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World Forum on Democracy

The first World Forum on Democracy will be held from June 25-27, 2000 in Warsaw. The World Forum, sponsored by Freedom House and the Stefan Batory Foundation of Poland, was inspired by the consensus that the private sector and civil society are essential elements in achieving and maintaining the extraordinary democratic gains of the last 25 years. The World Forum will gather democracy leaders and activists, academic experts, representatives of NGOs, leaders of civic and religious organizations, the business community, labor, and the media to discuss the continued advancement of democratic governance and values throughout the world. Among those who have committed to attend are George Soros, Hernando de Soto, Francis Fukuyama, Peter Eigen, Bolivar Lamounier.

The World Forum is unique from other global democracy initiatives in that it will be held simultaneously with a meeting in Warsaw of foreign ministers from democratic countries and democracies in transition organized by Poland, the United States, Mali, Republic of Korea, India, Chile, and the Czech Republic. Although the World Forum is an independent gathering, participants will engage in joint activities with the foreign ministers meeting, including a reception hosted by the Polish government and a plenary session at which the ministers will receive the recommendations of the World Forum. The interaction between the World Forum and the foreign ministers' meeting will result in the highest-level international dialogue ever undertaken between governments and leaders of the non-governmental sector on issues of democracy.

The World Forum on Democracy program will facilitate discussions of major policy issues as well as the exchange of knowledge and information and networking and discussion among participants. The World Forum's deliberations will be used as the basis for establishing working groups of experts to carry on discussions and research in preparation for future meetings. Major plenary addresses and panel discussions will treat issues such as:

- Do people have a right to democracy, and what consequences does that have for international relations;
- Should there be a community of democratic countries to oppose dictatorships and support democratic development;

- Whether states have the obligation and right to respond to threats to democracy;
- Whether culture or economic conditions inhibit democratic development;
- The role of democratic values within international financial organizations,
- The impact of globalism democracy

Freedom House and the Stefan Batory Foundation have received government grants and private donations to organize the World Forum. Freedom House and the Stefan Batory Foundation expect to raise additional funds from foundations, corporations, and labor unions to allow for the greatest possible participation of scholars, civic leaders, educators, and democratic activists from the developing world and transitional societies. Simultaneous translation will be provided in several languages, including English, Polish, and French. The World Forum will be open to extensive media coverage. In addition, Freedom House and the Stefan Batory Foundation will establish a World Forum website and publish a book of papers from the proceedings.

Freedom House, a nonprofit U.S. organization, was established in 1941 to advance the cause of freedom and democracy around the world. Major activities of Freedom House include Freedom in the World: The Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties and programs to strengthen nongovernmental organizations and public policy research institutes in societies in transition to democracy. The Stefan Batory Foundation is Poland's largest nongovernmental foundation devoted to promoting democracy and the development of civil society.

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SATURDAY-SUNDAY,
DECEMBER 18-19, 1999

Nourish Democracy to Restore Faith in Its Institutions

WASHINGTON — What can be done now to bring something creative out of the turmoil and disharmony at the World Trade Organization's meeting in Seattle? Politics and economics have gotten out of balance on a global scale. But an initiative is already under way that can start them back toward harmony.

Recently, the Polish foreign minister, Bronislaw Geremek, sent invitations to all countries "taking the path to democracy" to send their foreign ministers to Warsaw next June to discuss how they can work together more effectively in the international arena. (The United States and five other countries joined Poland as co-conveners of this event.) It has sometimes been lamented that there are no big ideas these days in foreign policy. This quiet announcement could be the seed of one, the direction to take as we enter the 21st century.

We need to recapture a purpose in world affairs that is morally, intellectually and politically compelling. The democratic vision retains an enormous vitality. Our duty is to help define the 21st century as a Democratic Century. Our fundamental challenge is to rec-

By Max M. Kampelman

ognize that the political struggle remains between the democratic way of life and the denial of human liberty and political freedom. A democratic vitality exists around the world. It requires nourishment and encouragement.

Close cooperation among the world's democracies could have important benefits. We must work together more effectively to provide assistance to the new and emerging democracies. Democracy is now demonstrably a universal value. Closer and more visible association among democracies with different racial, religious and other characteristics can counter the frequent charge that opposition to despotism and corruption is a concern only of rich, white, Western societies.

By acting together, the democracies can create a moral authority that, with any hope, can prevent conflicts before they turn violent and that can squelch violent and illegal attempts to overthrow elected governments. Only when democratic governments begin to work to-

gether more effectively will it be possible to establish the levels of public confidence that our international institutions need to do what we expect of them.

The democracies must exert more effective influence in international institutions if the cynicism and fear that too many people feel toward these institutions, as the WTO protests showed, is to be overcome. The Four Freedoms proclaimed by Franklin Roosevelt — freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, freedom from fear — are as valid today as they were in 1941.

For the organizers of the Warsaw meeting, one difficult issue is whom to invite. Obviously, some countries that claim to be democratic are in practice really quite brutal. Allow them to attend and the event becomes a sham.

My own experience as a negotiator in the Helsinki process suggests that countries which profess to be democratic must be held vigorously accountable for their serious shortcomings where they exist. When the United States joined the Soviet Union in endorsing the Helsinki Accords in 1976, it was strongly objected

that America was giving credibility to the claim that the Soviet Union was as committed as America to human rights.

But the United States went forward, fully criticized the Soviets' undemocratic behavior and, by open and serious discussion, drew them into a process in which they ultimately pledged themselves to universal standards and recognized independent review processes.

It will take some years to develop consensus about democratic practice within the international community, just as it did with human rights. But such a consensus, if it can be found, will become a sturdy foundation for peace and prosperity. The Warsaw meeting can restore the hopes we once had for our international institutions and open the millennium with new promise for decency and dignity in global affairs.

The writer is former head of the U.S. delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and former head of the U.S. delegation to the Geneva nuclear arms negotiations with the former Soviet Union. He contributed this comment to The Washington Post.

THE WASHINGTON POST
Friday, December 17, 1999

Max M. Kampelman

Invitation to Democracy

What can be done now to bring something creative out of the turmoil and disharmony at the World Trade Organization's meeting in Seattle? Politics and economics have gotten out of balance on a global scale. But an initiative is already underway that can start them back toward harmony.

Recently, the Polish foreign minister, Bronislaw Geremek, sent invitations to all countries "taking the path to democracy" to send their foreign ministers to Warsaw next June to discuss how they can work together more effectively in the international arena. (The United States and five other countries joined Poland as co-conveners of this event.) It has sometimes been lamented that there are no big ideas these days in foreign policy. This quiet announcement could be the seed of one, the direction to take as we enter the 21st century.

We need to recapture a purpose in world affairs that is morally, intellectually and politically compelling. The democratic vision retains an enormous vitality. Our duty is to help define the 21st century as a "Democratic Century." Our fundamental challenge is to recognize that the political struggle remains between the democratic way of life and those who would deny human liberty and political

freedom. A democratic vitality exists around the world. It requires nourishment and encouragement.

Our nation's leadership in such an international effort will satisfy our obvious national aspirations for a bipartisan and non-partisan foreign policy based on our traditional values of human dignity. The role of the United States in world affairs would, thereby, be consistent with our moral energy.

Close cooperation among the world's democracies could have important benefits. We must work together more effectively to provide assistance to the new and emerging democracies. Democracy is now demonstrably a universal value. Closer and more visible association among democracies with different racial, religious and other characteristics can counter the frequent charge that opposition to despotism and corruption is a concern only of rich, white, Western societies.

By acting together, the democracies can create a moral authority that, with any hope, can prevent conflicts before they turn violent and that can squelch violent and illegal attempts to overthrow elected governments. Only when democratic governments begin to work together more effectively will it be pos-

sible to establish the levels of public confidence our international institutions need to do what we expect of them.

The democracies must exert more effective influence in our international institutions if the cynicism and fear that too many people feel toward these institutions—as the World Trade Organization protests showed—is to be overcome. The Four Freedoms, proclaimed as our goals by Franklin Roosevelt—freedom of speech and expression, freedom of worship, freedom from want, freedom from fear—valid in 1941 are as valid today.

One difficult issue the organizers of the Warsaw meeting have to face is whom to invite. Obviously, some countries claim to be democratic whose practice is really quite brutal. Allow them to attend and the event becomes a sham. Holding sham elections without a "rule of law" atmosphere does not a democracy make.

My own experience as a negotiator in the Helsinki process suggests that countries that profess to be democratic must be held vigorously accountable for their serious shortcomings where they exist. When the United States joined the Soviet Union in endorsing the Helsinki Accords in 1976, it was strongly objected

that we were giving credibility to the Soviets' claim that they were as committed to human rights as we were.

But we went forward, fully criticized their undemocratic behavior and, by open and serious discussion, drew them into a process in which they ultimately pledged themselves to universal standards and recognized independent review processes. In this, we hastened a historic change, imperfect as it may still be.

It will take some years to develop consensus about democratic practice within the international community, just as it did with human rights. But such a consensus, if it can be found, will become a sturdy foundation for peace and prosperity. The Warsaw meeting of the world's democrats and democratizers can restore the hopes we once had for our international institutions and open the millennium with new promise for decency and dignity in global affairs.

The writer is former head of the American delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and former head of the American delegation to the Geneva nuclear arms negotiations with the former Soviet Union.

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TimesTuesday, November 23, 1999 | [Print this story](#)

Democratic Nations to Form Own Group

By NORMAN KEMPSTER, Times Staff Writer

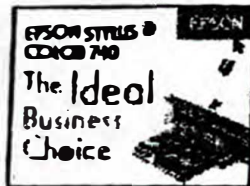
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WASHINGTON—Representatives of 130 democracies plan to meet in Warsaw next June to create an organization limited to countries that elect their governments and allow effective opposition movements, the United States and Poland announced Monday.

U.S. officials conceded that there were some close calls in separating democratic regimes from autocratic ones. Haiti and Peru made the cut, despite some obvious anti-democratic tendencies. Pakistan's military regime was ruled out by definition, although officials said the elected government that was ousted last month might have been left out too because of its restrictions on opposition politics.

State Department spokesman James P. Rubin said the conference will be the first in which participation is limited to democracies. He said the gathering will adopt a declaration spelling out just what it takes to qualify as a democracy.

A senior State Department official said the declaration may be used as a yardstick to measure the performance of countries that sign it, much as the human rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki treaty were invoked against the Soviet Union and the other Communist countries of Eastern Europe. Historians believe that the Helsinki pact played an important role in bringing down the Iron Curtain.

Countries attending next year's conference will be encouraged to form working groups to discuss issues such as the best ways to deal with organized crime, corruption and terrorism. They also may form democratic caucuses in the United Nations and other international organizations.

Plans for the meeting were developed by representatives of the United States, Poland, Chile, the Czech Republic, India, Mali, Colombia and South Korea. U.S. officials said the group used a relaxed definition of democracy to include as many countries as possible. One senior official said that if

Washington were issuing invitations on its own, it might have left out a few of the 130 countries.

"The standard we've agreed to use is whether inviting a country will advance the democratic process in that country," the senior official said in a telephone interview. "An elected government will not be invited if it has shut down the opposition. Pakistan was very close to the line even before the coup."

He said the planners debated for a long time about whether to include Haiti and Peru, where elected presidents brook very little opposition. Eventually, all countries in the Western Hemisphere except Cuba were invited.

The official said the conference declaration is expected to outline several attributes of democracy: Free and fair elections must be held at regular intervals, and the winners must be allowed to form a government. Opposition movements must be allowed to operate freely. The judiciary and press must be free and independent. Nongovernment citizen groups must be allowed to operate freely.

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Republic of Poland
Minister of Foreign Affairs

14, December 1999

Excellency,

I am honoured to invite you on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Poland and in my own name to attend an international conference, "The Community of Democracies", which is to be held in Warsaw on 26 - 27 June 2000.

The advance of democracy throughout the world is one of the most momentous and promising developments of the closing years of the second millennium. We are entering the third in a situation in which the seeds of democracy and democratic change are spreading to a distinct majority of the world's nations, planting roots in all the regions of our globe and in the soil of every civilization, culture and religion. Like human rights, democracy is proving to be a universal phenomenon. It has been empirically demonstrated beyond all doubt that democracy, regardless of the problems inseparably associated with it, is a system which best fulfils the aspirations of individuals, societies and entire peoples and most fully satisfies their needs of development, empowerment and creativity. Equally indisputable is the peaceful nature of foreign policies pursued by democratic nations.

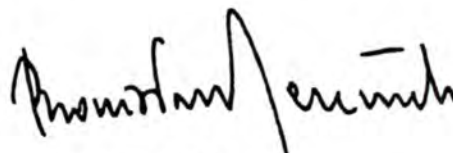
It would, however, be unduly optimistic to suppose that the democratic future of the world is predestined, that we can calmly await its linear and harmonious progress. New problems keep arising on this path, instability is apparent, and the risk of relapse is ever present. Democracy, no less than human rights, has to be continually reasserted. Equally, democracy is a cause whose fate depends to an immense extent on international co-operation and the shape of the international order. This truth, already acknowledged and enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is the basic lesson taught by the experience of our century.

That said, my impression is that awareness of this self-evident truth is still insufficiently reflected in the various forms of co-operation among the international community. Needless to say, nothing can detract from the credit due to the efforts to further democracy of a number of UN agencies; in particular to the Commission for Human Rights. That also applies to regional organisations and many nongovernmental organisations. It is to them that in large part we owe the democratic transformations that have been accomplished, in my region as well, in Central and Eastern Europe. From my own personal experience I know how much is meant by support and human solidarity.

The juncture we have now reached gives me grounds to believe that we can go farther, that we can take the next step. I think that governments of democratic nations should be given the opportunity to reflect together on ways of promoting democratic processes and reinforcing democratic institutions. Endeavors of this kind have already been undertaken. Poland has and will continue to give them its emphatic support. But this is so crucial a matter that it merits the organisation, for the first time in world history, of a meeting of democratic nations dedicated solely to democracy. That in itself will send an important message: recognition of the cardinal significance of democracy for international relations. The practical purpose of the meeting will be exchange of democracy-related experiences and ideas, but also intensification of international co-operation thanks to which the world's nations will be able to enjoy in full the blessings of democracy and avert the threats hanging over it.

Excellency,

The idea of the conference is a joint project of the Governments of Poland, the Czech Republic, Chile, India, South Korea, Mali and the United State which have been working together as an ad hoc Convening Group. The conference itself and its results will be a common achievement of all its participants. I am confident that your personal participation and that of representatives of your country will be a notable contribution to international dialogue in the service of ensuring a democratic and so secure and prosperous future for human individuals, societies and the whole international community.



Bronisław Geremek

**U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Office of the Spokesman**

For Immediate Release
99/1036

November 22, 1999

STATEMENT BY JAMES P. RUBIN, SPOKESMAN

COMMUNITY OF DEMOCRACIES

The United States welcomes the announcement today by the Government of Poland to host the first-ever meeting of countries that have chosen the democratic path. This gathering of the Community of Democracies will take place June 26-27, 2000 in Warsaw. Secretary Albright enthusiastically endorses this initiative.

Over the past decade, the Poles have set an example for the world through their leadership in the defense of freedom and democracy. The United States is proud to join Poland and six other democracies from around the world as a co-convenor of this initiative: Chile, the Czech Republic, India, Mali and the Republic of Korea. Each of these nations, representing a wide range of democratic experience and cultural heritage, has been active in helping to plan the Warsaw meeting.

The goal of the Community of Democracies Ministerial is to strengthen the capacity and effectiveness of existing international organizations in their support for democracy. Governments attending the meeting will affirm their commitment to a core set of universal democratic principles. By exchanging experiences, identifying best practices and considering new approaches, participating ministers will develop a common agenda to bolster democratic institutions and processes, improve coordination of democratic assistance programs, and more effectively respond to threats or interruptions to democracy.

CD MINISTERIAL – Commitments To Attend**EUR**

Albania
Austria
Bulgaria
Cyprus
Czech Republic
Denmark
Finland
France
Germany
Greece
Hungary
Iceland
Ireland
Italy
Lithuania
Luxembourg
Macedonia
Malta
Netherlands
Poland
Portugal
Romania
San Marino
Slovakia
Slovenia
Spain
Sweden
Switzerland
Turkey
United Kingdom

NEA

Egypt
Israel
Jordan
Kuwait
Morocco
Yemen

AF

Benin
Botswana
Burkina Faso
Cape Verde
Kenya
Lesotho
Madagascar
Malawi
Mali
Namibia
Senegal
South Africa
Tanzania
Zambia

EAP

Japan
Mongolia
Philippines
South Korea

WHA

Argentina
Belize
Bolivia
Brazil
Canada
Chile
Colombia
Guatemala
Guyana
Honduras
Mexico
Nicaragua
Trinidad and Tobago
United States
Uruguay
Venezuela

NIS

Georgia
Kyrgyzstan
Moldova
Russia
Ukraine

SA

India
Bangladesh
Nepal

TOTAL: 78

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Editorial Observer/TINA ROSENBERG

America Finds Democracy a Difficult Export

Among the many effects of democracy's spread through much of the developing world in the last few decades is the birth of a new American industry, democracy promotion. Beginning in the early 1990's, Washington began a wide variety of programs worldwide to help third-world countries democratize, including training election observers, improving parliamentary libraries, cajoling political parties to form coalitions, teaching citizens' groups how to lobby and helping independent newspapers write business plans. Last year the American government spent \$719 million on these efforts.

While democracy has given rise to democracy promotion, the reverse is less clear. There has been no systematic effort to find out what programs actually aid democracy. Journalists mainly focus on scandals or feel-good stories of democratic triumph. Groups that do democracy promotion, mainly the Agency for International Development, must wrest funding from a hostile Congress every year and are under pressure to report quick success. Evaluation is also complicated because many factors affect political development — and few agree on how to measure democracy or even what it is.

Thomas Carothers's forthcoming book, "Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve," seeks to draw some general conclusions about what works. Mr. Carothers, now vice president for global policy at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, has worked in democracy programs in

Lessons for vendors of a product that doesn't sell itself.

various countries. His book is a clear-eyed examination of attempts to reform legislatures, courts and political parties, and new efforts to promote democracy from the bottom up by helping local governments and civil society. He focuses on how these programs have worked in Romania, Guatemala, Zambia and Nepal.

Mr. Carothers's conclusion is that democracy promotion cannot make the difference. No American democracy consultant can affect the underlying conditions of a country that really determine its democratic progress — concentrations of power and wealth, political traditions, the expectations of citizens.

But the right programs over the long term, he says, can do much in countries where a government genuinely wants democracy but lacks expertise — nations such as South Africa, Slovakia or Chile. In dictatorships, aid to the besieged opposition can keep hope alive. But in nations that enjoyed some democratic progress but fell into strongman rule — such as Peru, Haiti, Cambodia, Kazakhstan or Zambia — classic democracy promotion efforts to reform government institutions have been thwarted by leaders who have little interest in sharing power.

Few veterans of the business

would dispute these fairly straightforward conclusions. The democracy promoters at A.I.D., and at the political-party-run National Democratic Institute and International Republican Institute, are learning from their early mistakes. Hubris was one of them. Being American was once deemed synonymous with possessing expertise in democracy, and many consultants were campaign aides or Congressional staff people who knew little about the countries they visited.

Democracy promoters are also changing their earlier tendency to dictate pre-cooked solutions that do not fit reality. And even when Americans came in with good ideas, the lack of local input often kept them from being embraced and sustained.

A more persistent problem is the tendency to emphasize form over substance. Democracy programs have largely helped foreign countries replicate certain practices — congressional hearings, for example. Today, Mr. Carothers believes, activists are beginning to see that these forms of democracy are easily manipulated by autocratic leaders, and that governments reform only when they want to. In Guatemala, he writes, a 10-year American effort to train the police did not limit police abuses. What did work was the election of new leaders, who pressed the security forces to reduce brutality.

Today, Mr. Carothers writes, democracy promoters try to be more attuned to the political realities of the countries they work in. This understanding has not yet meant the abandonment of unrealistic efforts to work

with authoritarian governments. But where governments resist reform, American consultants now try to strengthen democratic forces by boosting grass-roots groups, local governments and women's organizations. Americans increasingly stay for months or years of intensive work rather than a few days. In many places American organizations use regional experts, sending Filipinos to Indonesia or Poles to Bulgaria — people who are often better received and know more about local realities.

What critics of democracy promotion often overlook is that the industry's mistakes have exactly mirrored the problems that bedevil American foreign policy. In general, including hubris and the tendency to confuse surface reforms with deep-seated change. Democracy activists, moreover, seem to have learned more rapidly from their mistakes. Some in the Pentagon still believe that foreign officers will become less abusive if they rub elbows with the American citizen-soldier, and many in the administration and Congress argue that Myanmar's or China's dictatorships will soften if exposed to American business practices.

Few democracy activists today, by contrast, are naïve enough to think that a tour of America will instill democratic values. The industry has carried out its share of useless programs. But it is learning — and faster than its Congressional critics, who still fail to realize that building democracy in many developing nations is both crucial to American interests and resistant to instant solutions.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1999
The New York Times