WORKSHOP · BUCHAREST 2026

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT WITHOUT TERRITORY

military administrations, communities in exile and the silent gaps of the European Charter

Igor Dunayev
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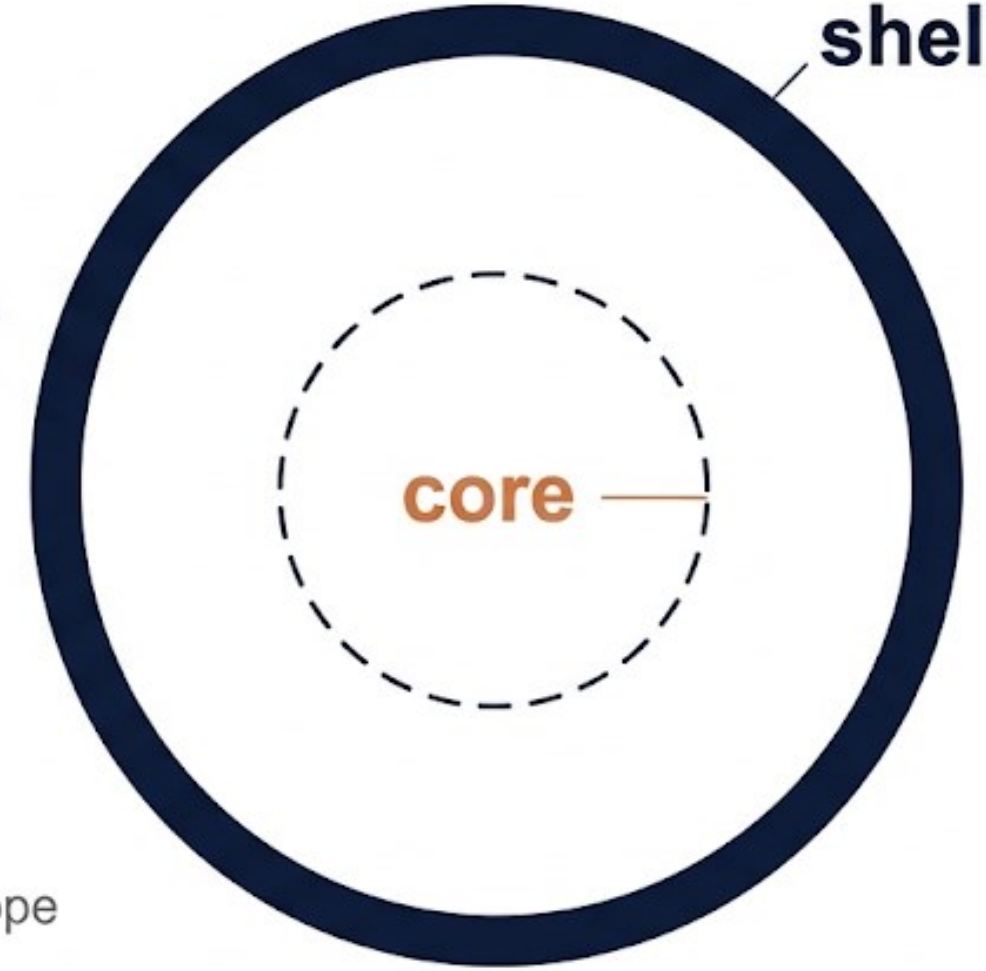
Promoting and Strengthening Local Democracy in Europe
SNSPA, Bucharest, 25 September 2026



The Charter is not broken here. It has lost its addressee.

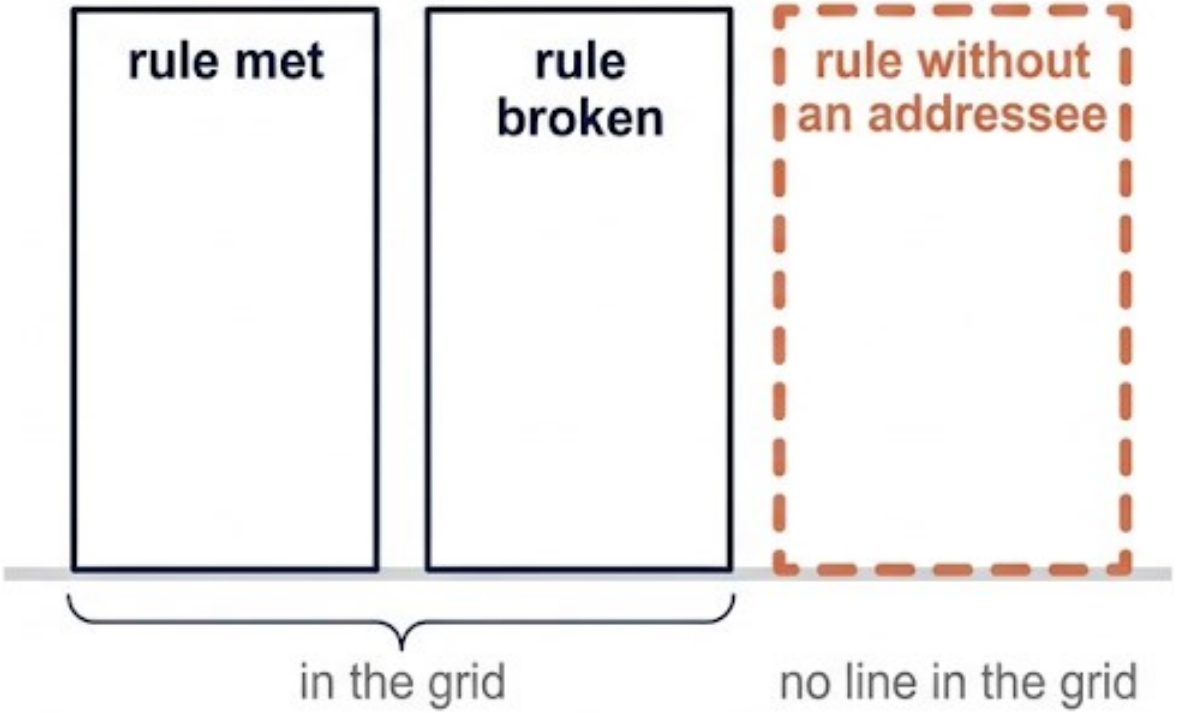
THREE TERMS

SHELL, CORE AND A RULE WITHOUT AN ADDRESSEE

our monitoring knows two states, and there is a third

administrative and fiscal shell
measured

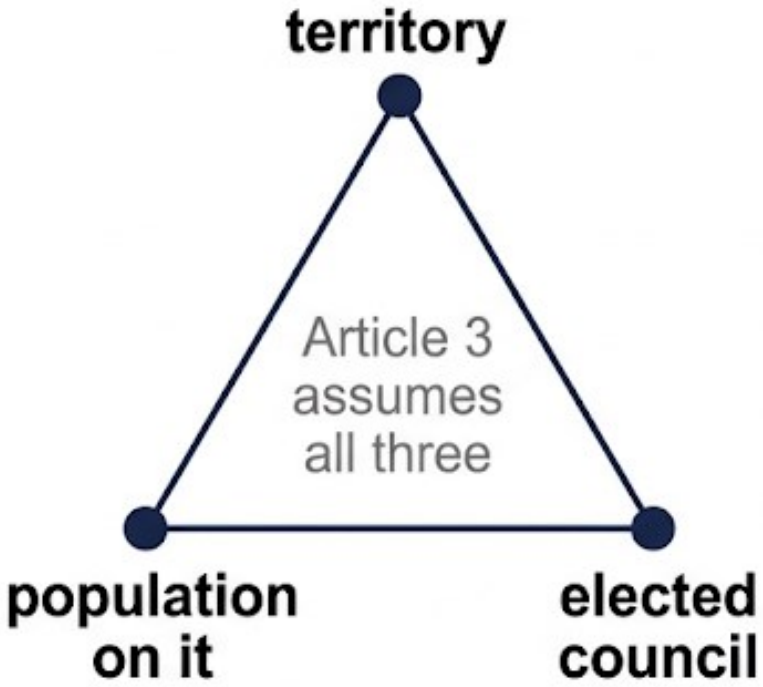
democratic core
not measured



Monitoring will record good health where democracy has gone

THE SILENCE WHAT THE CHARTER DOES NOT SAY

no derogation clause for armed conflict

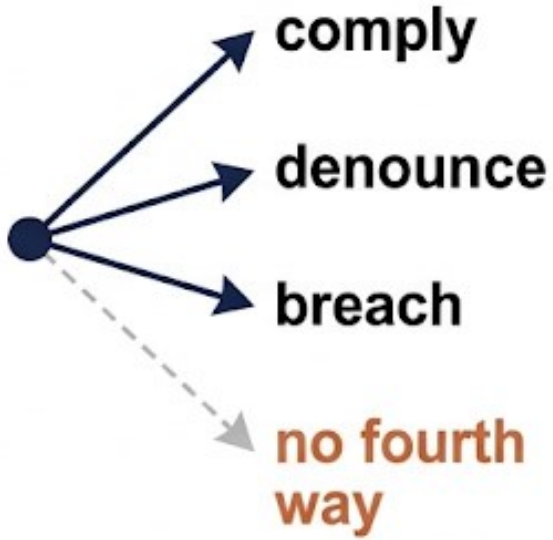


Convention on Human Rights, Article 15

derogation clause

European Charter

no derogation clause



Comply, denounce or breach. There is no fourth way out.

TWO COMMUNITIES

EVERYTHING THE SAME, EXCEPT ONE THING

a pair that separates the loss of territory from the loss of a council

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communities
occupied since 2014

27 of 56

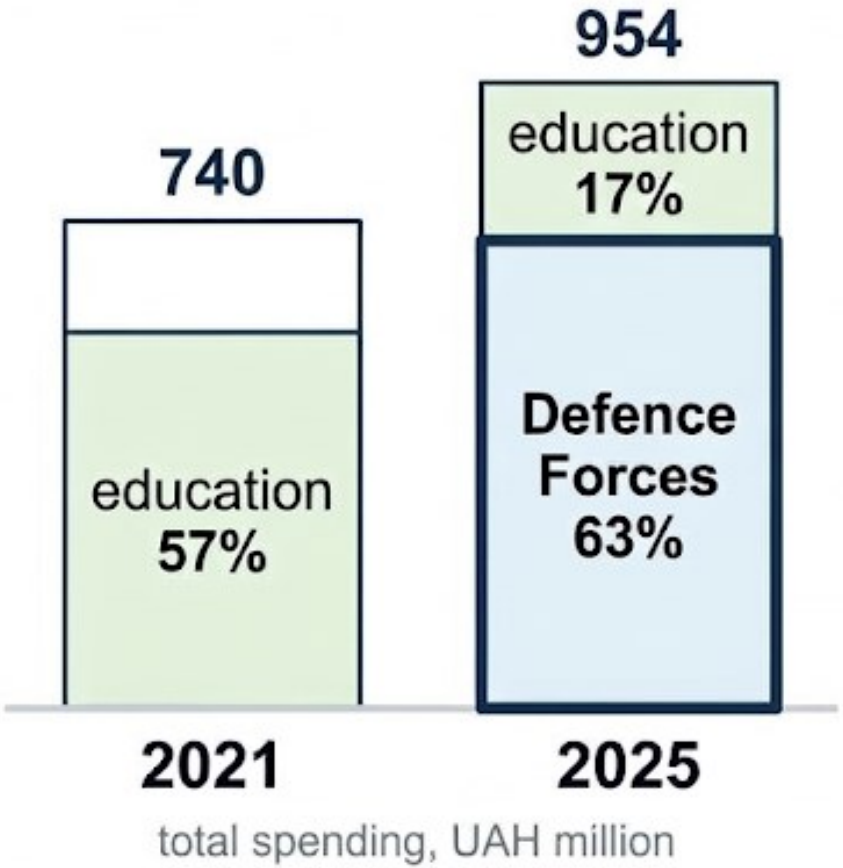
Kharkiv region
military administrations

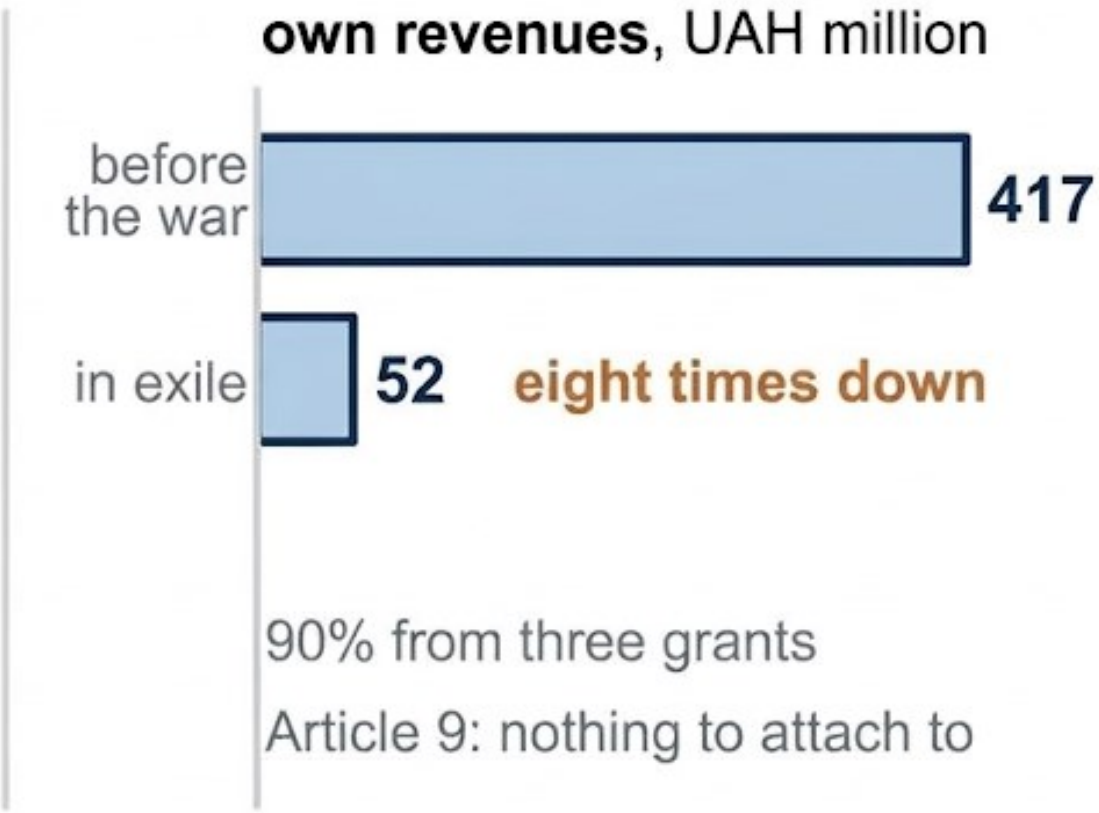
Everything the same, except access to their own territory

THE SHELL

THE BUDGET DID NOT SHRINK

Lysychansk, total spending before the war and in exile



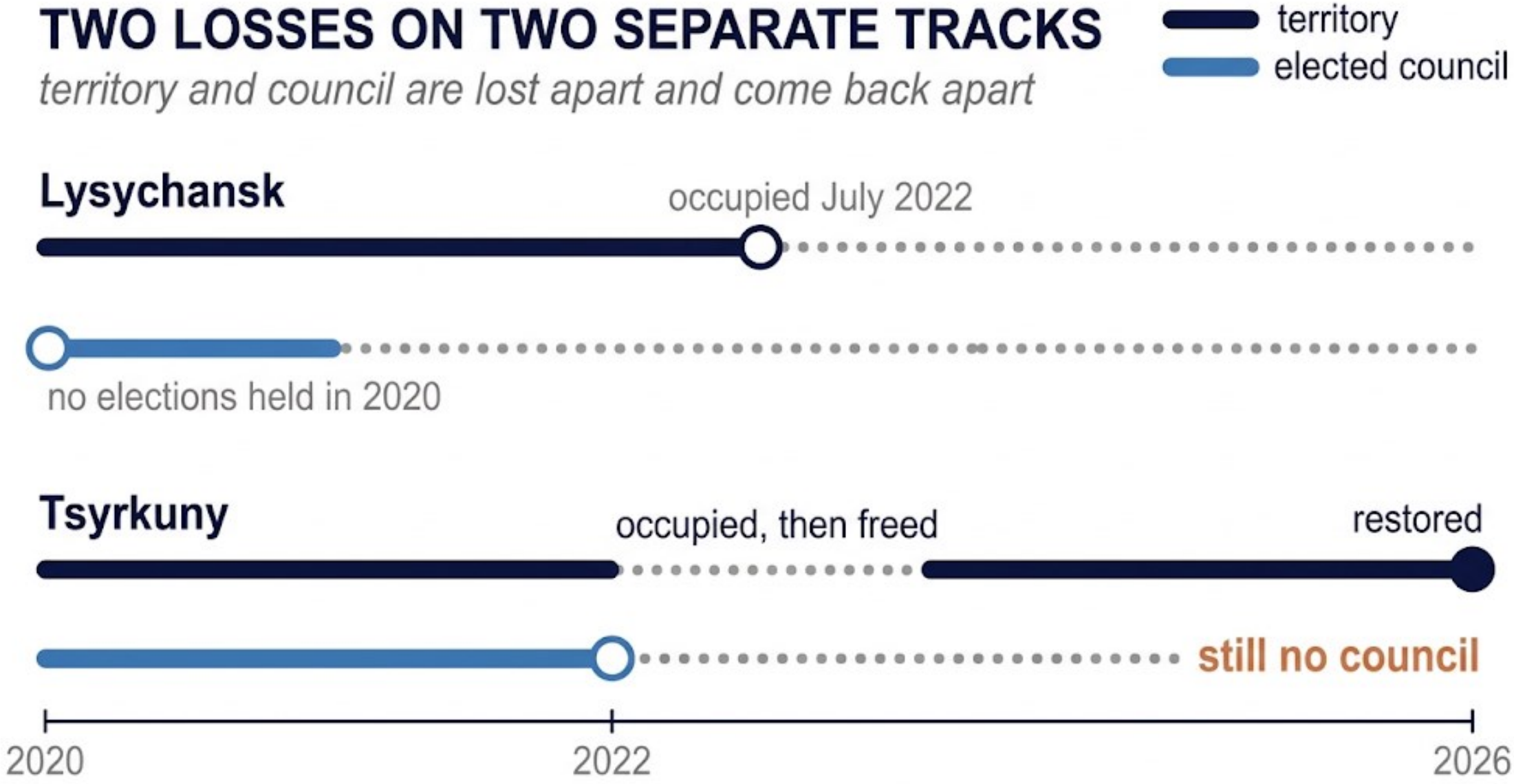


The institution did not fall. It moved.

THE CORE

TWO LOSSES ON TWO SEPARATE TRACKS

territory and council are lost apart and come back apart

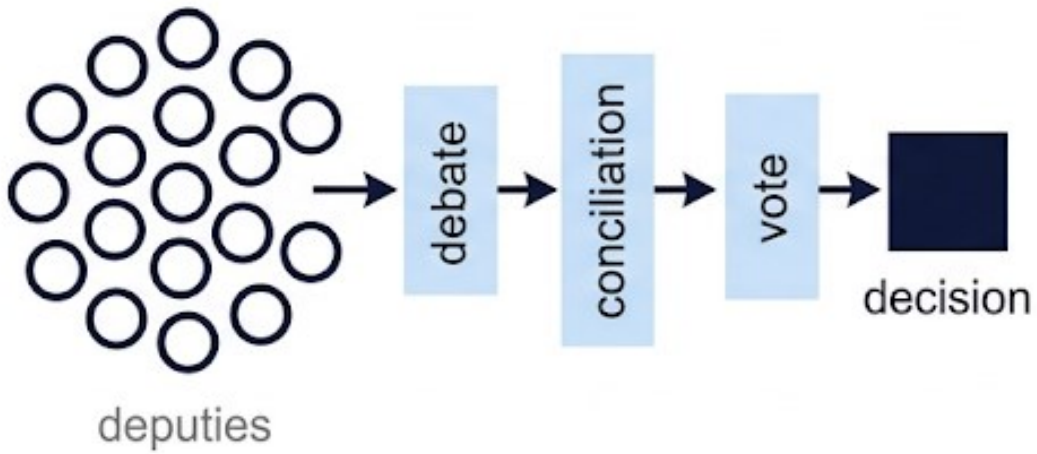


IN PLACE OF THE COUNCIL

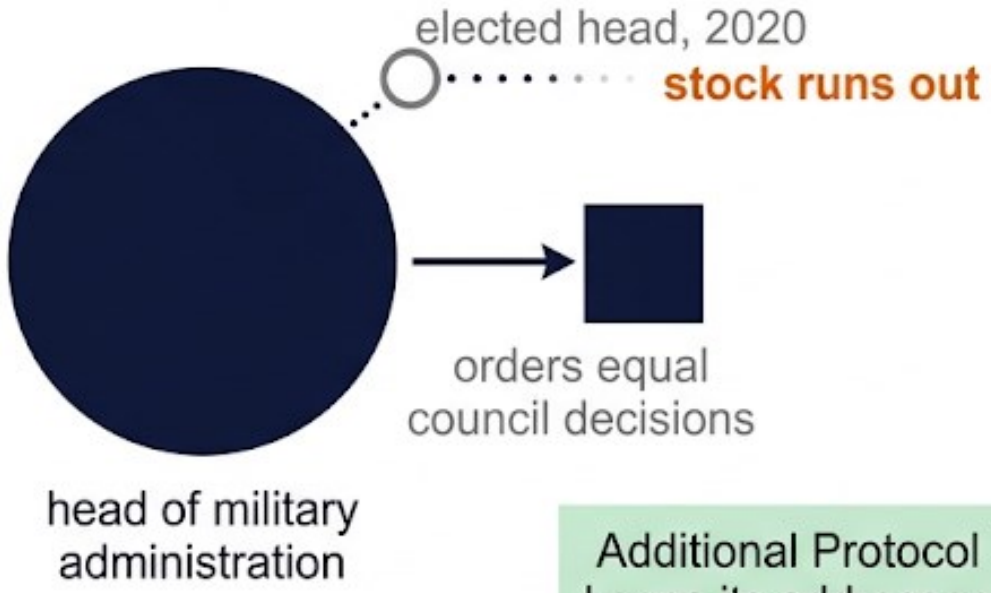
WHO DECIDES WHEN THERE IS NO COUNCIL

two decision circuits, one of them with a single node

with a council



without a council



Additional Protocol
keeps its addressee

The procedure went. The person stayed.

THE ASYMMETRY

THE SHELL MOVED, THE CORE COULD NOT

Lysychansk administration in relocation

the shell

transfers
staff list
budget cycle
administrative acts

moves

the core

voters in
one place

cannot move

You can relocate a budget. You cannot relocate an electorate.

THE VERDICT

SUBSTITUTION, NOT BACKSLIDING

five criteria a monitoring mission can check

real impossibility, not removal ■

follows the front line ■

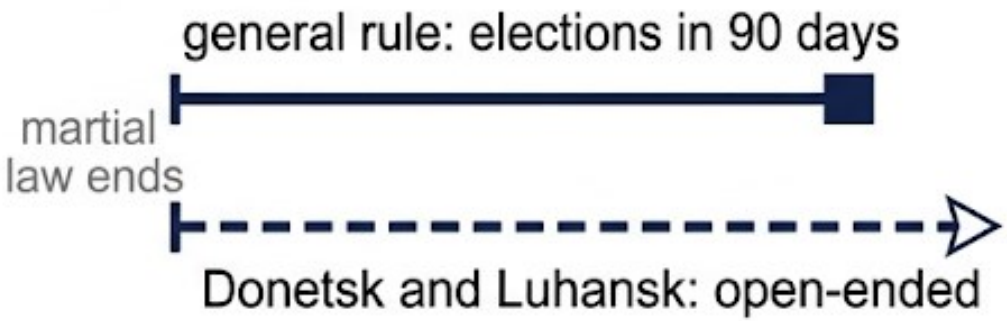
courts still work ■

duty to restore elections ■

term tied to an event ◧

no breach of the Charter

Article 28, paragraph 2-1



remedies

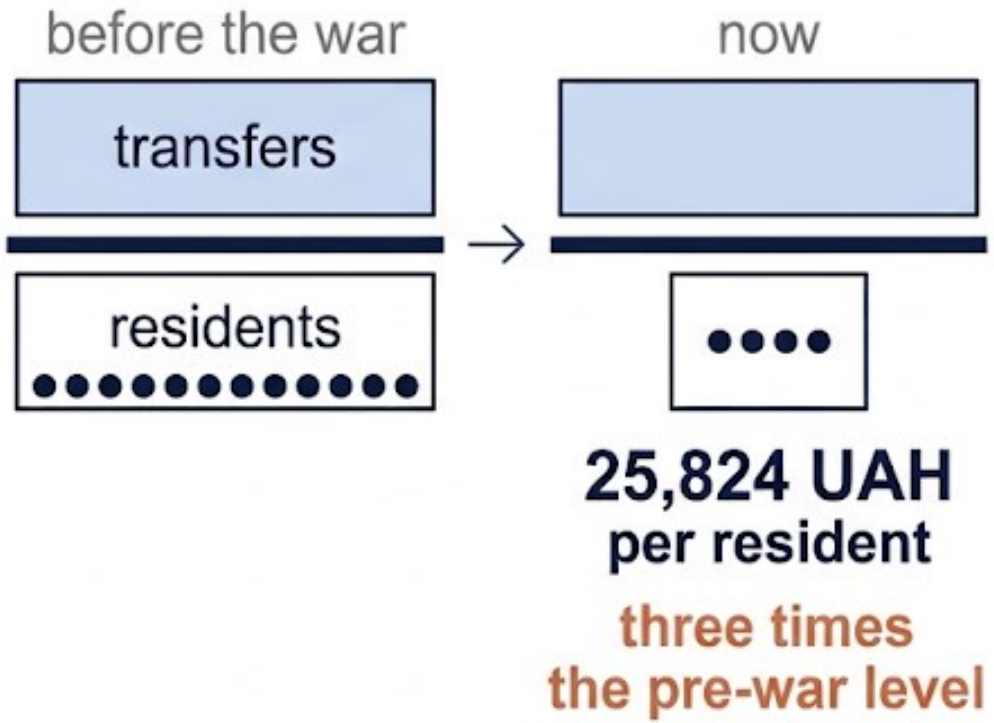
- definite term
- periodic review
- interim representation

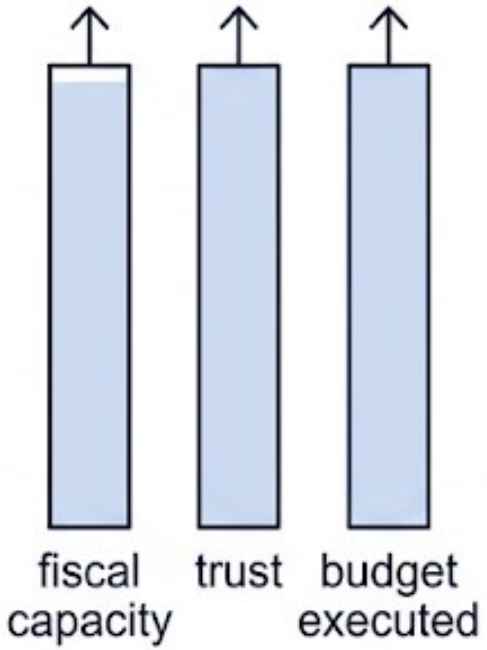
Impossibility justifies a measure only while it lasts

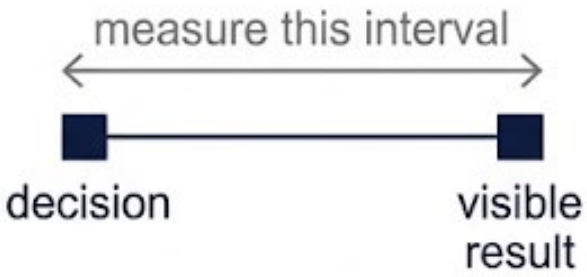
THE INDICATORS

WHEN THE DENOMINATOR COLLAPSES

Tsyrkuny, fiscal capacity per resident







Every figure improves. Not one means what it usually means.

THE REQUEST

WHAT THE GRID CANNOT SEE

a proposal to the Group of Independent Experts

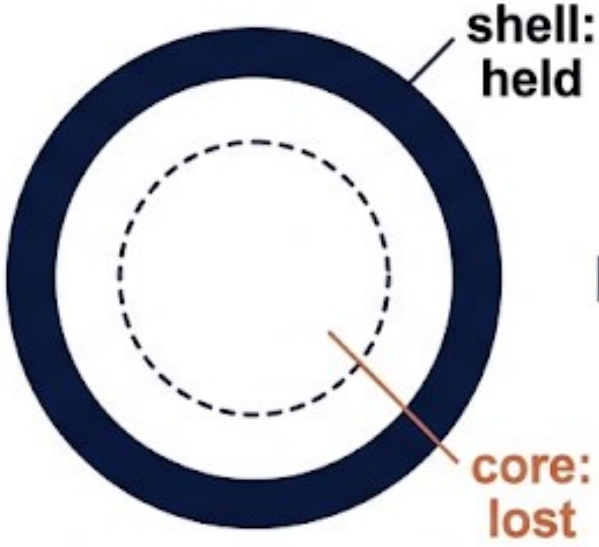
what we found

740 → 954
Lysychansk spending, UAH million

25,824 UAH
Tsyrkuny per resident, three times up

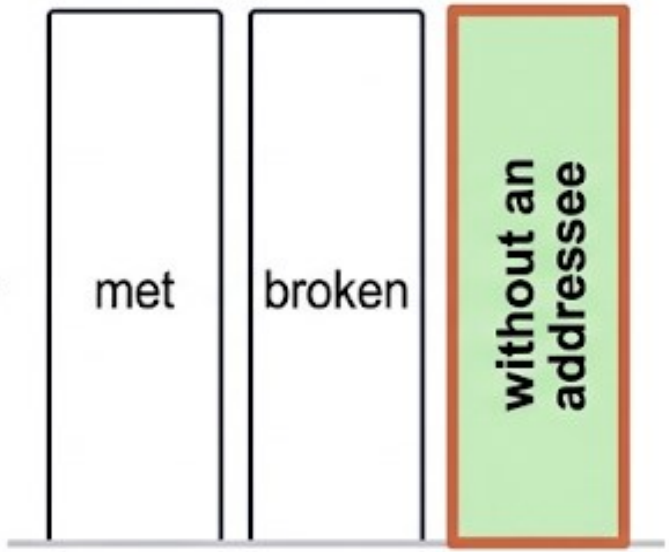
302
communities since 2014

why the grid misses it



the grid measures only the shell

what I ask



before the next cycle on Ukraine

The survival of an institution is not the survival of local democracy

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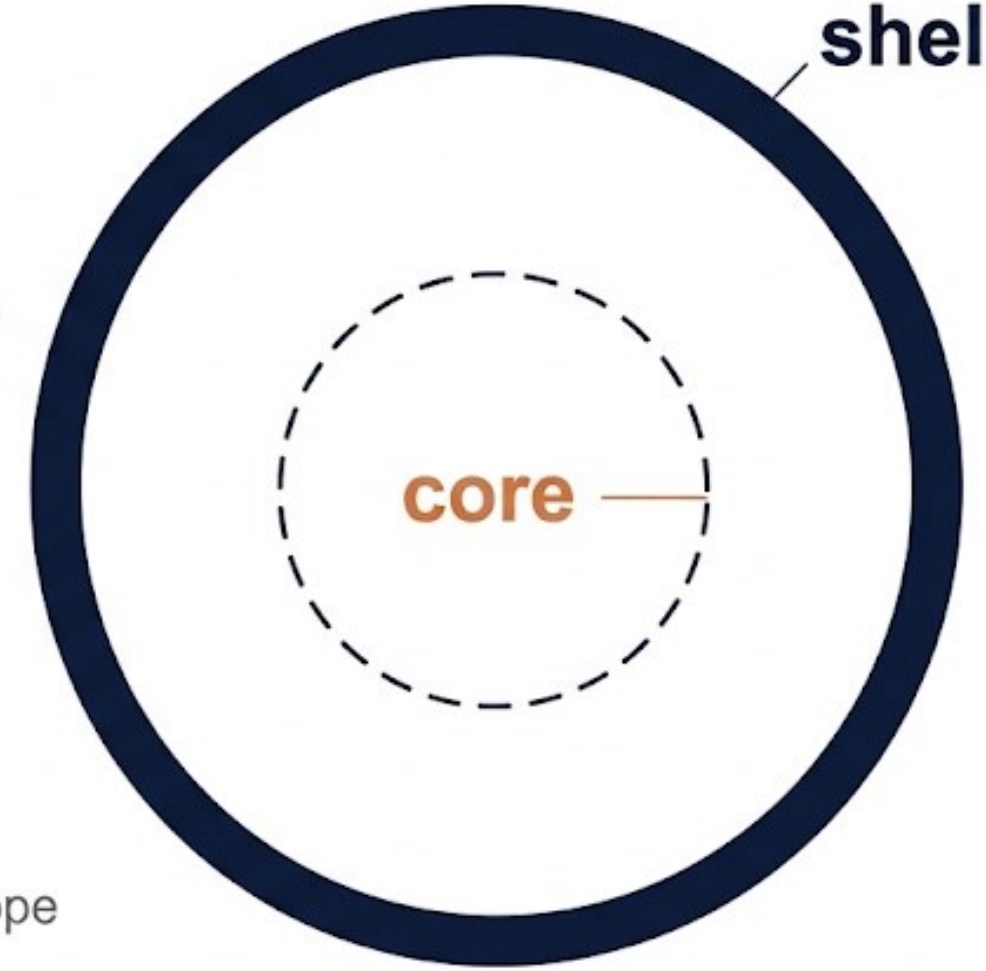

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