Horta. If the government proves its ability to maintain peace and stability, laying the foundations for an appropriate reform of the security sector and holding accountable those responsible for the 2006 violent outbreak, Timor-Leste should be invited as a participant to the Bamako ministerial. The adequate celebration of the May 2007 elections will also be a key benchmark to judge whether the country deserves such invitation.

**Venezuela:** While the Committee recognizes the holding of regular, free and fair elections as a key benchmark of Venezuela's commitment to democracy, it is seriously concerned about the actions and rhetoric of the Chávez government, which undermine institutional checks and balances, restrict freedoms of expression and association and expand the role of the military in civilian affairs. More recent actions and proposals, such as the establishment of rule by presidential decree and the suspension of licenses of independent radio and television stations, are particularly worrisome. We also believe that the actions of the opposition have at times contributed to the polarization of the political environment in a way that weakens democratic values of tolerance and peaceful dissent. The behavior of the Chávez government deserves close scrutiny in the coming months to determine whether it merits invitation to the Bamako Ministerial.

The Committee appreciates this opportunity to support and strengthen the important work undertaken by the Convening Group and looks forward to continued dialogue as it continues its deliberations in the months ahead.

**Ghassan Salamé**  
Former Minister  
of Culture  
**Lebanon**

**César Gaviria**  
Former President  
of the Republic  
**Colombia**

**Morton H. Halperin**  
Director U.S. Advocacy,  
Open Society Institute  
**United States of America**

**Asma Jahangir**  
Chairperson,  
Human Rights Commission  
**Pakistan**

**Hong-Koo Lee**  
Former Prime Minister  
**Republic of Korea**

**Nadezhda Mihailova**  
Member of Parliament  
**Bulgaria**

**Sonia Picado**  
Chair, Inter-American  
Institute of Human Rights  
**Costa Rica**

*Advisory Member*  
**Wim Kok**  
Former Prime Minister  
**The Netherlands**

*Observer*  
**Martin Palouš**  
Permanent Representative  
to the United Nations  
**Czech Republic**

*The International  
Advisory Committee:*

**Genaro Arriagada**  
Former Minister  
of the Presidency  
**Chile**

**E. Gyimah-Boadi**  
Executive Director,  
Center for Democratic  
Development  
**Ghana**

**Rima Khalaf Hunaidi**  
Former Deputy  
Prime Minister  
**Jordan**

**Josef Janning**  
Head of International  
Relations Program,  
Bertelsmann Stiftung  
**Germany**

**António  
Mascarenhas Monteiro**  
Former President  
of the Republic  
**Cape Verde**

**Mark Palmer**  
Vice-Chairman,  
Freedom House  
**United States of America**

At their meeting of September 12, 2000, the Foreign Ministers of the Community of Democracies Convening Group agreed to direct senior officials to prepare proposals that would allow for the establishment of basic criteria for participation in the Community and establish procedures to govern its activities as well as those of the Convening Group.

The Final Warsaw Declaration provides a reasonable approach to the definition of criteria for participation, which should reflect a clear linkage between participation and the observance of internationally accepted fundamental democratic principles, values and standards in the countries concerned.

*Approved on  
September 27, 2002*

The criteria should also reflect a balance between the Community of Democracies' aim to promote and strengthen democracy and the acknowledgement that its current participants are at differing stages in their democratic development.

## I. Participation Criteria

The Final Warsaw Declaration draws on major principles of international law and standards codified namely in the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

The Warsaw Declaration recognized the interdependence between peace, development, human rights and democracy, as well as the universality of democratic values. The Community of Democracies should be a privileged forum for the defense and promotion of this comprehensive concept of democracy.

In this sense, in accordance with the Criteria for Participation adopted by the Community of Democracies, states willing to participate in the Community of Democracies should respect democratic standards as follows:

- Free, fair and periodic elections, by universal and equal suffrage, conducted by secret ballot
- Multipartyism, the freedom to form democratic political parties that can participate in elections
- Guaranteeing that everyone can exercise his or her right to take part in the government of his or her country, directly or through freely chosen representatives
- The rule of law
- The obligation of an elected government to protect and defend the constitution, refraining from extra-constitutional actions and to relinquish power when its legal mandate ends
- Ensuring equality before the law and equal protection under the law, including equal access to the law
- Separation of powers, separation of the judiciary, legislative and executive independence of the judiciary from the political or any other power
- Ensuring that the military remains accountable to democratically elected civilian government

- The respect of human rights, fundamental freedoms and the inherent dignity of the human being, notably:
    - Freedom of thought, conscience, religion, belief, peaceful assembly and association, freedom of speech, of opinion and of expression, including to exchange and receive ideas and information through any media, regardless of frontiers: free, independent and pluralistic media
    - The right of every person to be free from arbitrary arrest or detention from torture or any other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment
    - The right to a fair trial, including to be presumed innocent until proven guilty and to be sentenced proportionally to the crime, free from cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment
    - The right to full and non-discriminatory participation, regardless of gender, race, color, language, religion or belief, in the political, economical and cultural life
    - The promotion of gender equality
    - The rights of children, elderly and persons with disabilities
    - The rights of national, ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities, including the right to freely express, preserve and develop their identity
    - The right of individuals to shape their own destiny free from any illegitimate constraint
- Governments are to defend and to protect all of these rights and to provide the appropriate legislation for this purpose.
- The observance of international law as well as internationally accepted democratic principles and values.
- Respect for universally accepted labor standards.

# Community of Democracies Criteria for Participation and Procedures

## II. Criteria for Conference Participation

The Convening Group (CG) will draft the list of participants and observers, not based on participation in the Warsaw meeting but rather on a state's adherence to main requisites. In subsequent years the CG will review each participant's, observer's, and non-participant's compliance with requisites to determine participation.

If any state fails to comply, for a reasonable period of time, with one or several of these main requisites, it will not be invited to participate in any events of the Community of Democracies, for a limited time and as long as deemed necessary.

Alternatively, a state may be invited as an observer for as long as is determined appropriate.

The fact that countries find themselves at different stages in their democratic development is to be considered. Nevertheless situations that raise a question regarding their commitment to democratic values will be evaluated by the CG. Different stages must not mean different criteria.

## III. Other factors likely to promote democracy, security and development

Democracy means freedom, freedom to choose and substitute political leaders and parties in power. However, democracy must also mean freedom to choose what one can do with one's resources. Therefore, free initiative should be another component of democracy. Modern and competitive economies play an important role in giving real substance to democracies.

Education and access to information are fundamental in building and consolidating a democratic society. Education is both a human right in itself and an indispensable means of realising other human rights. Education is a tool for empowering every human being to actively participate in the decisions, and it is a fundamental vehicle for combating poverty and for resisting discrimination in all its forms. Education makes it difficult for dictators, whose weapon is ignorance.

Governments should by all means avoid violence in the political speech. This sort of aggression leads to a climate of intimidation that prevents people from exercising in its entirety their political and civil rights. Democratic societies must be free from fear.

## IV. Procedures

Decisions concerning participation or matters related to the Convening Group or the Community of Democracies (CD) should be taken by the consensus of the CG.

CD meetings will be held every two years by agreed rotation within CG countries. Countries hosting CD meetings will chair the CG starting with the calendar year following the previous meeting. Senior officials of the CG will meet periodically in the interim in order to guide follow-up activities and preparation for upcoming CD meetings.

CG Ambassador and Sherpa level meetings will be called by the CG Chair as necessary.

Countries can either request to be CD participants or observers, or they may be invited by the CG.

A Quatro constituted by one representative from each continent, including past, present and future CD conference hosts, will facilitate conference planning. In keeping with this responsibility, the Quatro will apply criteria articulated in this paper to determine which countries should be invited to participate in, and which countries should be invited to observe, CD Conferences. Quatro recommendations will be endorsed by the CG.

- Invitations to participate will be issued to genuine democracies and those countries undergoing democratic consolidation, in accordance with the established criteria.
- Invitations to observe will be issued to countries that fail to meet international standards of democracy and human rights, but are in a transition process and have given concrete steps along the lines of the Criteria above.
- Observers are encouraged to participate in the roundtables. Observers may adhere to final documents and resolutions once adopted.
- Invitation can be issued to international or regional organizations when it is deemed appropriate.

Sharing of information among participants of the CG and other participants of the CD is to be assured.

## Members of the International Advisory Committee

### **Genaro Arriagada**

Genaro Arriagada served as the Chilean Ambassador to the United States (1998–1999) and as Minister of the Presidency (1994–1996). Today he is member of the Steering Committee of the World Movement for Democracy, board member of Banco del Estado de Chile, visiting Fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center, and Editor of [www.asuntospublicos.org](http://www.asuntospublicos.org), a think tank devoted to the study of public policies. He served as national director of the “No” campaign that defeated Gen. Pinochet’s plebiscite in 1988 and later directed the presidential campaigns of Presidents Eduardo Frei and Ricardo Lagos. In 1988, he received the Averell Harriman Democracy Award, conferred by the National Democratic Institute of International Affairs, for those who have internationally excelled in their services to the cause of democracy. An author, Mr. Arriagada has published several books, articles and columns on political, social, and economic issues. As a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center and Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government, Mr. Arriagada has lectured at several universities throughout the United States.

### **E. Gyimah-Boadi**

Professor E. Gyimah-Boadi is the Executive Director of the Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana), a research think-tank for democratic development in Ghana and the West Africa sub-region, and he is co-director of the Afrobarometer, a survey project tracking public opinion on democratic and market reforms in 18 African countries. Mr. Gyimah-Boadi is also a professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Ghana and a member of the Research Council of the International Forum for Democratic Studies, the Editorial Board of the Journal of Democracy, and the Governing Council of the Ghana chapter of Transparency International. Prof. Gyimah-Boadi has taught at various institutions, including Dartmouth College, American University and the School of Advanced International Studies at the Johns Hopkins University. A visiting fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center and the National Endowment for Democracy, Prof. Gyimah-Boadi has consulted in the past for the African Development Bank, the World Bank, USAID, UNDP, the Overseas Development Council, OECD, Africa Leadership Forum, and the Global Coalition for Africa.

### **César Gaviria**

H.E. César Gaviria is the former President of Colombia (1990–1994) and former Secretary General of the Organization of American States (1994–2004). He is the current head of the Colombia Liberal Party and a founder of Hemispheric Partners, an international business advisory firm located in New York. President Gaviria was first elected to the Colombian Congress in 1974 and rose to the top position in the House in 1983. He also served as Minister of Finance and Minister of the Interior in the second half of the 1980s. During his presidency, Colombia adopted a new constitution and advanced in the peace process with the guerillas. While heading the OAS, President Gaviria was an active mediator in the Venezuelan political crisis and initiated important institutional changes that gave a new vigor to the inter-American agenda. A recipient of many international awards, President Gaviria is the author of numerous books and articles on Colombia and Latin America.

### **Morton H. Halperin**

Dr. Morton H. Halperin is Director of U.S. Advocacy at the Open Society Institute and Executive Director of the Open Society Policy Center. He is also a Senior Fellow at the Center for American Progress. Dr. Halperin served in the Clinton, Nixon and Johnson administrations, most recently as Director of the Policy Planning Staff at the Department of State (1998–2001). From 1975–1992, Dr. Halperin directed the Center for National Security Studies, a project of the American Civil Liberties Union which sought to reconcile requirements of national security with civil liberties. From 1984 to 1992, he also directed the Washington Office of the ACLU where he was responsible for its national legislative program. Dr. Halperin has published a number of books – including **Bureaucratic Politics and Foreign Policy**, **The Democracy Advantage**, and **Protecting Democracy** – and articles on subjects including civil liberties and American foreign policy. He has testified often before Congressional Committees. Dr. Halperin is Chairman of the

Board, Democracy Coalition Project, a member of the boards and Chair of the Executive Committees for both DATA Foundation and DATA Action, and a member of the boards of The Constitution Project and the Center for Democracy and Technology. He is the chair of the Advisory Board of the Center for National Security Studies and Chairman of the Board of the Health Privacy Project, Georgetown University.

### **Rima Khalaf Hunaidi**

Rima Khalaf Hunaidi was United Nations Assistant Secretary-General and director of the United Nations Development Program’s Regional Bureau for Arab States (RBAS) until February 2006. A driving force behind the United Nations Arab Human Development Reports, Ms. Hunaidi has a long career in Jordanian politics. She served as a Senator in the Upper House of the Jordanian Parliament from November 1997 to September 2000, and was simultaneously a member of the Economic Consultative Council, a public-private sector initiative established by King Abdullah II. Ms. Hunaidi has also held several high-ranking governmental positions in Jordan, including Minister of Industry and Trade (1993–1995), Minister of Planning (1995–1998), and Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Planning (1999–2000).

### **Asma Jahangir**

Asma Jahangir is one of Pakistan’s leading advocates for human rights, and one of the foremost human rights lawyers in the world. Ms. Jahangir is a co-founder of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) and has subsequently been its Secretary-General and Chairperson. She is also a founding member of the Women’s Action Forum, which promotes and defends women’s rights. Ms. Jahangir has worked both in Pakistan and abroad to prevent the exploitation of religious minorities, women and children. In August 1998, she was appointed by the United Nations to be the Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions. She currently serves as the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief. Time Magazine selected Ms. Jahangir as one of the Women of the Year in 2003. She has also been awarded the Martin Ennals, Ramón Magsaysay and Bernard Simons Memorial Awards.

### **Josef Janning**

Josef Janning is head of the International Relations Program at the Bertelsmann Stiftung in Germany. He is also Deputy Director of the Center for Applied Policy Research at the University of Munich. Mr. Janning has been a driving force behind the Bertelsmann Transformation Index, one of the world’s leading studies on the state of democracy and market economies and the quality of governance worldwide. Mr. Janning has taught at the University of Mainz, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the University of Munich. He is a member and chairman of various study groups on European affairs, East-West and Mediterranean issues and transatlantic relations. He has advised the German government on European Affairs and is a regular contributor to German and international newspapers and journals on various international relations issues.

### **Hong-Koo Lee**

H.E. Hong-Koo Lee is the former Prime Minister of South Korea (1994–1995) and Chairman of the Board of the Seoul Forum for International Affairs and the East Asian Institute. Mr. Lee has had a distinguished teaching career at Emory University, Case Western Reserve University and Seoul National University. He was President of the Korean Political Science Association from 1986 to 1988, and member of the executive committee of the International Political Science Association. He was also a fellow at Woodrow Wilson International Center and Harvard Law School. Before being elected Prime Minister of South Korea, Mr. Lee was Minister of National Unification (promoting the dialogue between the two divided Korean states), South Korean Ambassador to the United Kingdom, and a member of the Commission of Global Governance. After leaving office, he was a member of the Korean National Assembly, Chairman of the New Korea Party and Ambassador to the United States from 1998 to 2000. Mr Lee was the Chairman of the Korean and Japanese 2002 World Cup Bidding Committee.

## Members of the International Advisory Committee

### **António Mascarenhas Monteiro**

H.E. António Manuel Mascarenhas Monteiro was the first democratically elected President of Cape Verde (1991–2001). Before becoming President, Mr. Mascarenhas Monteiro served as Secretary-General of the Peoples' National Assembly of Cape Verde (1977–1980) and as President of the Supreme Court of Justice (1980–1990). Since leaving office, he has participated as Chairman of the Contact Group of OAU sent to Madagascar in March, 2002, to mediate the conflict that broke out following the Presidential elections of 2001. President Mascarenhas also participated in the January 2003 NEPAD and Security Forum organized by the Global Coalition for Africa held in Accra, Ghana. A recipient of Doctorates Honoris Causa from Rhode Island University and the Law School of Coimbra University, he holds many awards and distinctions, including the Grande Colar da Ordem da Liberdade (Portugal), the Grand Croix d'Ordre National du Lion (Senegal), the Orden José Martí (Cuba), the Ordre de L'Unité Africaine (Libya), and the Ordem do Infante D. Henrique (Portugal). He has published widely on African politics and democratization.

### **Nadezhda Mihailova**

H.E. Nadezhda Mihailova is a Member of the Bulgarian Parliament and a former Minister of Foreign Affairs. After working as a freelance journalist during the Communist dictatorship in Bulgaria, Ms. Mihailova entered politics in the early 1990s, serving as the spokeswoman for the government of Philip Dimitrov and Chief of the Press Centre. As an MP in the 37th National Assembly, she was a member of the Parliamentary Foreign Policy Commission and of the Bulgarian delegation to the Council of Europe. She was appointed Deputy Chairperson of the Union of Democratic Forces in 1995 and re-elected in 1997. On May 21, 1997, she was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in Ivan Kostov's cabinet. Most recently, Ms. Mihailova has been the head of the Union of Democratic Forces, a party in the opposition.

### **Mark Palmer**

Ambassador Mark Palmer is a long-time fighter for democracy and human rights both inside and outside government. He participated in the American civil rights movement and remains active in pursuit of better opportunities for African-Americans. In the U.S. State Department from 1964 to 1990, he specialized and served in communist countries, wrote speeches for six secretaries of state and three presidents, and was Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and then U.S. Ambassador to Hungary. For his contributions to assisting with the liberation of Poland, the Baltic States, Hungary and Russia he has received awards from democratic governments and human rights organizations. Currently, Ambassador Palmer is the President of Capital Development Company LLC. He is also the Vice Chairman of the Board of Freedom House, and he serves on the boards of the MCT Corporation, International Centre for Democratic Transition, Council for a Community of Democracies, SAIS Johns Hopkins University, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, American Academy of Diplomacy, Center for Communications, Health and the Environment, Friends of Falun Gong and New Tang Dynasty Television. Ambassador Palmer is the author of *Breaking the Real Axis of Evil: How to Oust the World's Last Dictators* by 2025.

### **Sonia Picado**

Ms. Sonia Picado is the Chair of the Board of Directors of the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights. She is a former Member of the Legislative Assembly of Costa Rica and former President of the National Liberation Party. In 1999, she led the International Commission of Inquiry on East Timor to study the human rights situation there and presented its report to the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. She was the Costa Rican Ambassador to the United States from 1994 to 1998 and the Executive Director of the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights from 1984 to 1994. During 1988 to 1994, she also served as Judge and Vice-Chair of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Ms. Picado was the first woman elected in Latin America as the Dean of the Law School, University of Costa Rica in 1980. She also taught at Salzburg, Austria, the Inter-American Institute of Human Rights, the University of Dayton (Ohio), World University Service in Austria, Columbia University, and other institutions.

### **Ghassan Salamé**

Professor Ghassan Salamé is Professor of International Relations at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques in Paris and a Senior Advisor to the United Nations Secretary General. He was the Minister of Culture of Lebanon between 2000 and 2003. He was also the United Nations Special Adviser on Iraq and the Senior Political Advisor to the late U.N. Special Representative for Iraq, Sérgio Vieira de Mello and a senior advisor to the Lebanese parliament and government on the South Lebanon issue. He previously taught Political Science in Beirut, at both Saint-Joseph University and the American University. He was a fellow at the Rockefeller Foundation, the Brookings Institution and a member of the Social Science Research Council in New York, where he co-directed its State, Nation and Integration in the Arab World program. Dr. Salamé is a board member of the International Crisis Group, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, the Arab Anti-Corruption Organization, the Bassel Fuleyhan Foundation and Le Haut Conseil de la Francophonie. He frequently intervenes in the French media on international politics, and has authored many books on globalization, international affairs and democracy in the Arab World.

### **Wim Kok**

H.E. Wim Kok was the Prime Minister of the Netherlands between 1994 and 2002. At present, Mr. Kok is a member of the Supervisory Board of many companies, including ING Group, Royal Dutch Shell, TNT and KLM. He has also headed up a review of the Lisbon Agenda for the European Commission, in order to give new impetus to the EU's Lisbon process. Mr. Kok had a long career in Dutch politics before becoming Prime Minister. He was the Chairman of the socialist trade union NVV from 1973 to 1982 and, after the NVV merged with the Dutch Federation of Catholic Trade Unions, Chairman of the Federation of Netherlands Trade Unions (FNV). From 1979 to 1982, he also served as Chairman of the European Trade Union Confederation. In 1986 Mr. Kok was elected to the Dutch Parliament and became leader of the parliamentary Social Democratic Party. He first joined the Dutch cabinet in 1989, where he held the positions of Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance prior to becoming Prime Minister in 1994.

### **Martin Palouš**

Ambassador Martin Palouš is the Czech Ambassador to the United Nations, after serving as Ambassador to Washington (2001–2005). Ambassador Palouš acts as an official governmental observer of the IAC process. Ambassador Palouš was one of the first signatories of Charter 77 and served as spokesman for this dissident human rights group in 1986. A founding member of the Civic Forum (November 1989), he was elected to the Federal Assembly in 1990 and became a member of its Foreign Affairs Committee. He joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia as adviser to Minister Dienstbier and was Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs from October 1990 to October 1992. Ambassador Palouš has held a number of teaching positions at Charles University since 1990, and has lectured extensively in the United States. Until 1998, Ambassador Palouš was also active in various nongovernmental organizations, including serving as Chairman of the Czech Helsinki Committee and Co-Chairman of the Helsinki Citizens Assembly. In October 1998, he was appointed Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic. Ambassador Palouš is the author of numerous publications.

*Advisory Member*

*Observer*

WARSAW (2000)

SEOUL (2002)

SANTIAGO (2005)

BAMAKO (2007) \*\*

\*\* As recommended by the International Advisory Committee for the Community of Democracies Invitations Process, February 2007.

## Record of Participation in Community of Democracies Ministerials

COUNTRY		WARSAW (2000)	SEOUL (2002)	SANTIAGO (2005)	BAMAKO (2007) **	
Categories:	<b>NI</b> (Not Invited/ Do Not Invite)	Afghanistan	NI	O	P	O
	Albania	P	P	P	I	
	Algeria	P	O	O	O	
	Andorra	I	P	P	I	
	Angola	NI	NI	NI	NI	
	Antigua and Barbuda	I	P	P	I	
	Argentina	P	P	P	I	
	Armenia	P	O	O	O	
	Australia	P	P	P	I	
	Austria	P	P	P	I	
	Azerbaijan	P	O	O	NI	
	Bahamas	I	P	P	I	
	Bahrain	NI	P	P	O	
	Bangladesh	P	P	P	I*	
	Barbados	I	P	P	I	
	Belarus	NI	NI	NI	NI	
	Belgium	P	P	P	I	
	Belize	P	P	P	I	
	Benin	P	P	P	I	
	Bhutan	NI	NI	NI	NI	
	Bolivia	P	P	P	I*	
	Bosnia-Herzegovina	P	P	P	I	
	Botswana	P	P	P	I	
	Brazil	P	P	P	I	
	Brunei	NI	NI	NI	NI	
	Bulgaria	P	P	P	I	
	Burkina Faso	P	O	O	NI	
Burma	NI	NI	NI	NI		
Burundi	NI	NI	NI	O		
Cambodia	NI	NI	NI	NI		
Cameroon	NI	NI	NI	NI		
Canada	P	P	P	I		
Cape Verde	P	P	P	NR		
Central African Rep.	NI	NI	NI	NI		
Chad	NI	NI	NI	NI		
Chile	P	P	P	NR		
China	NI	NI	NI	NI		
Colombia	P	P	P	I		
Comoros	NI	NI	NI	NR		
Congo (Brazz.)	NI	NI	NI	NI		
Congo, DR	NI	NI	NI	NI		
Costa Rica	P	P	P	I		

Côte d'Ivoire	NI	O	NI	NI
Croatia	P	P	P	I
Cuba	NI	NI	NI	NI
Cyprus	P	P	P	I
<b>Czech Republic</b>	P	P	P	NR
Denmark	P	P	P	I
Djibouti	NI	NI	O	NI
Dominica	P	P	P	I
Dominican Republic	P	P	P	I
Ecuador	P	P	P	I*
Egypt	P	O	O	NI
<b>El Salvador</b>	P	P	P	NR
Equatorial Guinea	NI	NI	NI	NI
Eritrea	NI	NI	NI	NI
Estonia	P	P	P	I
Ethiopia	NI	NI	NI	NI
Fiji	NI	O	P	NI
Finland	P	P	P	I
France	P	P	P	I
Gabon	NI	NI	NI	NI
Gambia	NI	NI	O	NI
Georgia	P	O	P	I*
Germany	P	P	P	I
Ghana	NI	P	P	I
Greece	P	P	P	I
Grenada	I	P	P	I
Guatemala	P	P	P	I*
Guinea	NI	NI	NI	NI
Guinea-Bissau	NI	NI	NI	NI
Guyana	I	P	P	I
Haiti	P	O	O	O
Honduras	P	P	P	I
Hungary	P	P	P	I
Iceland	P	P	P	I
India	P	P	P	NR
Indonesia	P	P	P	I
Iran	NI	NI	NI	NI
Iraq	NI	NI	O	NI
Ireland	P	P	P	I
Israel	P	P	P	I
<b>Italy</b>	P	P	P	NR
Jamaica	I	P	P	I
Japan	P	P	P	I
Jordan	P	P	P	O
Kazakhstan	NI	NI	NI	NI
Kenya	P	NI	P	O
Kiribati	I	P	P	I
Kuwait	P	O	O	O
Kyrgyzstan	NI	NI	NI	O
Laos	NI	NI	NI	NI

Latvia	P	P	P	I
Lebanon	I	O	O	I*
Lesotho	P	P	P	I
Liberia	NI	NI	NI	O
Libya	NI	NI	NI	NI
Liechtenstein	P	P	P	I
Lithuania	P	P	P	I
Luxembourg	P	P	P	I
Macedonia	P	P	P	I
Madagascar	P	O	P	I
Malawi	P	P	P	I*
Malaysia	NI	O	P	O
Maldives	NI	NI	NI	NI
<b>Mali</b>	P	P	P	NR
Malta	P	P	P	I
Marshall Islands	I	P	P	I
Mauritania	NI	NI	NI	O
Mauritius	P	P	P	I
<b>Mexico</b>	P	P	P	NR
Micronesia	I	P	P	I
Moldova	P	P	P	I*
Monaco	P	P	P	I
<b>Mongolia</b>	P	P	P	NR
Montenegro	N/A	N/A	N/A	I*
<b>Morocco</b>	P	P	P	NR
Mozambique	P	P	P	I
Namibia	P	P	P	I
Nauru	I	P	P	I
Nepal	P	P	NI	O
Netherlands	P	P	P	I
New Zealand	P	P	P	I
Nicaragua	P	P	P	I
Niger	P	P	P	I
Nigeria	P	P	P	I*
North Korea	NI	NI	NI	NI
Norway	P	P	P	I
Oman	NI	O	O	NI
Pakistan	NI	NI	NI	NI
Palau	I	P	P	I
Panama	P	P	P	I
Papua New Guinea	P	P	P	I
Paraguay	P	P	P	I
Peru	P	P	P	I
<b>Philippines</b>	P	P	P	NR
<b>Poland</b>	P	P	P	NR
<b>Portugal</b>	P	P	P	NR
Qatar	P	O	O	NI
Romania	P	P	P	I
Russia	P	P	P	NI
Rwanda	NI	NI	NI	NI

St. Kitts and Nevis	I	P	P	I
Saint Lucia	P	P	P	I
St. Vincent and Gren.	I	P	P	I
Samoa	I	P	P	I
San Marino	I	P	P	I
Sao Tomé & Príncipe	P	P	P	I
Saudi Arabia	NI	NI	NI	NI
Senegal	P	P	P	I
Serbia	NI	P	P	I
Seychelles	P	P	P	I
Sierra Leone	NI	O	O	O
Singapore	NI	O	O	NI
Slovakia	P	P	P	I
Slovenia	P	P	P	I
Solomon Islands	NI	NI	NI	NR
Somalia	NI	NI	NI	NI
<b>South Africa</b>	P	P	P	NR
<b>South Korea</b>	P	P	P	NR
Spain	P	P	P	I
Sri Lanka	P	P	P	I*
Sudan	NI	NI	NI	NI
Suriname	I	P	P	I
Swaziland	NI	NI	NI	NI
Sweden	P	P	P	I
Switzerland	P	P	P	I
Syria	NI	NI	NI	NI
Tajikistan	NI	NI	NI	NI
Tanzania	P	P	P	I
Thailand	P	P	P	NI
Timor-Leste	N/A	P	P	O
Togo	NI	NI	NI	NI
Tonga	NI	NI	NI	NR
Trinidad and Tobago	I	P	P	I
Tunisia	P	O	O	NI
Turkey	P	P	P	I
Turkmenistan	NI	NI	NI	NI
Tuvalu	I	P	P	I
Uganda	NI	NI	NI	NI
Ukraine	P	O	P	I
United Arab Emirates	NI	NI	NI	NI
United Kingdom	P	P	P	I
<b>United States</b>	P	P	P	NR
Uruguay	P	P	P	I
Uzbekistan	NI	NI	NI	NI
Vanuatu	I	P	P	I
Venezuela	P	P	P	I*
Vietnam	NI	NI	NI	NI
Yemen	P	O	O	O
Zambia	NI	NI	P	O
Zimbabwe	NI	NI	NI	NI

## Secretariat to the International Advisory Committee

### [www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de](http://www.bertelsmann-stiftung.de) · [www.bertelsmann-transformation-index.de](http://www.bertelsmann-transformation-index.de)

The **Bertelsmann Stiftung** is an independent nonprofit foundation promoting social change and societal sustainability through research and policy advocacy. The Bertelsmann Stiftung focuses on early identification of the challenges facing society in education, health, social affairs and international relations and collaborates with a wide range of partners to develop feasible solutions to these problems. The Bertelsmann Stiftung is publisher of the Bertelsmann Transformation Index (BTI), a global report card of good governance, based on 124 reports on countries undergoing transformation. The Index reports on the state of democracy and a market economy as well as the quality of political management in each of these countries. The BTI aims to improve political management processes and optimize outside support by identifying and facilitating the transfer of best practices among a broad spectrum of countries in transition.

### [www.cddghana.org](http://www.cddghana.org)

The **Ghana Center for Democratic Development (CDD-Ghana)** is an independent, nonpartisan and nonprofit research-based and policy-oriented think tank in Accra, Ghana. Founded in 1998, it is dedicated to the promotion of democracy, good governance and the development of a liberal political and economic environment in Ghana in particular and Africa in general. With a strong capacity for research, analysis and advocacy, the Center collaborates with a wide range of domestic and external organizations to undertake programs to address national and regional challenges in areas such as democracy building, governance improvements, peaceful resolution of conflict and post-conflict/authoritarian transitional justice and reconciliation. In addition to a permanent professional and support staff, a host of visiting scholars, researchers, interns and local and international consultants routinely complement and enrich the work of the Center.

### [www.demcoalition.org](http://www.demcoalition.org)

The **Democracy Coalition Project (DCP)** is an independent, nonprofit organization created in 2002 to work with civil society coalitions engaged in strengthening democracy and human rights at home and abroad. Its principal focus is promoting greater cooperation among democratic governments in support of democratic consolidation around the world. DCP conducts research and advocacy projects in partnership with an international network of civil society organizations, foundations, scholars, foreign policy experts and politicians. DCP plays a leadership role in encouraging a more transparent and active U.N. Democracy Caucus and in advocating for reform of the U.N. human rights system. It has played a central role in shaping the NGO process for the Community of Democracies and in recommending strategies for strengthening this association of democratic governments. DCP's Brussels office seeks to encourage European governments and institutions to further engage in advancing democracy and human rights worldwide. DCP is also a strategic partner of the Club of Madrid, an independent association of former heads of state and government dedicated to strengthening democracy around the world.

### [www.freedomhouse.org](http://www.freedomhouse.org)

**Freedom House** is an independent, nongovernmental organization that supports the expansion of freedom in the world. Freedom House functions as a catalyst for freedom, democracy and the rule of law through its analysis, advocacy and action. Founded in 1941, Freedom House has been a vigorous proponent of democratic values and a leading advocate of the world's young democracies. Freedom House conducts an array of advocacy, education and training initiatives that promote human rights, democracy, free market economics, the rule of law and independent media, drawing attention to global trends in democracy and casting a public light upon dictatorships and abuse. **Freedom in the World**, **Freedom of the Press**, **Nations in Transit**, and **Countries at the Crossroads** are regularly used as references by international journalists, press freedom advocates, policymakers, nongovernmental organizations, the U.S. government and the global business community. With sixteen offices throughout the world and a network of hundreds of civil society, NGO, professional and academic partners and consultants, Freedom House has an international ability for outreach.

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