



# PARLIAMENTARY CONFEDERATION OF THE AMERICAS NEWSLETTER

MAY 2010

## EDITORIAL

### *\*Democracy and Citizen Participation: Synonyms of Peace*

Talking about democracy inevitably leads us to reflect on the duty we all share to encourage and respect the participation of the citizenry in the democratic process. We sometimes tend to think of the benefits of democracy as reaching us exclusively through our elected representatives to the extent that they work within the bounds of the rules governing a democratic system.

However, in the same way that political candidates and office-holders must fulfill the commitments they have made, so too must ordinary citizens do their part by participating in the democratic process in an active, enlightened and responsible fashion.

It is a question of mutual commitment, with rights and obligations on both sides: a government “of the People, by the People and for the People”, in which citizens, political parties, non-governmental agencies and elected representatives (legislators, mayors, heads of state, etc.) work together to

strengthen the legal framework from which most of the public benefit, while keeping in view the need for the government programs and active citizen participation without which democracy would be meaningless.

Given that elections are held on some part of the continent each year—Colombia will go to the polls at the end of May, and Mexico is planning state and municipal elections for July—we believe COPA’s electoral observation missions to be as relevant in their way as the actions carried out by the citizens of our various democracies. Talking about democracy necessarily means talking about citizen participation, preoccupied as we all are with contributing to the peace and development of our nations.

*Senator Eduardo Nava*



## Electoral Observation Mission, COLOMBIA 2010

COPA is currently preparing for its electoral observation mission to Colombia with a view to that country’s presidential election of May 30, 2010; this election will follow on the heels of Colombia’s legislative elections (Senate and Chamber of Representatives), and will result in a four-year term (2010–2012) for the winning candidate. If no candidate obtains an absolute majority after the first round of voting, a second round will be held on June 20.

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23 de abril de 2010

**Objeto: Elecciones presidenciales del 30 de mayo de 2010 en Colombia**

*Distinguida/Distinguido Presidente/Presidenta:*

*La organización que tengo el honor de presidir, la Confederación Parlamentaria de las Américas (COPA), fundada en 1997, reúne los congresos y las asambleas parlamentarias de los Estados unitarios, federales y federados, los parlamentos regionales y las organizaciones interparlamentarias de las Américas. Su principal objetivo es contribuir al fortalecimiento de la democracia parlamentaria y la edificación de una comunidad de las Américas basada en el respeto de la dignidad y los derechos humanos, la paz, la democracia, la solidaridad entre los pueblos, la justicia social y la equidad entre los sexos.*

*Para lograr alcanzar este objetivo, nuestra organización expresó el deseo de participar de manera activa en materia de observación electoral en la escena internacional al adoptar en mayo de 2005 el "Reglamento sobre las Misiones de Observación Electoral de la COPA". Desde entonces, la COPA ha implementado la realización de diez misiones de observación de elecciones en varios países.*

*En el marco de la implementación del programa de misiones de observación electoral, los miembros de nuestra organización, en la IX Asamblea General de la COPA celebrada en la Ciudad de Salta, Provincia de Salta, Argentina, del 14 al 20 de septiembre de 2009, adoptaron una recomendación, que adjuntamos a la presente, en la que se propone, si las autoridades competentes colombianas manifiestan su deseo, "el envío de una misión de observación electoral de la COPA a las elecciones presidenciales en Colombia, en pleno respeto de la soberanía nacional de Colombia".*

*Con este objeto, recientemente inicié trámites ante las autoridades competentes de Colombia para comunicarles la adopción de la recomendación antes mencionada y confirmarles el interés y la disponibilidad de nuestra organización para enviar una misión de observación electoral, si así lo desearan.*

*Por la presente, me complace informarle que el 21 de abril de 2010, la COPA recibió una carta de las autoridades electorales colombianas invitándonos a constituir una delegación de parlamentarios observadores para los comicios del próximo mes de mayo.*

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*Así, tengo ahora la responsabilidad de designar rápidamente, y basándome en el principio de una representación equitativa de las cinco regiones de la COPA, a los parlamentarios que integrarán la misión de nuestra organización que viajará a Colombia para observar la primera vuelta de las elecciones presidenciales.*

*Me permito solicitarle a fin de que nos proponga nombres de parlamentarios interesados y disponibles para participar en dicha misión. Cabe señalar que se envió también una carta similar a los Vicepresidentes regionales de la COPA.*

*Le recuerdo que, según el "Reglamento sobre Misiones de Observación Electoral de la COPA", la participación de los parlamentarios observadores está sujeta a que las asambleas parlamentarias a las que pertenecen tomen a su cargo la totalidad de los gastos de transporte y estadía. Se debe prever una estadía en Bogotá desde el 26 hasta el 31 de mayo de 2010.*

*El Reglamento estipula asimismo que "una misión de observación electoral de la COPA deberá estar integrada por al menos tres parlamentarios procedentes de al menos tres Estados diferentes, a fin de asegurar el carácter multilateral de la misión". Cuento con la mayor colaboración posible de todos para aplicar esta nueva disposición del Reglamento, transmitiendo a la Secretaría de la Comisión de Democracia y Paz los documentos necesarios para la obtención de la acreditación del Consejo Nacional Electoral a más tardar el 17 de mayo de 2010.*

*Para toda información a este respecto o para enviar los formularios de solicitud completados y firmados de los parlamentarios que deseen participar en esta misión (acompañados de una fotografía digital y de una copia de la página principal del pasaporte de los participantes), le ruego se comunique con la Sra. Christiane Bérubé, asesora de la Comisión de Democracia y Paz, por teléfono al no. 1-418-644-2888 o a la dirección electrónica: [copa@assnat.qc.ca](mailto:copa@assnat.qc.ca).*

*Quedo a su entera disposición para responder a toda consulta sobre el tema y le ruego reciba la expresión de mi alta consideración.*

**Prof. EDDA E. ACUÑA**  
Presidenta de la Confederación Parlamentaria de las Américas  
Honorable Senado de la provincia de Buenos Aires



## INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON BENCHMARKING AND SELF-ASSESSMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC PARLIAMENTS

An International Conference on Benchmarking and Self-Assessment for Democratic Parliaments, which COPA President Edda Acuña and I attended as COPA's representatives, was held on March 3 and 4, 2010, in Paris.

This international conference, sponsored by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the World Bank Institute (WBI) and their partners, gave some 35 parliamentarians from around the world an opportunity to share their experiences and their vision of democracy.

Over the years, we have seen international consensus emerge around general standards relating to elections, human rights and the environment. But what about parliaments? What are the characteristics of a democratic parliament? Must all parliamentary systems have the same standards? Free elections are the cornerstone of participatory democracy, but do they guarantee that the people are duly represented? Do they guarantee that, once elected, parliamentarians will have the tools they need to fill their representative role?

Beyond elections, democracy requires that elected representatives have the power and means to carry out their constitutional responsibilities. Whether in their representative or lawmaking functions or in their oversight of the executive, parliamentarians must be given the guarantees enabling them to do that for which they were elected or the democratic system will be deeply affected, as will the electorate's perception of it. This further implies an ability to recognize obstacles to democracy—corruption, for example, or the predominance of the executive over the legislative and the judiciary.

Hence my conclusion that, between elections, parliamentary activity is the litmus test of the strength of a democracy.

It is only in recent years that institutions such as the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the WBI and the UNPD, and interparliamentary organizations such as the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA) and the Assemblée parlementaire de la Francophonie (APF) have embarked on the complex exercise of setting criteria, norms, standards, principles and other indicators to define what constitutes a democratic parliament.

During the conference last March 3 and 4, participants described what they had done so far in this area at the regional, subregional and national levels. Most had developed a set of self-assessment benchmarks for democratic parliaments that took into account the sovereignty and cultural specificities of their respective systems.

Parliamentarians from La Francophonie, for example, set assessment benchmarks that reflected the democratic reality of parliaments in the francophone world. These benchmarks were examined and later adopted during a plenary session.



The Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) put together a self-assessment grid. Some of its member parliaments completed the grid and discovered the strengths and weaknesses of their institution. They were able to use the results of their self-assessment to work on certain targeted aspects of parliamentary democracy and to secure the support they needed.

What struck me in the accounts the participants gave was that all the parliaments that lent themselves to this exercise learned from it. It also became clear to me that self-assessment is vital for a democratic institution looking to improve its practices in any area, from parliamentary procedure to institutional independence to personnel management and material resources.

To date, no similar efforts have been undertaken in the Americas. I believe that COPA, as the only organization that brings together all the parliaments of the continent, provides the ideal forum for such a project, which would give rise to substantive debate and perhaps even generate consensus among our parliamentarians on the broad principles that should govern our democratic institutions.

As Chair of COPA's Committee on Democracy and Peace, I would like, through the Committee and with your support, to initiate a project of this kind across the Americas. The contributions made by all those willing to take part in this debate would not only profit our organization but also have positive spin-offs for every parliament in the region. Moreover, COPA could thus support the endeavours of the major international bodies. I see this as an excellent means of both enriching our work and rising the profile of our organization.



**Jean-Martin Aussant**  
Member of the National Assembly of Québec  
Chair of the Committee on Democracy and Peace



## The Parliament of Barbados

The Parliament of Barbados is composed of two chambers, the House of Assembly and the Senate. The Assembly's 30 Members are elected by universal suffrage for a term of five years.

The Government may call an election to seek a new mandate or when faced with a non-confidence vote in Parliament.

The Assembly sits on Tuesdays but may call a sitting at any time if there is urgent business to be considered.



Characteristics of the Assembly:

- The Speaker's chair was a gift from the Government of India to the people of Barbados when the latter obtained its independence on November 30, 1966.
- The stained glass windows were manufactured in the 1870s by Clayton Bell of the United Kingdom. They depict the British monarchs from 1603 to 1636, including Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector from 1653 to 1658.
- A Parliament runs for five years as of the first sitting after a general election.
- The main entrance to the House of Assembly is adorned by a bust of Sir William Conrad Reeves, the first black person to be knighted. A man of multiple accomplishments, Reeves is remembered for his many years of outstanding service as a lawyer and a Member of the Assembly, and for his 16 years as the country's Chief Justice. His was a long career of loyal service to Barbadians of all social backgrounds.



At the Chamber entrance is a list of all Members of the House of Assembly since the advent of universal suffrage in 1951.



The Senate's 21 Members are appointed by the Governor General; 12 are appointed on the Prime Minister's, and 2 on the Opposition Leader's, recommendation; the other 7 are appointed at the discretion of the Governor General.

#### Characteristics of the Senate

- As a rule, the Senate sits on Wednesdays.
- Senators may also be appointed as Ministers or Parliamentary Secretaries. The Senate meets chiefly when matters are referred to it by the House of Assembly.
- The oval mahogany table is part of the original furniture of the Senate Chamber.
- The stained glass windows show the coats-of-arms of former Speakers of the House and Presidents of the Legislative Council, which preceded the Senate.
- The chandeliers, made of Waterford Crystal, were a joint gift to the people of Barbados from Lord Wedgwood of Barlaston and Geoffrey Cave of Cave Shepherd & Co. Ltd., to mark the 350th anniversary of Parliament in 1989.



## 2010 Meeting of Women Parliamentarians of Latin America and the Caribbean: Political Participation of Women

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*On April 14 and 15, 2010, Panama City hosted the Meeting of Women Parliamentarians of Latin America and the Caribbean, held at the initiative of the Spain-UNDP (United Nations Development Program) Trust Fund, in collaboration with UNIFEM, AECID (the Spanish Agency for International Development Cooperation) and the UNDP Regional Centre. Some 30 persons attended the meeting, entitled “Towards an Integrated and Inclusive Development in Latin America and the Caribbean”, to examine women’s participation in the political life of the countries concerned. The Deputy from the National Assembly of the People’s Power of the Republic of Cuba and Chair of COPA’s Committee on Health and Social Protection, Elsa Rojas Hernández, participated as the representative of the Network of Women Parliamentarians of the Americas.*

*The following excerpts are from the presentation made by Deputy Rojas Hernández during the study session on the*

*synergies and alliances, existing and yet to come, that will be required to increase women’s participation in politics:*

[...] Women’s participation in decision making has been a recurring theme of the Network’s meetings, as we seek to assess the specific advances and challenges in this area and to follow up on each issue debated. Analysis and debate have centered essentially on the issues and regions of critical concern and particular interest, approved and contained in the Beijing Action Plan.

With the achievement of more autonomy and better social, economic and political conditions for women, we may begin to lay the foundations for an egalitarian participation of men and women in a responsible government and administration, with a view to achieving truly sustainable development in all spheres of life. We believe that the move toward gender parity in politics



is in full swing, a vital and doubtless irreversible process.

On average, women's representation in Latin American parliaments increased from 8% in 1990 to 18% in 2008. However, no country in Latin America, and only one in the Caribbean, ranks in the first seven countries in the world in this regard. The Caribbean exception is Cuba, which ranks fourth in the world with 43.32% women parliamentarians. Moreover, over the past three presidential terms, Cuban women's participation in Cabinet has increased from 13% to 27%.

[...] There are causes both objective and subjective which contrive to limit women's participation in decision making.

For example:

- the high degree of illiteracy among women: despite educational progress in some countries, it remains clear that the unequal representation of men and women in the education system impacts on decision making;
- limited access to the job market: improvement in this area would open new perspectives for women, fostering their personal development and encouraging them to take charge of their own destinies, all of which would place them in a better position to assume decision-making roles;
- lack of understanding in the family: such understanding is an essential form of support if women are to assume decision-making roles;
- persistent stereotypes, which hamper women's progress in assuming decision-making roles;

- policies and programs that take too little account of gender and fail to adequately reinforce the role of women in society and their potential and abilities as decision makers;
- discrimination of various kinds—race, class, ethnicity—compromises women's ability to participate fully in political life;
- a patriarchal model that causes women to limit their own options and lose confidence in themselves;
- the weak and biased image of women projected by the mass media: this does not facilitate or promote the role played by women in society.

The inadequate promotion of women, given their potential, also inhibits the development of society.

Gender parity in leadership roles allows women to participate in public-policy formulation at the decisional level and ensures that their interests are more extensively taken into account and that their intelligence and potential are put to full use in the building of society.

[...]

*Panama City, April 15, 2010*



**Elsa Rojas Hernández**  
**Deputy**  
**National Assembly of the**  
**People's Power – Cuba**





COMISIÓN DE ECONOMÍA  
COMERCIO, TRABAJO  
Y BLOQUES  
COMERCIALES

CONFEDERACIÓN PARLAMENTARIA DE LAS AMÉRICAS



**19th Meeting of the COPA Executive Committee  
9th GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE  
PARLIAMENTARY CONFEDERATION OF THE AMERICAS (COPA)  
Salta, Argentina  
September 14–20, 2009**

**Committee on Economy, Trade, Labour, Competitiveness and  
Trading Blocs**

**Resolution Arising out of the Work Meeting of the Committee on  
Economy, Trade, Labour, Competitiveness and Trading Blocs**

Reaffirming COPA's objectives, which are to promote peace, tolerance, solidarity, cooperation, integration among the peoples of the continent, due respect for sovereignty, and the consolidation of a pluralistic and democratic system of government;

Since it appears vital to ask yet more of the parliamentarians of the countries of the Americas, as the legitimate representatives of their peoples, so that together, we may encourage debate on those issues and on possible solutions and measures in the face of the current global economic crisis, from both the parliamentary and civil society viewpoint;

Aware of the need for a radical overhaul of the international economic system to overcome the problems the current crisis entails for our continent and the rest of the world, COPA, as a parliamentary organization dedicated to research, cooperation and development among the parliaments of the Americas;

**ADOPTS THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTION:**

**FIRST** – Recognizing the challenges that the economic crisis poses for the nations of the Americas, we are aware of the stock-taking we must do and the steps we must take together so that the current crisis will mark the beginning of a new era of far-reaching change conducive to development, integration and cooperation throughout our continent.



**SECOND** – As parliamentarians in the Americas, we pledge to

- + PROMOTE the integration and strengthening of economic relations among the countries of the continent, in addition to giving fresh impetus to proposals to set up regional financial funds and conclude payment arrangements between the Latin American and Caribbean countries;
- + DRAW ON international, national and regional networks to create such cooperation platforms designed to help reduce cultural, economic and social disparities.

**THIRD** – Extend a new invitation to sub-regional integration organizations in Latin America and the Caribbean to urgently improve their modus operandi so that they may make headway toward agreements that would reinforce a common position among the various regional blocs.

**FOURTH** – Ask COPA to assess the impact of the current economic crisis with a view to measuring the capacity of the Latin American and Caribbean countries to finance their economic and social development programs, which are vital to the achievement of economic recovery in a spirit of dignity, solidarity and fairness.

**FIFTH** – Urge COPA member parliamentarians to broadly disseminate the results of this meeting with the aim of informing their parliaments, as the legitimate institutions representing the people, of the measures that must be taken within our organization to address the current crisis from a continental perspective and to make the parliaments more aware of the need for them to play a stronger role in monitoring, assessing and following up on these measures.

For notification and publication

Prepared in Salta on Thursday, September 17, 2009.



## MEXICO- TABASCO 2010 COPA RATIFICATION



Faced with the need to coordinate the efforts of the parliaments of the Americas, and in order to broach subjects of interest to the countries of the continent, the President of the Policy Coordination Group (Junta de Coordinación Política, JCP) of the Congress of the State of Tabasco, Mexico, José Carlos Ocaña Becerra, recently signed a ratification agreement which confers upon the Congress the status of permanent member of the Parliamentary Confederation of the Americas (COPA), a forum created by “the parliamentarians of the continent, which fosters dialogue on issues related to inter-American cooperation”. COPA was represented by its Executive Secretary, Cristina Ruiz Sandoval, who underlined the interest shown by Tabasco’s 60th Legislature in becoming a COPA member, and saw the signing of the agreement as an opportunity to engage in the struggle for fairer integration and active participation in making

decisions requiring greater international attention. Ms. Sandoval stressed that COPA’s efforts in the field of parliamentary diplomacy increasingly involve multi-national agencies, thus giving weight and legitimacy to its decisions, for it is among such agencies that COPA parliamentarians must use all the means at their disposal, particularly diplomatic means, to improve the quality of people’s lives.

She also emphasized that COPA does not encourage the signing of commercial and political agreements between governments that cater to the interests of the elite and disregard the opinions of other stakeholders. “As legislators, we are the direct representatives of the people. Accordingly, we must come up with an integrative process that will allow us to overcome the inequalities of the system and construct a solid basis for a more just continent.” She affirmed that COPA does not engage in partisan

activities or in activities geared to the special interests of a particular group or public or private institution. Hence COPA’s membership comprises legislators who cut across the political spectrum, representing both governing and opposition parties, and who are able to “express their opinions freely without anybody infringing their right to do so”.

In the opinion of José Carlos Ocaña Becerra, the ratification agreement will enrich diplomatic and trade relations between the parties concerned. With regard to the State of Tabasco, the agreement is particularly important, since it contributes to the development of Mexico’s south-southeast states in addition to tightening ties with Central America.

The event was celebrated in the President’s meeting room; on the same occasion, a member of Mexico’s Green Party (PVEM), Pascual Bellizzia Rosique, was appointed Vice-President of COPA’s Committee on the



Environment and Sustainable Development and member of the Executive Committee.

With Pablo Baltodano Monroy, Nicaragua's consul general to Mexico, in attendance, Mr. Ocaña Becerra noted that the Southern Border Commission will work with COPA members and the consuls of Central American countries on such issues as migration, trade and the strengthening of relations. Under article 52 and paragraphs XII and XVII of article 53 of the *Organic Act of the Legislative Power of the State*, the Policy Coordination Group is the body mandated to maintain political relations

with other powers and to authorize cooperation agreements with institutions and agencies.

The premier objective of the ratification agreement is to support actions that will consolidate democracy, prosperity, development and peace in all nations of the continent.

Both Mr. Monroy and COPA technical secretary Hugo Vadillo Zurita commended the Congress of Tabasco's adhesion to the agreement, which will help in monitoring what happens to Central American migrants along the southern border.

COPA is a continental organization comprising representatives of the legislative bodies of 36 nations of the American continent, including, as equal partners, legislators both at the national and federal levels and at the local, state, regional and provincial levels. With the ratification by the Tabasco Congress, the COPA-Mexico delegation reaffirms its commitment to strengthening parliamentary democracy in that country, in collaboration with all COPA members.

***... the signing of the agreement affords an opportunity to launch the struggle for fairer integration ...***

### Program of COPA Activities for 2010–2011

#### May 2010

- Electoral observation mission in Colombia, May 30, 2010.

#### July 2010

- Extraordinary Assembly of the COPA in Querétaro, Mexico, in honour of the bicentenary anniversary of independence of many nations in the Americas.

#### September 2010

- 10th General Assembly of the COPA in Mar del Plata, Argentina.

#### January 2011

- 22nd Meeting of the Executive Committee in Valle de Bravo, Mexico State, Mexico.

#### August 2011

- 11th General Assembly of the COPA in Québec, Canada.

#### Dates to be determined

- Meeting of the Thematic Working Committees of the COPA.
- 13th Meeting of the Executive Committee in New York, United States of America.



## Our House, Our Future...

Today as never before our world is suffering the effects of environmental deterioration and global warming, problems that, hitherto un contemplated in scope, are caused in great part by the large volume of contaminants released into the environment every day

not been effective in engendering the much-sought-after restoration of the environmental balance.

Faithful to its principles of parliamentary integration, and ever open to dialogue, COPA has followed with keen interest, through the agency

The summit to be held this year in Cancún will be an ideal opportunity to work together to hammer out agreements beneficial to our planet. If we underestimate the scope of the problem or overestimate the efficacy of our solutions, we effectively diminish the possibility of improving our



and by our inability to control these phenomena.

As if that weren't enough, humankind must bear a considerable burden of responsibility for the destruction of natural habitats and the extinction of other species, in some cases deliberately authorized.

Despite intensive and ceaseless efforts, the agreements reached in the course of summits and forums attended by parliamentarians of different governments have

of its Committee on the Environment, the process leading up to the various agreements entered into for the purpose of protecting the environment.

Aware of the seriousness of the subject, and determined to obtain optimal results, COPA urges all parliamentarians and the public in general to make the necessary effort to plan and implement environment-friendly measures.

quality of life while at the same time allowing the destruction of the environment to continue unabated.

I therefore invite our fellow parliamentarians in their respective countries to keep this important goal in mind, to concentrate their efforts on the cooperation required to reach agreements and to prepare the key measures necessary to reach our objectives.

**Deputy Pascual Bellizzia Rosique**  
**Vice-President of the Committee on the Environment and Sustainable Development**



## CONFEDERATION EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

### Presidency

Cámara de Senadores de la Provincia de Buenos Aires  
Sra. Edda Evangelina Acuña, Senadora

### First Vice-Presidency

Assemblée nationale du Québec  
M. Jacques Chagnon, Vice-Président

### Executive Secretariat

Congreso del Estado de México  
Sra. Cristina Ruíz Sandoval, Diputada

### Secretariat of Brazil

União Nacional dos Legislativos Estaduais (UNALE)

### Secretariat of Québec

Assemblée nationale du Québec  
M. Michel Pigeon, Député

### Vice-Presidencies

#### North America

Cámara de Senadores del H. Congreso de la Unión de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos  
Sr. Eduardo Nava Bolaños, Senador

New York State Assembly  
Mr. Félix Ortiz, Assemblyman

#### Central America

Asamblea Legislativa de El Salvador  
Sra. Mariella Peña Pinto, Diputada

Congreso de la República de Guatemala  
Sr. Francisco José Contreras, Diputado

### Caribbean

Asamblea Nacional del Poder Popular de Cuba  
Sr. Tubal Páez Hernández, Diputado

Sénat de la République d'Haïti  
M<sup>me</sup> Céméphise Gilles, Sénatrice

### Andean Region

Asamblea Nacional de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela  
Sra. Maria Iris Varela Rangel, Diputada

Senado de la República de Colombia  
Sr. Milton Rodríguez, Senador

### Southern Cone

Câmara dos Deputados do Brasil  
Sr. José Francisco Paes Landim, Deputado

Cámara de Senadores de la República del Paraguay  
Sra. Zulma Ramona Gómez Cáceres, Senadora

### President of the Network of Women

Asamblea Nacional de la República Bolivariana de Venezuela  
Sra. Flor María Ríos, Diputada

### Treasury

Cámara de Diputados de la Unión de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos

### Network of Women Parliamentarians

Cámara de Diputados del H. Congreso de la Unión de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos.

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