Futures of Democracy: Research and Policy Perspectives from Eastern European Neighborhood Countries

A Regional Conference of OSF Scholars and Alumni

School of Public Policy • Central European University

12-13 December 2013
Acknowledgments

This conference is co-hosted by the Open Society Foundations Scholarship Programs and the School of Public Policy, Central European University. It was organised by Zarina Usmanova, Helen Murray, Tom Wilson and Jade Said at the OSF Scholarship Programs in London, and Bernhard Knoll-Tudor, Ilona Ilyes and Pusa Natase at the School of Public Policy, CEU, in Budapest. The input of our colleagues in other parts of the OSF network has been instrumental in developing the ideas behind the conference and shaping its agenda. In particular we would like to thank Jordi Vaquer and Viorel Ursu at the Open Society Initiative for Europe, Goran Buldioski, Vladyslav Galushko and Andrej Nosko at Think Tank Fund, Oleksandr Shtokvych from Higher Education Support Program, and Kristof Varga at the OSF-CEU Liaison Office. We would like to extend our collective thanks to the Dean of the School of Public Policy CEU, Wolfgang Reinicke, and the director and deputy director of OSF Scholarship Programs, Martha Loerke and Audrone Uzieliene, respectively, for their support in bringing the conference to fruition.

Following the recent Eastern Partnership Summit in Vilnius and ahead of next year’s tenth anniversary of the European Neighborhood Policy, this conference brings together up to 100 alumni from the six eastern ENP countries - Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine.
I am delighted and encouraged to welcome you to this conference.

The eastern European and Caucasus members of the European Neighbourhood Policy are at a pivotal juncture in their histories. From regional integration and economic development to human rights and democratic participation, countries in the region face a range of complex and pressing questions.

The research, activist and policy perspectives that you bring to this conference promise to stimulate critical and creative examination of these issues. Your research and wider professional and personal experiences make a valuable and timely contribution to debates surrounding the futures of democracy in the eastern European Neighborhood Policy countries, and reflect the diversity of the alumni of the Open Society Foundations Scholarship Programs.

The Open Society Foundations have offered opportunities for study in the humanities and social sciences for thirty years, often in difficult circumstances, from apartheid-era South Africa to Burma’s democratic transition today. There are now some 15,000 OSF Scholarships alumni working in academia, government and civil society across the globe. You are a part of this unique global network of individuals, often passionately committed to furthering the aims of open society in challenging environments, and together forming a powerful resource for development and social change.

The School of Public Policy at the Central European University, founded in 2011, is a multi-disciplinary and international institution focused on tackling theoretical and practical issues in public policy. In fostering links between researchers and practitioners across multiple fields, it aspires to produce relevant, creative and evidence-based proposals capable of strengthening open societies at both global and local levels.

By bringing you together, the Open Society Foundations and School of Public Policy seek to spark collaboration, ideas and actions. I wish you all a productive meeting and look forward to its conclusions and plans for the future.

Martha Loerke
Director, Scholarship Programs
# Futures of Democracy: Research and Policy Perspectives from Eastern European Neighborhood Countries

*A Regional Conference of OSF Scholars and Alumni*

## Wednesday 11 December

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<td>Welcome Reception</td>
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## Thursday 12 December

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<th>Time</th>
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<td>9:00—9:15</td>
<td>Welcome remarks: Higher Education and Social Change</td>
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<td><em>Wolfgang Reinicke</em> (Dean, School of Public Policy, CEU, Budapest)</td>
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<td><em>Martha Loerke</em> (Director, OSF Scholarship Programs, New York)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Leading commentators from the region debate conference themes with questions from the audience</td>
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<td>10:30—11.00</td>
<td>Live Voting</td>
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<td>A live ‘social and political attitudes’ survey of the conference with interactive debate</td>
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<td>11.00—11.30</td>
<td>Break</td>
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<td>Parallel Sessions: Looking Back - A Critical Assessment of Developments and Challenges</td>
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<td><strong>Cluster 1: Diplomatic Relations and Regional Integration</strong></td>
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<td><em>Gunay Bayramova</em> (Azerbaijan): Azerbaijan’s Economic Relations as a Typical Petrostate</td>
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<td><em>Tsotsne Tchanturia</em> (Georgia): Where are the Economic Markets? The Case of Georgian Wine Exports</td>
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<td>Plenary 1: States of Democracy - Politics and Participation in the Eastern European Neighborhood</td>
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19:00—21:00 Welcome Reception

#### Room
K&K Hotel

### Thursday 12 December

#### Time
9:00—9:15

**Welcome remarks: Higher Education and Social Change**

- **Wolfgang Reinicke** (Dean, School of Public Policy, CEU, Budapest)
- **Martha Loerke** (Director, OSF Scholarship Programs, New York)

#### Session
9:15—10:30

**Futures of Democracy in the Eastern European Neighborhood: A Conversation**

Leading commentators from the region debate conference themes with questions from the audience

- **Ivan Krastev** (Centre for Liberal Strategies, Sofia)
- **Orysia Lutsevych** (Chatham House, London)
- **Jordi Vaquer** (Open Society Initiative for Europe, Barcelona)

#### Session
10:30—11:00

**Live Voting**

A live ‘social and political attitudes’ survey of the conference with interactive debate

#### Session
11:00—11:30

**Break**

#### Session
11.30—13:00

**Parallel Sessions: Looking Back – A Critical Assessment of Developments and Challenges**

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| Cluster 2: Economic Development and Resources | Popper Rm | Are the eastern ENP countries on a path to sustainable economies? |
| Facilitator: Ia Eradze (Georgia) | Rapporteur: Halyna Semenyshyn (Ukraine) |
| • Gunay Bayramova (Azerbaijan): Azerbaijan’s Economic Relations as a Typical Petrostate | • Tsotsne Tchanturia (Georgia): Where are the Economic Markets? The Case of Georgian Wine Exports |

| Cluster 3: Rights and Social Justice | MB 201 | Are socio-economic inequalities a threat to democratic transition in the eastern ENP countries? |
| Facilitator: Nataliya Gladkova (Ukraine) | Rapporteur: Alona Kachkan (Ukraine) |
| • Corina Ajder (Moldova): Statelessness Among Roma Communities in Eastern Europe | • Nino Bolkadze (Georgia): Minority Rights and Challenges in Georgia’s New Democracy |

| Cluster 4: Political Participation and Public Administration | MB 202 | Are politics and public administration more accountable and what factors are driving this? |
| Facilitator: Irma Gurguliani (Georgia) | Rapporteur: Karine Ghazaryan (Armenia) |
| • Iryna Solonenko (Ukraine): Oligarchs and Post-Communist Democratization: the Case of Ukraine | • Aliaksandr Charniakovich (Belarus): Towards Public Scrutiny of Elections - the Case of Belarus |

#### Session
13:00—14:00

**Lunch**

#### Session
14:00—15:00

**Plenary 1: States of Democracy – Politics and Participation in the Eastern European Neighborhood**

Facilitator: Vladyslav Galushko (Think Tank Fund, Budapest)

- **Gledis Gjipali** (European Movement Albania, Tirana) on effects of EU integration on internal democratization
- **Svitlana Zalishchuk** (New Citizen, Kiev) on strengthening civil society activism in Ukraine
- **Olga Stuzhinskaya** (Office for a Democratic Belarus, Brussels) on states of democracy in eastern Europe
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<td>19:00</td>
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<td><strong>Plenary 2: A Very Political Economy - Challenges for Inclusive Socio-Economic Development</strong>&lt;br&gt;Facilitator: Oleksandr Shtokvych (OSF Higher Education Support Program, Budapest)</td>
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<td><strong>Workshops: Activating Change</strong></td>
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### Cluster 3: Rights and Social Justice

**What institutional/other frameworks are needed to address inequalities and minority rights?**

**Facilitator:** Alexei Lalo (Belarus)

**Rapporteur:** Maryna Gusyakova (Ukraine)

- Iryna Ulasiuk (Belarus): A Legal Framework on National minorities? Case Studies from Armenia and Belarus
- Bahija Aliyeva (Azerbaijan): International Human Rights Frameworks and Gender Discrimination - the Case of ‘Missing Women’ in Azerbaijan

### Cluster 4: Political Participation and Public Administration

**How can political participation be strengthened and what is the role of civil society in democratic transition?**

**Facilitator:** Khatuna Ioseliani (Georgia)

**Rapporteur:** Andriy Korniychuk (Ukraine)

- Ievgen Vorobiov (Ukraine): Media Freedom in Ukraine - Will Signing an EU Association Agreement have an Impact?
- Yekaterina Glod (Belarus): Political Protest in Russia and Belarus

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### Friday 13 December

**9:00—10:00 Plenary 2: A Very Political Economy – Challenges for Inclusive Socio-Economic Development**

**Facilitator:** Oleksandr Shtokvych (OSF Higher Education Support Program, Budapest)

- Vugar Bayramov (Center for Economic and Social Development, Baku) on why current energy policies are an obstacle to sustainable economies
- Koba Turmanidze (Caucasus Research Resources Centers, Tbilisi), on addressing poverty and socio-economic inequalities in the Caucasus
- Anastasia Danilova (GENDERDOC-M, Chisinau) on activism and minority rights within the LGBTI community in Moldova

**10:00—10:30 Break**

**10:30—12:00 Workshops: Activating Change**

**Workshop 1: Role of Social Media in Civil Society Development**

(China-Facilitated by OSF Alumni)

**Workshop 2: Activating the OSF Alumni Network**

(Kristof Varga, OSF-CEU Liaison Office)

**Workshop 3: How to Influence Public Policy**

(Andrej Nosko, Think Tank Fund)

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**Auditorium**

- Vugar Bayramov (Center for Economic and Social Development, Baku) on why current energy policies are an obstacle to sustainable economies
- Koba Turmanidze (Caucasus Research Resources Centers, Tbilisi), on addressing poverty and socio-economic inequalities in the Caucasus
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**Workshop 1:** MB 201

**Workshop 2:** Popper Rm

**Workshop 3:** Gellner Rm
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<td><strong>Parallel Sessions: Initiating Change - Recommendations and Action Plan</strong></td>
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<td>14:30—15:00</td>
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<tr>
<td>15:00—17:00</td>
<td><strong>Plenary: Presentation of Cluster Group Conclusions, Recommendations and Action Plans</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Closing Remarks</strong></td>
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<td>Martha Loerke (Director, OSF Scholarship Programs)</td>
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### Addresses and Contact Details

**Hotel:**
K&K Hotel Opera, Révay utca 24, 1065 Budapest
telephone (+36 1) 269 0222

**Conference venue:**
Central European University, Nádor utca 9, 1051 Budapest
telephone (+36 1) 327 3000
http://www.ceu.hu

Wi-fi is available in all buildings of the CEU campus.
Please choose the connection ‘LAPTOP_AREA’; no password is needed.
Over the past decade there have been more than 2000 OSF scholarship grantees from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine.
Host Organizations

Open Society Foundations, Scholarship Programs

The Open Society Foundations work to build vibrant and tolerant societies whose governments are accountable and open to the participation of all people. The Foundations implement initiatives throughout the world to advance justice, education, public health, and independent media.

Scholarship Programs provide opportunities in the social sciences and humanities to talented individuals from eastern Europe, the Caucasus, central Asia, south and southeast Asia, the Middle East, Haiti and Africa for study in rigorous, competitive academic programs in alternative academic and cultural environments. Scholarship Programs work to revitalize and reform the teaching of the social sciences and humanities, provide professional training in fields unavailable or underrepresented at institutions in the countries served, and assist outstanding students from a range of backgrounds to pursue their studies. There are today over 15,000 Scholarship Programs alumni working in government, civil society and academia across the globe. For further information, please see www.opensocietyfoundations.org/about/programs/scholarship-programs

School of Public Policy, Central European University

In the words of its founder, George Soros, the School of Public Policy at Central European University, is a “new kind of global institution dealing with global problems” through multidisciplinary study of public policy, innovative teaching and research, as well as meaningful engagement with policy practice. In 2013 SPP welcomed an inaugural class of 26 students from 21 countries to its two-year Master of Public Administration program.

SPP’s flagship MPA program is unique. Its academic curriculum is complemented by innovative practical and experiential learning techniques, including the Skills for Impact program, which teaches leadership, negotiation, and management, and the Passion Project, a student-designed policy consultancy for real world clients. The School boasts a team of outstanding resident faculty, world-class visiting faculty made up of top researchers, and practitioners in the public policy field who bring a wide array of academic and practical subjects to SPP’s diverse classroom. For more information please visit http://spp.ceu.hu/
Vugar Bayramov is chairman of the Center for Economic and Social Development, Baku. He is a steering committee member and Azerbaijan’s national coordinator at the EU Eastern Partnership Civil Society Forum, where he has also acted as the coordinator of the Economic Integration and Convergence to EU Standards Working Group. A leading economist in Azerbaijan, Bayramov was a visiting faculty member at Washington University in 2002-3, and is the author of papers and books which have been translated into 25 languages.

Anastasia Danilova is the executive director of GENDERDOC-M Information Center, Chisinau, a non-governmental, community-based organization which addresses the rights of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people. She received support and legal assistance from the organization in 2004 as a victim of discrimination, and was involved as a volunteer in the publication of a magazine for lesbians, Theme. Before becoming executive director in April 2010, she was the Women's Program coordinator.

Vladyslav Galushko is program officer at the Think Tank Fund overseeing the portfolio of institutional and core grants in Ukraine, Moldova, and the south Caucasus. Prior to joining the fund, he was an analyst with the International Crisis Group, where he conducted policy research on Islamic radicalism, labor migration, ethnic strife, and socio-economic issues in central Asia. Galushko has previously worked with a number of international organizations in Ukraine on election monitoring and education. His areas of interest include civil society development, state and institution building processes, and security challenges in the post-Soviet space. He received a doctoral degree in international studies from Old Dominion University, Norfolk, Virginia.

Ivan Krastev is chairman of the Centre for Liberal Strategies in Sofia, permanent fellow at the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna and the 2013-14 Richard von Weizsäcker Fellow at the Bosch Stiftung, Berlin. He is a founding board member of the European Council on Foreign Relations, a member of the advisory boards of the ERSTE Foundation, the Open Society Foundations, the Center for European Policy Analysis, and the European Cultural Foundation. Krastev is also associate editor of Europe’s World and sits on the editorial board of the Journal of Democracy and Transit – Europäische Revue. His latest books are In Mistrust We Trust: Can Democracy Survive When We Don’t Trust Our Leaders?, The Anti-American Century (co-edited with Alan McPherson) and Shifting Obsessions: Three Essays on the Politics of Anticorruption.

Martha Loerke has been director of Scholarship Programs at the Open Society Foundations since 1995. She began working on international education programs in 1988 at the Council for International Exchange of Scholars, with the Senior Fulbright Fellowship Program for Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and Bulgaria. She joined the Institute of International Education in New York in 1991, and developed and managed the Edmund S. Muskie and Freedom Support Act Graduate Fellowship Program for the former Soviet Union. Loerke now oversees Scholarship Programs offering humanities and social science scholarships in over 30 countries. She directs offices in New York and London, and coordinates global program administration with 30 local partners.

Orysia Lutsevych is a non-resident fellow at Chatham House, Russia and Eurasia Programme, and author of How to Finish a Revolution: Civil Society and Democracy in Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine. She is currently...
consulting donors, international NGOs and foundations on program development and evaluation. Lutsevych is a contributor to *Open Democracy, Gurt* and *Local First*. She has previously led the start-up and regional development of Europe House-Georgia and worked as the executive director of Open Ukraine Foundation. Lutsevych designed and implemented the strategy for the creation of the Polish-Ukraine Cooperation Foundation PAUCI, later becoming the Ukraine country director.

**Andrej Nosko** is senior program officer at Think Tank Fund, overseeing the portfolio of project grants in the EU countries, and support for integration of new technologies and communications tools within the think tank community. His academic interests are the political economy of security, and energy security policies of countries in transition, focusing on central Europe. He has worked with and led an international group of researchers advocating for closer transnational cooperation in improving energy security in Europe. Previously Nosko worked at the European Commission’s Directorate General for Justice Freedom and Security (now DG Home Affairs). Nosko received his PhD in Political Science, and MA in International Relations and European Studies from Central European University in Budapest. Before coming to Budapest he studied at Charles University in Prague, and in Sweden, Poland, and the United States. Nosko’s academic publications and presentations are available at www.nosko.sk.

**Wolfgang H. Reinicke** is SPP’s founding dean. He is also president of the Global Public Policy Institute and a non-resident senior fellow in the foreign policy studies program at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC. His areas of expertise include global governance, global finance, international economic institutions, public-private partnerships and global public policy networks, as well as EU-US relations. Reinicke was a senior scholar with the Brookings Institution from 1991-98 and a senior partner and senior economist in the Corporate Strategy Group of the World Bank in Washington, DC, from 1998-2000. From 1999-2000 Reinicke directed the Global Public Policy Project, which provided strategic guidance on global governance for the UN Secretary General’s Millennium Report. He co-founded the Global Public Policy Institute in 2003. From 2000 to 2011, he worked in the private sector as managing director of Galaxar SA in Geneva. He holds degrees from Queen Mary College of London University (BSc Economics) and Johns Hopkins University (MA International Relations and Economics). He received his MPhil and PhD in political science from Yale University.

**Oleksandr Shtokvych** has been working with the Open Society Foundations’ International Higher Education Support Program since 2001, where he has been involved in design and operation of the package of faculty and curriculum development programs in the humanities and social sciences including the HESP Summer Schools Program, the Regional Seminar for Excellence in Teaching and Central Asia and Caucasus Research and Training Initiative. He is currently leading OSF efforts in higher education reform in Burma. Prior to joining OSI, he directed international programs at Chernivtsi National University in Ukraine from 1992-96. Between 1996 and 2001 he was part of the Civic Education Project, first as the Director of the CEP’s Ukraine, Belarus and Moldova program and then a Director for Special Projects for CEP’s international operations. In this capacity, he leads needs assessment and programming in higher education development in the countries of CEP operation and contributed to larger regional studies of education development. He studied linguistics and education at the Chernivtsi National University, Ukraine and the University of Saskatchewan, Canada, and taught linguistics, American studies and civic education at high school and university.

**Svitlana Zalischuk** is a journalist, activist and initiator of numerous campaigns in Ukraine, including New Citizen, a non-partisan civic platform. She is a founding director of the Kiev-based NGO Centre UA,
and was previously an anchor of the politics show *From the Other Side* and reporter for the 5th TV Channel. She also has experience in government and from 2005-6 in the administration of the president.

**Gledis Gjipali** is the executive director of European Movement in Albania. He has worked for several years at the Albanian Ministry of European Integration, dealing with adoption of EU legislation in areas including judicial cooperation, human rights and data protection. He later joined the Directorate of Justice and Home Affairs, Justice Sector, and worked on judicial reform, property rights and data protection. He is a part time lecturer of European Law at Luarasi University, and has written several publications and reports on European integration, regional development and electoral systems.

**Olga Stuzhinskaya** is the founder and director of the Brussels-based Office for a Democratic Belarus, which seeks to strengthen ties between Belarus and the European Union. She served two terms on the Steering Committee of the Eastern Partnership Civil Society Forum, launched in 2009. Stuzhinskaya is currently deputy chair of the Board of the Public Association for an Open Society. She is a founder of the Eastern Partnership Advancement Center, a newly established international non-profit association which will serve as a hub for information and coordination of Eastern Partnership activities by civil society organizations, professional associations, government agencies and EU agencies across the EU’s eastern neighborhood.

**Koba Turmanidze** is president of CRRC-Georgia, the country’s leading organisation to collect, analyse and publish policy-relevant data on social, economic and political trends. He earned an MPA from the American University, Washington, DC, and an MA in Political Science from Central European University, Budapest. He is currently a doctoral candidate in Comparative Politics at Central European University. From 2005-11, Turmanidze was assistant professor of political science at Tbilisi State University. His research interests include authoritarianism, regime change and voting behaviour.

**Jordi Vaquer** is director of the Open Society Initiative for Europe. He was previously director of the Barcelona Centre for International Affairs, and from 2008-11 was the coordinator of EU4Seas, a research program bringing together partner institutions from eight European countries to study the effects of EU policies on cooperation among the Mediterranean, Baltic, Caspian, and Black Sea states. Vaquer writes a regular column about international affairs in the Spanish daily *El País* and edits *Revista CIDOB d’Afers Internacionals*, the Barcelona Centre’s international relations journal. He provides media commentary and often speaks at international debates and seminars on international affairs and EU politics. Vaquer graduated from the Autonomous University of Barcelona, Spain; received a masters degree from the College of Europe in Bruges, Belgium; and completed a PhD in international relations at the London School of Economics.

**Kristof Varga** is the founding director of the OSF-CEU Liaison Office, where he is planning and implementing joint programs between the University and the Foundations. Kristof has been working with OSF since 1999, supporting decentralization in central and eastern European countries and in the former Soviet Union as they underwent their democratic transitions. In 2006, he began work in Peru, west Africa and Indonesia, where his programmatic focus shifted to local economic development, participatory planning, transparency of extractive revenues, and organizing an interface between the state and civil society. Kristof served two terms as a representative at the Budapest City Council and was a member of the Council of Europe’s Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, where he participated in election observation missions in the Balkans. He has also been Research Director at the DEMOS Hungary Foundation, a progressive think tank.
Alumni Directory

Faig ABBASOV (Azerbaijan) is a PhD candidate at the University of Sheffield, UK, and is interested in European politics and energy security. f.abbasov@sheffield.ac.uk, abbasovaig@yahoo.com.

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