





Strasbourg, 16 May 2008

Opinion no. 474 / 2008

CDL (2008)050 Engl. only

EUROPEAN COMMISSION FOR DEMOCRACY THROUGH LAW (VENICE COMMISSION)

DRAFT JOINT OPINION

ON THE DRAFT LAW OF APRIL 2008
ON AMENDING AND SUPPLEMENTING
THE LAW ON CONDUCTING MEETINGS,
ASSEMBLIES, RALLIES AND DEMONSTRATIONS

OF THE REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA

by the Venice Commission and OSCE/ODIHR

on the basis of comments by

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Introduction

- 1. The Law on conducting meetings, assemblies, rallies and demonstrations was amended on 4 October 2005, following extensive consultation with the Council of Europe Venice Commission and with the OSCE/ODIHR, and has been in force since then.
- 2. It was amended on 17 March 2008 after a period of protests and demonstrations that followed the presidential elections of 19 February 2008. In the course of an extraordinary session, the Armenian parliament adopted in first and second reading the "Law on Amending and Supplementing the Republic of Armenia Law on Conducting Meetings, Assemblies, Rallies and Demonstrations". This law was promulgated by the President of the Republic and entered into force on 19 March 2008.
- 3. By a letter of 21 March 2008, Mr. Tigran Torossyan, Speaker of the Armenian parliament, requested the opinion of the Venice Commission on the amendments of 17 March 2008.
- 4. The Venice Commission and the OSCE/ODIHR Expert Panel on the Freedom of Assembly prepared an opinion on 28 March 2008, which was sent to Mr. Torossyan on the same day.
- 5. In response to the opinion, Mr. Torossyan invited the Venice Commission and the OSCE/ODIHR to Yerevan to discuss the opinion with representatives of the Armenian authorities. This meeting took place on 15 and 16 April 2008 and concluded with the drafting of a memorandum outlining the amendments that it was envisaged would be drafted by the Armenian authorities to the law on conducting meetings, assemblies, rallies and demonstrations.
- 6. On 25 April 2008, Mr. Torossyan submitted to the Venice Commission and the OSCE/ODIHR the draft law on amending and supplementing the Law on Conducting Meetings, Assemblies, Rallies and Demonstrations (CDL(2008)051, hereinafter "the draft amendments"). The law as would result from these amendments appears in document CDL(2008)049). This opinion sets out the assessment by the Venice Commission and the OSCE/ODIHR of these draft amendments.
- 7. This opinion and the previous opinion of 28 March 2008 were endorsed by the Venice Commission at its .. Plenary Session (Venice, ...).

I. General observations

- 8. The Venice Commission and ODIHR have worked extensively with the authorities of Armenia in relation to its law on meetings, assemblies, rallies and demonstrations since 2005. In the assessment of the amendments passed on 17 March 2008, the Venice Commission and ODIHR stated that they did not consider the changes "to be acceptable, to the extent that they restrict further the right of assembly in a significant fashion".
- 9. The opportunity to meet with representatives of the Armenian authorities to discuss the amendments was extremely positive and the draft amendments address the main concerns.
- 10. The Venice Commission and ODIHR would reiterate however that in their opinion on the law passed on 4 October 2005, which is contained in CDL-AD(2005)035, they recommended (in paragraph 16) that some official means of monitoring the application of the law and of collating relative statistics should be devised. This monitoring appears to be crucial. The Human Rights Defender of Armenia would seem to be an appropriate institution to exercise this role.

II. Analysis of the proposed amendments

A. <u>Amendments Relating To Spontaneous Assemblies</u>

11. Four of the proposed changes to the legislation relate to the regulation of spontaneous assemblies and these will be discussed together. The two amendments that relate to the definition and notification of spontaneous assemblies will be considered first and the two amendments that relate to the duration and management of spontaneous assemblies will be considered thereafter. The remainder of the draft amendments will then be considered in numerical order.

Addition to Article 2

- 12. The draft amendments include an addition to Article 2 of the law on rallies with the inclusion of a definition of a spontaneous assembly to the list of main concepts associated with the legislation. The definition, which states that a spontaneous assembly is "a peaceful public event, which has not been announced before and has the need to respond immediately to a specific phenomenon or event", fully meets the recommendations for spontaneous assemblies as set out in the OSCE/ODIHR Guidelines on Freedom of Peaceful Assembly (hereinafter referred to as "Guidelines")¹.
- 13. This definition also extends the general recognition of spontaneous assemblies within the law, as under the previous legislation only spontaneous assemblies that grew from non-mass events were recognized as legitimate acts. These amendments and additions to the legislation are therefore to be welcomed.

Amendment to Article 10.1

- 14. The proposed change in the definition of a spontaneous assembly is reflected in the rewording of Article 10.1 which will now read: "With the exception of spontaneous public events, mass public events may be conducted only after notifying the authorised body in writing". Under the previous law all assemblies of more than 100 persons were required to notify the authorities and it was assumed that spontaneous assemblies could only occur as small events of fewer than 100 persons. Further, non-notified assemblies with more than 100 participants would be considered as *forbidden* and could be terminated by the police. This amendment clarifies that spontaneous assemblies of any size will be enabled to take place without providing notification to the authorities.
- 15. The extension to a general recognition of the legitimacy of peaceful spontaneous assemblies is to be applauded as it is generally accepted that on occasions assemblies will need to be held at short notice in response to a pressing social need. However it should be noted that in the revised law the right to organise a spontaneous assembly is not unlimited and organizing a *spontaneous assembly* should not to be considered as a means to bypass the requirement to provide notification of assemblies to the authorities.

New Article 9.6

16. The new text of Article 9.6 imposes some restrictions on spontaneous assemblies in so far as they "may not last for more than six hours" (from the moment they gather more than 100 persons and therefore become "mass" events) and any subsequent events *on the same issue* will not be deemed spontaneous and "must be conducted in accordance with the

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¹ OSCE/ODIHR Guidelines on Freedom of Peaceful Assembly, paras 97 and 98.

notification procedure". These restrictions appear proportionate within the context of a spontaneous assembly, which is defined as a "need to respond immediately to a specific phenomenon or event". Six hours appear as a reasonable time to register an opinion through a public assembly and is also sufficient time for interested parties to mobilize on an issue. It is also reasonable and appropriate to expect people to follow the formal notification process if they wish to continue to demonstrate about an issue on an ongoing basis. The notion of "on the same issue" could present potential difficulties, if it were to be interpreted in too restrictive a fashion, as it should be possible for other persons to demonstrate spontaneously in relation to the same event (but as an immediate response to it). The monitoring of the implementation of the law should ensure that this restrictive interpretation be avoided.

Addition to Article 14.1

- 17. The changes to Article 14.1 provide for the police to have the authority to terminate a spontaneous public assembly after the six-hour time period has expired, in accordance with the framework set out for terminating other public assemblies that are either unlawful or have been prohibited. This addition is acceptable within the context of the other amendments to the regulation of spontaneous assemblies.
- 18. However, we would note that the Guidelines state "So long as assemblies remain peaceful, they should not be dispersed by law enforcement officials" and "If dispersal is deemed necessary, the assembly organizer and participants should be clearly and audibly informed prior to any police intervention." It has been noted in other jurisdictions that an important element of developing a culture in which assemblies are facilitated and respect is developed between those participating in an assembly and the police is the overall quality of the policing operation and the degree of understanding of, and respect for, human rights evidenced by the police on the ground. Consideration should therefore be given to reviewing the training needs of police officers and other officials with responsibility for issues related to freedom of assembly.

B. Amendments to Article 9.4.iii

- 19. In their previous opinion, the Venice Commission and ODIHR raised a number of concerns about the amended Article 9.4 (iii)⁴. The new amendments have made some changes to the text of this clause and will require that any threat to national security etc "creates imminent danger of violence or a real threat" to national security etc. This amendment is in line with the Venice Commission's and ODIHR's recommendation and is therefore to be commended.
- 20. The amendment in Article 9.4 (iii) relating to the procedure for verifying the reliability of information also raised serious concerns. The draft amendments now provide for the Police or National Security Service to issue "a *justified* official opinion" for data concerning forcible overthrowing of the constitutional order, threats of violence, threats to health and morality or to encroachments on some of the constitutional rights and freedoms of others to "considered credible" and therefore that the assembly may be prohibited. The Venice Commission and ODIHR had previously expressed concern that no "justified and clear explanation of the grounds whereby the mass event is prohibited" would be required. This change in the wording aims to address this concern.

⁴ CDL(2008)036, paras. 10-14

² *Id.* at para 137.

³ *Id*, at para 140.

- 21. In the discussions between the Armenian authorities and the Venice Commission and ODIHR in Yerevan, it was also indicated that any "justified official opinion", would be in writing and copies of this would be made available to the event organizers, within the terms of the procedures set out in Article 12. The event organizers would also have the opportunity to challenge any "justified official opinion" before the authorized body, and subsequently if there was an appeal made to a court on any restrictions. Whilst this is not made explicit in the legislation, it is implicit within the wider text and in particular in the wording of Articles 13.2 and 13.3. The monitoring of the application of the law should confirm this.
- 22. The view expressed in the previous opinion (at paragraph 18) must be re-iterated, that a high standard of proof must be satisfied in order for a risk to be deemed sufficiently serious to justify restrictions. In this regard, as the Guidelines state, "restrictions imposed on the basis of the possibility of minor incidents of violence are likely to be disproportionate, and any isolated outbreak of violence should be dealt with by way of subsequent arrest and prosecution rather than prior restraint." Furthermore, "a hypothetical risk of public disorder" is not a sufficient basis for restricting an assembly 6, and "[t]he burden of proof should be on the regulatory authority to show that the restrictions imposed are reasonable in the circumstances."
- 23. Finally, it must be noted that the Guidelines refer on a number of occasions to the need to allow for a decision to be appealed to an independent tribunal or court before the notified date of the event. Importantly, the Guidelines state that "[t]his should be a de novo review, empowered to quash the contested decision and to remit the case for a new ruling. In relation to the restriction of events already underway, the Guidelines further provide: "In such circumstances, it would be appropriate for other civil authorities (such as a prosecutor's office) to have an oversight role in relation to the policing operation, and the police should be accountable to an independent body. In the same way that reasons must be adduced to demonstrate the need for prior restrictions, any restrictions imposed in the course of an assembly must be equally rigorously justified. Mere suspicions will not suffice, and the reasons must be both relevant and sufficient."

C. Repeal of Article 9.6

- 24. In the opinion on the amendments of 17 March 2008, the Venice Commission and ODIHR recommended the repeal of Article 9.6 which stated "[in] cases where mass public events has turned into mass disorder that has lead to human casualties, then, in order to prevent new crimes, if other means of prevention have been exhausted, the authorised body may temporarily prohibit the conducting of mass public events until discovering the crime circumstances and the persons that committed crimes."
- 25. One draft amendment provides for the deletion of this article, and is therefore to be welcomed.

⁷ *Id.*, at para.108.

⁵ *Id.*, at para.63.

⁶ *Id*.

⁸ *Id.*, at paras.103 -111.

⁹ *Id.*, at para.110.

¹⁰ *Id.*, at para.85.

D. <u>Amendments to Article 12.8</u>

- 26. The legislation, as amended on 17 March 2008, requires an extension of the time limit for notification of 5 working days rather than 3. The Venice Commission and ODIHR noted in their opinion (at paragraph 33) that "while no international standards exist on the issue of timeframes for notification there should be proven justifications for lengthening the existing domestic standard. Any move to introduce longer deadlines should be firmly rooted in an assessment of the operation of the Law".
- 27. The draft amendments under consideration do not address the extension of the time limit for notification, which therefore remains in the law and represents a step backwards in respect of the law as it was prior to the amendments of 17 March 2008. The Venice Commission and ODIHR however consider that it is not at variance with European standards.
- 28. The draft amendments instead provide some further clarification of the timeframe for the duration of the decision making process. It is now required that any restriction imposed on a notified assembly must be conveyed to the event organizers "within 72 hours of receiving the notification". This has two consequences:
 - First, it ensures that event organizers have at least 48 hours to appeal against any restrictions that might be imposed; and
 - Second, if the authorities do not notify the event organizers within 72 hours of the notification being submitted, then the event may take place as outlined in the notification document.

This amendment is therefore to be welcomed.

III. Conclusions

- 29. The draft amendments to the Law on Conducting Meetings, Assemblies, Rallies and Demonstrations largely address the concerns that were raised by the Council of Europe Venice Commission and the OSCE/ODIHR in relation to the amendments introduced on 17 March 2008.
- 30. The draft amendments do not address the time-limit for prior notification of an event, which has been extended as a result of the amendments of 17 March 2008. In this respect, in comparison with the situation prior to 17 March, which established a higher standard than the minimum threshold required by the European standards, the law will represent a step backwards, the new amendments notwithstanding.
- 31. The Law on Conducting Meetings, Assemblies, Rallies and Demonstrations as will result from the amendments under consideration (if they are adopted by parliament in this form) will be generally in conformity with the applicable European standards.
- 32. It must be stressed however that the quality of any law is as much in how it is applied as how it is drafted. The Venice Commission and ODIHR therefore reiterate that it is essential that the application of the law be monitored and relevant statistics be collated. The Human Rights Defender of Armenia would appear to be in the position to carry out this crucial activity effectively.