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Democracy
Summit*



FAX

DATE: April 11, 2000

PAGES (including cover sheet): 4

TO: Ms. Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady

FROM: **Adrian Karatnycky**
President
Freedom House
120 Wall Street
New York, NY 10005

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Fax: 202 456 6244

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REMARKS:

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April 11, 2000

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President

James S. Denton
Executive Director

Ms. Melanne Vervecr
Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady

By Fax: 202 456 6244

Dear Ms. Verveer:

I am writing to you at the suggestion of Mr. Penn Kemble regarding the first World Forum on Democracy (WFD).

Organized by Freedom House and Poland's Stefan Batory Foundation, the WFD is a nongovernmental meeting of democracy leaders that will take place June 25-27, 2000, in Warsaw, Poland. It will run concurrently with the Community of Democracies ministerial meeting.

Penn has urged me to contact you about the WFD and to see if you might have an interest in exploring ways for the WFD and the Vital Voices program to cooperate. Would you be willing, for example, to recommend individuals in the Vital Voices network whom we might invite to the WFD?

For your reference, I will attach to this fax additional information about the World Forum on Democracy. I also will take the liberty of contacting your office later this week to see if you might have a few minutes to discuss this matter.

Sincerely,

Adrian Karatnycky
President

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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 Mary Robinson, George Soros, Jose Ramos-Horta, Michel Rocard, Hernando de Soto, and Francis Fukuyama.

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.

On President
Democracy
report

if close to margin -
shortly then to address
democ.

World ^{mtgs}
democ - Chile
2002

reconciliation & justice
Threats to democ
Convening 99 countries

Known
Chile

[Specific issues
women have in
democracy body]

best practices

Warsaw Declaration
agreed to in advance

- neighbors rules - gov'ts.
- threats to democ
- helping new democ - assist'e

• how do you make
UN more g on inst'n &
democ, WB, IMF

Collaboratives don't
occur.

Could you pls. send this to Christopher Skully - I tried but it came back - thanks.

I think the letter should be much more personal - first of all, he would call him Leo, I'm sure. This is the President's alma mater and you might want to reflect that as well - O'Donovan has been at the White House on a number of occasions etc. so if it is appropriate - could make reference to that.

Finally, I would suggest you send draft to Katie Button in First Lady's office and ask her to show it to Melanne - I always consider Melanne my Georgetown sign off person - she and her husband were there with the President. Melanne does not use computer which is why it should go to Katie.

*file democracy
Summit*

**Statement released by Government of Poland
November 22, 1999**

A Community of Democracies

Democracy as a system of governing has stood the test of time, and is regarded by nations of various regions and cultures as the system best fit to their aspirations. In the wake of WWII, the democratic movement spread all over the world as nations freed themselves of colonial reign. The next stage of democratization came along with the revolution in Portugal, the fall of communism in Eastern Europe, the demise of the Soviet Union, and the end of apartheid in the Republic of South Africa.

The development of democracy is not limited to a small group of nations or civilization. It is not inevitable. Its progress is a continuing process that requires continuous efforts and far-sightedness. Today the world movement for democracy must keep pace with the quick changes connected to globalization processes in the economic sector. Democracies, both "old" and "new," must surmount obstacles brought by economic growth and the requirements of a balanced development, resolve differences stemming from racial, ethnic and religious divisions, combat crime and corruption, and finally strengthen the culture of civic society. It is the civic society which gives an individual knowledge and capabilities indispensable to exercise his or her rights, take responsibility and effectively participate in public life.

Never before has there been a ministerial debate on how to most efficiently strengthen democratic institutions and their development. The time has come to organize a meeting of the foreign ministers of all the nations that have chosen the democratic form of government, and want to improve their system of governing. International crises or bilateral problems too often dominate meetings of the leaders of the democratic states. At this forum bilateral issues would not be discussed. The meeting of representatives of the democratic states, which--in many respects--differ from one another, will be an exceptional opportunity to exchange experiences, discuss the best solutions, and outline a program of international cooperation aimed at using the maximum potential embedded in democratic systems.

The Government of Poland has undertaken the task of organizing a ministerial conference (with foreign ministers) to be held on June 26-27, 2000 in Warsaw. The governments of the Czech Republic, Chile, The Republic of South Korea, Mali, India and the United States, have decided to join Poland as co-organizers.

The following proposals are considered for discussion.

1. To establish a declaration of democratic principles, i.e., a document based on the Universal Declaration of the Human Rights, which the countries participating in the conference would agree to observe in practice.

2. To arouse a discussion on how to better coordinate the activities of the countries that help support democratic trends in other countries, of countries that receive aid, and of proper international institutions.
3. To establish an informal group through the community of democratic states to work jointly within the framework of the already existing institutions on issues fundamental to maintaining and enhancing democracies.
4. To use the results of the Warsaw Conference sessions at the 4th International Conference of New of Restored Democracies, which is to be held in Cotonou in Benin in December 2000.
5. To establish at the ministerial conference multinational "chat corners" and working teams with the participation of the states concerning the different degree of the development of democracy, which will continue the debate on issues already raised in Warsaw.

Warsaw, November 22, 1999

Towards a Community of Democracies Concept Paper

Democracy has stood the test of time and has come to be recognized by peoples across regions and cultures as the form of governance that best meets their aspirations. The democratic movement now sweeping the world arose after the Second World War, as many nations asserted their freedom and independence from colonial rule. This movement surged forward again with the Portuguese peaceful revolution of 1974, the return to civilian, democratic rule in Central and South America, the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, and the end of the oppressive apartheid regime in South Africa. Over the past decade democracy and freedom have flourished around the world. In no other period of history have so many former prisoners of conscience --Lech Walesa, Vaclav Havel, Nelson Mandela, and Kim Dae-jung, democratic activists all-- risen through popular vote to the highest levels of power.

History teaches us that democratic progress is not restricted to a narrow group of countries or civilizations. And yet progress toward democracy is not inevitable; it is an ongoing process, not an end-state, requiring continuous effort and imagination. Today the worldwide democratic movement must keep pace with rapid global economic change. Democracies young and old must overcome obstacles to sustainable development and economic growth; resolve racial, ethnic and religious divisions; resist corrosive crime and corruption; and foster a culture of citizenship that instills individuals with the knowledge and skills to assert their rights, embrace their responsibilities, and participate effectively in public life.

Cooperation among democratic peoples and governments committed to advancing democracy is essential to creating a favorable international environment for development in which democracy can flourish. The United Nations (especially the UN Human Rights Commission) and organizations such as the European Union, Council of Europe, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Organization of American States, and the Organization of African Unity have done much to sustain and strengthen democratic practices around the world. The UN-sponsored International Conference of New or Restored Democracies, the World Movement for Democracy, and the Emerging Democracies Forum have also contributed to this essential effort.

But there has never been a dialogue among governments dedicated to exploring together how democracies might better strengthen democratic institutions and processes. The time has come to convene a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of all countries committed to pursuing a democratic path with the goal of fortifying democratic governance. Too often, when democratic leaders meet it is to contend with immediate crises or bilateral issues; bilateral issues will not be raised at this forum. A world-wide gathering of the full range of countries that have taken the democratic path would provide an unprecedented opportunity for exchanging experiences, identifying best practices, and formulating an agenda for international cooperation in order to realize democracy's full potential.

The Government of Poland has agreed to host such a ministerial meeting June 26-27, 2000, in Warsaw. The governments of the Czech Republic, Chile, India, the Republic of Korea, Mali and the United States have agreed to join Poland as co-conveners of the meeting.

Concurrent with the ministerial meeting, a number of distinguished thinkers and path-breaking promoters of democracy from around the world would gather in Warsaw to discuss complementary issues and ideas. These representatives of intellectual life and civil society could contribute their enormous knowledge and expertise to the ministerial sessions, presenting their ideas as to how governments and citizens can work together to strengthen and preserve democracy. This World Forum on Democracy is being organized by the Stefan Batory Foundation of Poland and Freedom House of the United States.

Following are among the possibilities that could be considered by the Ministers attending the Community of Democracies meeting in Warsaw:

- ✦ Working from a declaration of democratic principles - based on such documents as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights - nations participating in the conference could make a commitment to uphold these principles and to abide by them in practice.
- ✦ Countries that give assistance to promote democracy could consider mechanisms to coordinate efforts better among themselves, the recipient countries and the major donor institutions.
- ✦ The Community of Democracies could form an informal caucus to work together in existing institutions on

issues critical to strengthening and preserving democracy, thereby bolstering the resolve and effectiveness of international organizations in their support for democracy.

- The results of the Warsaw meeting could be conveyed to the Fourth International Conference of New or Restored Democracies scheduled to be held in Cotonou, Benin in December, 2000. Topics of special concern to new or restored democracies could be addressed in Warsaw and further elaborated upon in Cotonou.
- The ministerial conference might create multi-national "tables" or working groups (perhaps pairing democracies at different stages of development and different continents and regions) that could continue the mission of the meeting by dealing in depth with important issues raised in Warsaw.

*11/22/99, approved by governments in convening group
(Poland, Chile, Czech Republic, India, Mali, Republic of
Korea and United States)*



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.

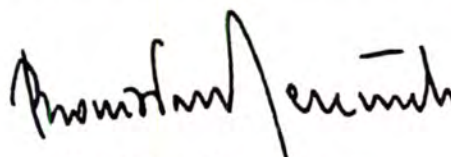
It would, however, be unduly optimistic to suppose that the democratic future of the world is predestined, that we can calmly await its linear and harmonious progress. New problems keep arising on this path, instability is apparent, and the risk of relapse is ever present. Democracy, no less than human 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



STEFAN

**BATORY
FOUNDATION**

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.

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Jim Hoagland

Model System—Warts and All

The health of American democracy has bloomed into the major national issue of Election Year 2000. The charges and countercharges of lying, cheating and buying votes with "soft" or "hard" money that dominate the presidential and congressional campaigns could convince Americans our system is broken. Before that happens, we need to ask the age-old irreducibly human question: Compared to what?

Look abroad for another, perhaps more telling measure of the vitality of the U.S. political system. Look especially at what happened in Russia on Sunday. Vladimir Putin's electoral victory there exposes what incomplete, vulnerable democracy really looks like as the 21st century dawns. That is, Putin's victory illustrates the dangers of mistaking the expression of majority will through a free ballot as full democracy.

It is not, as James Madison and other Founding Fathers correctly understood some 200 years ago. Without the enforceable safeguards and strong institutions needed to protect minority views and the national interest against conventional wisdoms and unconventional passions of any voting majority, elections become merely another tool in the hands of the powerful and unscrupulous.

There were no effective restraints on what Putin as acting president could or could not do during the brief campaign set in motion by Boris Yeltsin's Dec. 31 resignation. State television defamed his opponents without fear that independent courts or government commissions would interfere—or that voters would mind much. The themes of the Federalist Papers do not reach deeply into Russia.

This is not just a Russian problem: Incomplete democracy has proliferated across the globe in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet

empire and the end of the Cold War, as it did after the colonial era. Elections and other external trappings of the political system that has taken root firmly, with significant variations, in the United States, Western Europe and elsewhere have been adopted in totem form by autocrats who surrender little real power to their citizens, from Uganda to Uzbekistan.

The consequences of empire breakup have in the past been dealt with largely by foreign armies and diplomats imposing order from the outside. Today democratically based bodies such as the European Union and the Group of Seven seek to impose political norms on wayward nations largely through the

Incomplete
democracy has
proliferated across
the globe.

force of example and economic incentives. (The United Nations is not nearly democratic enough, or rich enough, to have this effect, alas.)

The multinational institutions fail far too often. But the dangerous tendency to throw the baby out with the bathwater—to conclude that the spread of imperfect and failing states is due in some way to the inherent inappropriateness of democracy for the societies of Africa, Asia, the Middle East or the former Soviet empire—should be resisted.

The fundamental problem is that these societies have too little democracy, not too much of it. Military coups in Pakistan or Ivory Coast should not be tolerated because the overthrown governments

were corrupt and ineffective. Real pressure for full democracy is the best road.

Russia presents the most compelling and important case of partial democracy abroad—because it maintains the nuclear power to obliterate the world and because it is unclear in which direction Russia will now go. Putin's obvious flirtation with authoritarianism has been met with stinging denunciations by Russia's intellectuals and political activists.

Stalin would have wanted to know how many divisions they had. But Putin lives in a different world. Russian democracy is the only ticket out of a future of economic and national stagnation—and ultimate fragmentation. The United States, the European Union and Japan must in united fashion make that clear to the Kremlin.

The Clinton administration should do that in bilateral contacts and through a global conference of about 130 democratic nations to be held in Warsaw June 26 and 27 that the State Department has helped promote. The Warsaw meeting could set for democratic institutions and practices the kind of standards the Helsinki Conference of 1975 established for human rights.

Democracy is not an American exclusive. The Warsaw initiative is specifically aimed at producing global standards to be applied wherever a nation makes the commitment to empowering its citizens politically.

The manifest flaws of the American system—and the charlatans who manipulate them for their own advantage—are on inescapable display during this U.S. campaign season. That is all the more reason for Americans to look around and recognize the special responsibility they have to the rest of the world as well as to themselves to protect, and to perfect, their democratic institutions.



Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright
The Rostov Lecture Series
School of Advanced International Studies
Johns Hopkins University
Washington, DC, January 18, 2000
As released by the Office of the Spokesman
U.S. Department of State

"Sustaining Democracy in the Twenty-First Century"

SECRETARY ALBRIGHT: Thank you very much. Thank you. I know you claim me as one of your own because I keep getting those annual giving - (laughter). I do my best.

Thank you very much. I am delighted to be here before such a distinguished audience, with many honored guests, and including several generations of the SAIS family.

I'm sorry that Ambassador Nitze is not here, because I did want to point out that two days ago he celebrated his 93rd birthday. And to George Kennan he might seem like a youngster, but to the rest of us, he is an inspiration. And so even though he's not here, I hope we can all wish Happy Birthday -- somewhat belatedly -- to Paul* Nitze, and may he have many more.

I am especially interested to see a lot of students here. Of course, I know that spring registration had been scheduled for today, but was postponed because of my speech. So I actually have no idea how many of you came to hear me, and how many came expecting to register and just stayed on only because your morning was already shot. But whatever your motives, I hope you will sit back, relax, and think up the easiest possible questions for when I finish my remarks.

Three years ago, at my Senate confirmation hearing, I testified that the framework for American leadership must include measures to control the threats posed by nuclear weapons and terror; to seize opportunities for settling regional conflicts; to maintain America as the hub of an expanding global economy; and to defend cherished principles of liberty and law.

I said further that our key alliances and relationships were at the center of that framework. For these are the bonds that hold together the entire international system. When we are able to act cooperatively with other leading nations, we create a convergence of power and purpose that can solve problems and spur progress around the globe.

This basic framework will continue to guide us in the year 2000. Our priorities include an even stronger NATO, bolstered by new members, developing new capabilities and prepared for new missions.

We will strive, with our partners, to build peace in Kosovo, and integrate all of Southeast Europe into the continent's democratic mainstream.

We will work in consultation with Congress, our allies and others, to respond effectively to the threats posed by weapons of mass destruction, and the missiles that can deliver them.

We will focus attention on our complex relationships with Russia and China, adhering to core principles, while seeking to advance common interests.

We will continue our efforts with allies in Asia to ensure stability on the Korean Peninsula, and to work with everyone concerned to ease tensions in South Asia.

We will strive for even greater cooperation along our borders with Canada and Mexico, where economic, legal, social and environmental issues have an especially direct impact on the lives of our citizens.

And we will do all we can to support peace in key regions such as Central Africa, Northern Ireland, the Aegean, the Caucasus and - most immediately - the Middle East.

It is in this region that we are coming closer to settling one of history's longest and most enduring conflicts.

Earlier this month, Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk al-Shara journeyed to Shepherdstown, West Virginia, for intensive negotiations. This Thursday, Chairman Arafat will meet with President Clinton in Washington. And at the end of this month, I will co-chair with Russian Foreign Minister Ivanov a ministerial meeting of the Multilateral Steering Group in Moscow. This group brings Arab and Israeli leaders together to develop solutions to regional problems.

All this activity reflects that negotiations are now moving ahead. But negotiating the peace remains a formidable task. As we are seeing in the Israeli-Syrian negotiations, both sides genuinely desire peace, but overcoming a legacy of mistrust is not easy. Understandably, both want to be sure their needs will be addressed first. Our challenge is to work with both sides and find ways to narrow their differences to the point where all needs get resolved simultaneously.

To succeed, the parties will have to overcome many problems, and bridge gaps that may appear unbridgeable at the outset. There will inevitably be many ups and down and roadblocks, prior to a breakthrough.

Sometimes, negotiations may be delayed while the parties consider their next moves, as is the case with the Syrian track at this moment. Sometimes deadlines are not met, as has often happened on the Palestinian track, but in the end they seem to work things out and achieve the results necessary.

But despite these tribulations, a key underlying reality is emerging: the logic of peace has become compelling for Arabs, Israelis and the Palestinians alike. Their leaders will have to take hard, fateful, even painful decisions. But they have increasingly come to understand that there is no better alternative.

The children of this region deserve to grow up free from the threat of terror and war, in societies that are working together to build prosperity, manage shared resources and enrich civic life. This has long been the dream of those who care about the Middle East and the people who live there.

Today, more than ever, the opportunity exists for the region's leaders to make it possible. It is in America's interests, and fully in accord with our values, to help

them do so.

The Middle East, and the other priorities I have listed, will engage much of our time and energy in the months ahead. But the primary reason I have come here this morning is to talk about a general imperative that underlies these and many other specific goals, and that is democracy.

This focus is appropriate, not because democratic elections always produce good leaders, or because free people always use their freedom wisely, or because free economies always generate prosperity, or because democracy is efficient. In truth, democracy can be maddening, messy, and muddled. But as Churchill famously observed, as a system of government, it is miles ahead of whatever is in second place.

Moreover, democracy is the hard rock upon which America's world leadership is built. It is why our land has attracted to its shores a steady stream of the world's boldest and most creative women and men. It is why our predecessors had the courage and faith to triumph in two global conflicts. It is why we were able to stand tall during the decades of the Cold War. And it is at the heart of what Joe Nye has called America's "soft power" in the current era.

These are those who scoff and say that promoting democracy is all well and good, but what about our specific national interests? My reply - and I think this would be backed up by modern Presidents, from Truman to Reagan, and Bush to Clinton - is that our identification with democracy is vital to the pursuit of our interests.

Today, the United States has the strongest economy and the finest armed forces in the world - of which we are justly proud. But even a country as powerful as America will often need the help and cooperation of others if we are to protect our security, prosperity and values. And most people around the world recognize that when we act in support of freedom, we aid not only our interests, but theirs, as well.

A hundred years ago, the number of countries with a government elected competitively, and, on the basis of universal suffrage was zero. Today, according to Freedom House, it is 120. These include countries on every continent, and people of virtually every culture and faith. For those wedded to stereotypes, it is worth noting that a majority of the world's Muslims - as well as Hindus, Christian and Jews - now live in countries considered at least partly free.

Over the past half century, we have seen nation after nation gain its freedom: in Asia and Africa, from colonialism; in Latin America, from military dictators; in Central and Eastern Europe, from Communism; and in South Africa, from apartheid.

We have witnessed and celebrated all this, and yet we are not complacent as we enter the new century. Because we understand that true democracy is never achieved; it is always a pursuit. And we know that if we who love liberty grow weary, those who love only power will one day sweep us away.

This morning, as we scan the horizon, we must ask whether the century just past will prove the forerunner to a time of greater freedom and deeper democracy, or whether the democratic tide has already begun to recede.

We know that, in many countries, the arrival of electoral democracy has been accompanied by economic expectations that are, as yet, unfulfilled. For example, over the past decade, daily life for most people has gotten harder, not easier, in the

New Independent States. Surveys indicate a majority have come to equate democracy with inequality, and the unraveling of the social fabric. ✓

Around the globe, newly democratic countries are having trouble matching the visible and immediate promise of elections with tangible, widespread benefits for their people.

If unaddressed, this raises the risk that public confidence in democracy will erode, and support grow for failed remedies from the past, including protectionism and authoritarianism.

But economic anxieties are far from the only threats to democratic government. In the Caucasus and part of Africa, transitions have been retarded by ethnic strife.

As Vice President Gore recently emphasized, HIV/AIDS has become a threat not only to health, but also to economic, social and political development, especially in Africa.

And quite a number of electoral democracies are in trouble because their leaders are concentrating not on self-government, but on self-enrichment, self-glorification and self-perpetuation in power. The result is sham democracy, where rights are not respected, and the very concept of political openness is tarnished by association. ↑

When elected governments depart from democratic principles, they run a grave risk. Political opponents may feel they have no option but to try to seize power through unconstitutional means.

But by so doing, these opponents run an even greater risk. A military coup or other violent seizure of power moves democratic development back to "square one." It brings to power authorities who lack legitimacy, and are ineligible for assistance from the United States and many others.

The right approach for those frustrated by sham democracy is to push, with principled determination, for genuine democracy: greater accountability, more openness and real competition of ideas. This approach takes time, but it can bear fruit, especially if other democracies are listening and prepared to reinforce the message in appropriate ways.

It is by now a truism that what's most important is not a country's first election, but rather its second and third. And what matters is not simply that people have the right to vote, but that they are offered a real choice, under conditions that are truly free and fair.

Elections, moreover, are but one note in the democratic symphony. A full orchestra is required, including markets that reward initiative; police that respect due process; legal structures that provide justice; and a press corps that is free to pursue the facts and publish the truth.

These institutions do not arise overnight. Building democracy takes many years and much patience. It requires not only the seeds of democratic ideals, but also the soil of democratic culture in which those seeds may take root and grow. } x *

But patience is not a policy. Democracy may be conceived by dreamers, but it is made real by doers. And our responsibility, as the world's leading democracy, is to } x

work in partnership with others to help nations in transition move to a higher stage of democratic development.

We must begin by affirming our faith in democratic principles and values, understanding that however difficult the path, there is no real progress without liberty.

We must work within global and regional institutions to strengthen the commitment to democratic principles and assist governments that practice them. We must use our assistance to foster vibrant civil societies, and economic reforms that reward the hardworking many, not just the privileged few. And we must use the tools of public diplomacy, including modern technologies such as the Internet, to spread indispensable ideas such as freedom.

I am proud of the help that USAID, the State Department and other US government agencies are providing to nations in transition. From Asia to Africa to the Andes, they are training judges, drafting commercial codes, advancing the status of women, bolstering civil society, and otherwise helping to assemble the nuts and bolts of freedom.

I am pleased that in this work, we have partners such as the European Union, Japan, and a host of non-governmental and private-sector organizations that are committed to making the new century a time of freedom and growth.

The United States is determined to make a good start towards this goal, by making the year 2000 a time of democratic advancement across the world stage.

✓ In June, the Polish Government will host an unprecedented gathering of countries from around the world whose governments have expressed their commitment to the democratic path. I will join my counterparts not only from Poland, but also Chile, the Czech Republic, India, the Republic of Korea and Mali as co-convenors of that conference. This Community of Democracies initiative will explore ways that we can cooperate more effectively in strengthening democratic societies and values.

Poland will simultaneously host the non-governmental World Forum on Democracy, recognizing that the growth of civil society is a key to broadening democratic constituencies. Later in the year, the International Conference on New or Restored Democracies will be held in Benin, focusing on complementary goals.

The underlying theme of these efforts is that democratic societies must learn from and assist each other, whether in times of relative stability, or when emergencies arise.

In the year ahead, the United States will be focusing particular attention and resources on the challenges faced by four key democracies: Colombia, Nigeria, Indonesia and Ukraine. These nations differ markedly, but each can be a major force for stability and progress in its region. And each is at a critical point along the democratic path.

This past weekend, I visited Colombia to express support for President Andres Pastrana's plan for achieving peace, fighting crime, promoting prosperity, and improving governance throughout his country.

The United States has a profound interest in helping to achieve these closely-linked

goals. Four-fifths of the cocaine entering our country either comes from Colombia or is transported through it. Most of Colombia's heroin production is exported to the United States. Drug-related activities fuel crime and corruption, aggravate social problems, and retard economic progress throughout the Americas.

During my visit, I explained President Clinton's decision to request \$1.6 billion in assistance. If approved by Congress, this aid will help Bogota gain control over parts of the country now dominated by guerrillas, paramilitaries and drug traffickers. It will support alternative development programs, increase our backing for narcotics interdiction, and strengthen mechanisms for judicial reform and protecting human rights.

The struggle in Colombia is not between right and left, rich and poor, or between one ethnic group and another. It is between those who want to pursue prosperity and social development democratically, and those addicted to criminality, violence and corruption.

Only Colombians can devise a solution to Colombia's ills, and President Pastrana has put forward a bold plan for doing just that. And we are proud to support him.

Another major test of democracy is underway in Nigeria, a country with a troubled history but great human and cultural strengths. Nigeria is the most populous nation in Africa, and exercises enormous influence within its region. It is also a major trading partner, and one of the largest suppliers of imported oil.

Over the past two years, Nigerians have made an inspiring journey from dictatorship to democracy. But years of military misrule have imposed enormous costs. President Obasanjo enjoys broad popular support, but his government is fragile, and he must also cope with high public expectations: During the 1970's oil boom, Nigeria's per capita income was more than four times what it is today.

Nigeria faces the full array of problems confronting a nation in transition. Public institutions are weak; the economy troubled; the military in need of reform; and the population divided along ethnic, religious and regional lines.

The new president has only been in power for seven months, but he has launched a forceful set of initiatives aimed at curbing corruption, asserting civilian control and protecting human rights.

In response, President Clinton and Congress have nearly quadrupled our assistance to Nigeria. Our purpose is to help Nigerians address urgent threats to stability and democracy, to invigorate key institutions such as the legislature and courts, and encourage needed economic reforms.

During my visit to Abuja last fall, I said that history may one day compare the importance of the democratic transition in Nigeria to that of Nelson Mandela's election in South Africa. Nigerians today are engaged in a high-stakes test of democracy, and we must do all we can to help them succeed.

Far to the east, Indonesia has embarked on its own transition, reflecting its unique culture and history. For the first time in decades, it has elected a President in a contest, the outcome of which was not known in advance, and a parliament whose decisions really matter. All the while it has been buffeted by financial crises, civil disturbances, factional violence, and controversy over East Timor.

The Indonesian people deserve great credit for conducting fair and peaceful elections. And the new President, Adburrahman Wahid, merits broad support as he strives to establish the economy, deepen civilian control over the military, establish the rule of law, maintain national unity and respects human rights.

These challenges are simple to identify, but devilishly difficult to achieve. The new President is widely respected for his humanity and wisdom. But to succeed, he must make tough decisions and explain them in terms of his people will understand and accept.

A half century ago, one of Indonesia's founding fathers, Mohammed Hatta, warned his countrymen that the struggle for true freedom would "go on for a very, very long time," demanding sacrifices and suffering. Today, Indonesia is nearer the goal of true democracy than it has ever been, but the struggle is far from over. And our job, which reflects our interests, is to ensure that the Indonesians don't struggle alone.

Accordingly, we have substantially increased assistance for democratic institution-building in areas such as judicial reform, civil-military relations, and the development of political parties and the parliament. We will continue to deepen our investment, in light of Indonesia's importance, and in response to Indonesia's requests and needs.

Finally, we come to Ukraine, a country that is key to building a secure and undivided Europe, and a partner and friend to the United States. 

Since gaining independence, Ukraine has made much progress towards a democratic society and market economy. Although a candidate for ethnic discord, it has maintained internal peace. It has held three competitive, albeit imperfect, presidential elections.

Most recently, President Kuchma won a clear mandate for far-reaching economic reform, and further integration into European and global institutions. He responded by appointing a strong reformer as Prime Minister.

Like many other countries in transition, Ukraine is threatened by economic decline, corruption and crime. Lower living standards have undermined respect for government, and dampened public morale. Relations between the executive and legislative branches have been strained. Wealthy oligarchs have used their political contacts to expand their empires, and the independent press has been intimidated and harassed.

The United States has provided Ukraine almost \$2 billion in assistance this decade. Our focus has been on nuclear threat reduction, and democratic institution building. And this year, we plan to double our most important exchange programs, in order to help educate and train the next generation of Ukraine's leaders.

Nineteen ninety-nine was notable for what didn't happen in Ukraine. The economy did not melt down, and the Communists did not come back to power. Our hope is that this year will be memorable for positive reasons, the most important of which would be to carry out long delayed and much needed structural reforms to protect Ukraine's solvency, attract foreign investment and fuel its economy.

Ukraine's transformation into a fully stable and democratic European state would

assist similar transitions throughout the former Soviet Union. It is in America's national interest that Ukraine succeed. To this end, we will continue to help our partner move down the path to deeper reform, fuller freedom and sustained growth.

Of course, as you can tell from listening to me, it takes resources to put meat on the bones of our backing for democracy for these four key countries and worldwide, and this will require congressional and public support.

Funding for international affairs declined substantially in the 1990's, in real terms, compared to the decade before. We are fighting to reverse this trend.

International programs are frequently dismissed as "foreign aid," but the truth is that they aid America. By helping to build a more stable, prosperous and democratic world, they make our citizens more secure, create new economic opportunities, and reduce the likelihood that our armed forces will be called into combat.

Many Americans are surprised when I tell them that the amount we allocate to the entire spectrum of foreign affairs is only about one penny of every dollar the federal government spends. So when I say we've quadrupled something or doubled something, keep in mind, within what? But that penny, that penny out of every dollar, may be responsible for 50 percent of the history that is written about our era, and makes a difference in the lives of 100 percent of the American people.

The best leaders of both parties in Congress understand this. They know that American diplomacy belongs on the short list of budget priorities, and it should be a starting point next month when consideration of the Year 2001 Budget begins.

This morning, I've come here to state plainly that as the new century begins, the United States is determined to help other democratic peoples preserve and deepen their freedoms, and to keep liberty's torch alive in the hearts of those still denied their fundamental rights.

Some say it is hegemonic to promote democracy, and that we are trying to impose our values on others. I say, by definition, democracy cannot be imposed. In any country at any time, it is a dictatorship that is an imposition; democracy is a choice.

Further, when we raise democracy's banner, we do no more than pay what we owe to those whose vision and sacrifice enabled us to live in a world more free than it has ever been. This is a debt we owe, not only to Jefferson but also to Bolivar, Shevchenko and Kossuth; not only to the Roosevelts, but also to Marti, Masaryk, Gandhi and Mandela; not only to Martin Luther King, but also to Vaclav Havel, Kim Dae Jung and Aung San Suu Kyi.

We know, from our own turbulent history, that the path to democracy is rocky, treacherous, and always uphill. But we also know that if we keep faith with the democratic principles - as this is the only path that we can all walk together - and that (with) the democratic principles that have guided us this far, we will have the light we need to guide us through the perilous miles to come.

Thank you very much, and I would be very pleased to respond to whatever questions you might have.

(Applause.)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*file Democracy
conf'ce*

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
STEPHANIE STREETT

SUBJECT: World Forum on Democracy

Purpose

To obtain your agreement in principle to participate in a Freedom House-sponsored World Forum on Democracy.

Background

The Proposal: Freedom House is proposing a "World Forum on Democracy," a foundation-funded, biennial conference where government leaders, the business community and NGOs from around the world would meet to encourage common efforts to promote democracy. As described by Freedom House, this citizens' initiative would seek to place democracy-promotion "at the center of the international agenda."

In particular, the Conference would be designed to encourage the creation of overseas foundations similar to our National Endowment for Democracy (NED), greater business/government cooperation on democracy-promotion issues, enhanced donor coordination, additional book and broadcasting programs in closed societies, and primary and secondary school curricular dealing with democratic values.

Details: Freedom House would like the first meeting to be held in or around Washington in December 1998 (though we expect they would be flexible on timing). They estimate the event would cost about \$2 million, and are confident that the funds can be raised from private sources (which have already provided about \$200,000 in seed money). Freedom House requests 2-4 hours of your time for this first Conference, and indicates that your involvement would not imply a commitment to Presidential participation in future years. The organizers estimate participation of about 500 persons, including 10-15 heads of

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

state and government, all of whom would be invited by an international committee assembled by a U.S.-based eminent persons group.

Evaluation: Your participation in the Conference, at which you would deliver a major address on democracy, would underscore your strong support for themes we have actively sought to promote -

- that our peace and security is enhanced when governments around the world reflect the will of their people;
- that we are doing our part to promote democracy -- from supporting conflict resolution and justice in Central Africa, to encouraging the rule of law in China, to assisting transitions in Central and Eastern Europe; and
- that while more than half the world's people now live under governments of their choosing, democracy's roots are still fragile in many countries and there is much more we in the international community can do.

On the other hand, while the Conference itself would not demand a great deal of your time, there would be pressure for bilaterals with at least some of the leaders in attendance. Moreover, like the Davos World Economic Forum, this Conference will be an unofficial initiative, and we would not control the statements of the invited guests -- some of whom might criticize as inadequate the democratization efforts of the United States and other western governments. Finally, while we would not be responsible for invitations, we could be pressured by uninvited governments to promote their participation among the sponsors of the event. This could create some awkwardness for us.

Comment: On balance, we believe these challenges are manageable, that we can work closely with Freedom House to resolve any problems, and that your participation in this event would substantially promote our democratization objectives.

RECOMMENDATION

That you agree in principle to participate in the World Forum on Democracy.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

THE WORLD FORUM ON DEMOCRACY:

A Prospectus

Executive Summary

Proposal : Freedom House seeks foundation and other private sector support in the amount of \$4.6 million over three years for a major new initiative: The World Forum on Democracy (WFD). The WFD is envisioned as a biennial three-day conference of world leaders, among them heads of state and key ministers, leading officials from majority and minority parties, representatives of business, labor, the academic community, the media, and leading non-governmental organizations. The World Forum will be a venue for a high-level discussion on the fate of democratic transitions, dangers posed by anti-democratic values, strategies to expand political rights and civil liberties, the problems faced by established democracies, and innovative scholarly research on democracy.

Freedom House envisions a three-year cycle in which two World Fora on Democracy would be convened. The first WFD would be held in the US in December 1998 and the second in an established or emerging democracy in Asia, Africa, or Europe. We anticipate funding requirements of \$2.0 million for year one; \$600,000 for a secretariat and coordination of WFD activities in year two; and \$2.0 million for the second WFD in year three. In total, we project \$4.6 million in costs over the three year cycle.

The Issue: The democratic dynamism of the 1980s and 1990s has led to the emergence of free societies across all continents and most-cultures. While the number of democracies has grown from 69 in 1987 to 118 in 1997, many are in the formative and fragile stages of development. Ethnic conflicts, weak institutions, frail civil society structures, and vulnerable economies present formidable challenges and obstacles to hard-won gains. Sustaining these gains and promoting democratic transitions in closed societies will require concerted leadership by governments and the private sector. Yet, while there are many regional and global meetings addressing security, environmental, economic and trade issues, there is no global forum on the complex issues related to the promotion, preservation and strengthening of democracy. The WFD will fill this void by bringing together 500-600 world leaders to:

- * develop, discuss and review mutual strategies to nurture democratic practice;
- * invigorate democratic institution-building;
- * maximize cooperation between governments, NGOs and business in promoting pluralism, the free-market, human rights, civil society and the rule-of-law.

The forum will also be an important venue for promoting academic research that helps shape foreign policy strategies aimed at promoting democratic transitions and domestic policy that strengthens democratic institutions and values.

The Project: The WFD is an initiative that was developed by a core group of eminent Freedom House trustees: Amb. Mark Palmer, Peter Rodman, director of National Security Programs at the Nixon Center, and Prof. John Norton Moore of the University of Virginia. Since the proposal first was developed, the World Forum has received support from Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, National Security Advisor Samuel Berger, Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Thomas Pickering and Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Labor and Human Rights John Shattuck. Meetings with Sen. John McCain and key Congressional foreign affairs staff indicate broad support for the initiative.

Freedom House seek grants in support of planning and convening two major meetings of world leaders, including 10-15 heads of state and heads of government from established and new democracies around the world. Initially, the WFD will be directed by an Organizing Committee that includes: Bette Bao Lord, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Max Kampelman, Lane Kirkland, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Anthony Lake, Peter Rodman, and Mark Palmer. The Organizing Committee would begin to frame a rigorous, well-articulated program, ensure the participation of world leaders and leading scholars, and assess logistical and research needs in support of the World Forum. The Organizing Committee also would oversee program development, convene meetings of a Program Committee and establish an International Advisory Board of world leaders and leading scholars to advise on program content, identify speakers, and secure the participation of government leaders.

Freedom House expects it will subcontract significant portions of the arrangements and logistics related to the convening of the World Forum.

Policy Implications: The World Forum on Democracy will create a biennial event that will focus international attention on movement toward more open societies. As a prestigious venue at which scholars and representatives of key NGOs will be able to interact with policy makers and world leaders, the WFD will stimulate additional research on and practical thinking about the recent global expansion of democracy and the challenges new democracies face. A related aim of the World Forum will be to encourage greater coordination of pro-democracy initiatives among governments, perhaps leading to the emergence of appropriate international structures or institutions.

Proposal

The Issue: The *World Forum on Democracy* (WFD) will address a pivotal policy issue in the post-Cold War era: how can governments, NGOs and business promote, preserve and consolidate the unprecedented, world-wide surge in democracy over the last two decades? While some rudimentary democratic structures, procedures, and values have emerged in many formerly closed societies of Latin America, East-Central Europe, Asia, Africa and the former Soviet Union, much remains to be done. Governments, non-governmental organizations and regional bodies need to institutionalize and incorporate democratic values amid such daunting challenges as the demands of economic development, the legacies of non-democratic systems, ethnic conflicts, communal divisions, and weak institutions that attenuate rule-of-law. There also is an urgent need to strengthen the new electoral democracies which now have reasonably free elections but lack institutional safeguards against arbitrary rule. The international community should also develop a better understanding of the relationship between democracy and economic growth.

Freedom House believes these issues, which are central to the foreign aid and foreign policy agendas of the advanced and emerging democracies, deserve greater investigation and amplification. The WFD will be the venue for comprehensive international dialogue on these key issues.

Background: The ascendancy of the democratic idea in the last two decades reflects the most dramatic political shift in history. When Freedom House began tracking political rights and civil liberties in the 1970s for its annual *Freedom in the World* survey, less than one-third of the world's countries were democratic. Today, 118 countries qualify as electoral democracies, and 79 of these are rated "free." In the early 1970s, Spain, Portugal and Greece shed authoritarian regimes. In Latin America, military juntas and strongmen accepted some form of competitive elections and civilian rule. The collapse of totalitarian Communist regimes in the former Soviet Union and East-Central Europe led to greater pluralism and open electoral processes. By the early to mid-1990s, emerging economic powers in Asia felt domestic and global pressures for more democratic, open societies. In Africa, several nations introduced multi-candidate or multi-party elections and vowed to restructure state socialist economies.

These rapid developments ushered in what can be called a democratic age. Significantly, democratic dynamism and the expansion of free societies is a phenomenon that is present across all continents and in most cultures, underscoring that democracy and human liberty are not Western constructs but universal aspirations. But just as the West focused tremendous energies and resources in the last fifty years to analyzing the "problems of Communism," a similar effort is needed in the post-Cold War period to recognize and address the broad range of problems facing transitional and established democracies.

As Dr. Larry Diamond, Fareed Zakaria and other scholars have argued, electoral democracies do not necessarily guarantee freedom. Indeed, Freedom House rates 39

democracies as only "partly free." These transitional or "partly free" societies account for much of the dramatic rise in the number of democracies. Some elected leaders in Latin America, the Caucasus, former Soviet Central Asia, and East Asia have ruled in arbitrary and undemocratic ways, suppressing opposition, ruling by decree, bypassing weak and often fractious legislatures, curtailing rights and freedoms, and fostering ethnic tensions and nationalism. The military remains a major factor in several elected democracies.

Still, there is strong evidence that despite these problems, even the most basic electoral processes engender political participation and party formation, contribute to the emergence of non-governmental civic groups, and stimulate media coverage. An important challenge and priority for established democracies and pro-democracy activists is to devise and implement coordinated technical assistance and aid programs which support the growth of civil society—independent media, public policy think tanks, free trade unions, civic groups---in what Freedom House surveys call "partly free" electoral democracies.

The years ahead will be crucial in determining whether the recent democratic momentum is sustained. Yet, many advanced democracies are reducing government expenditure for foreign aid. There is frequently little consensus on how and where foreign aid is to be allocated. Some governments suggest the focus should be on promoting democratic change primarily in unfree states. Others favor focusing on electoral democracies where many of the rudiments for change are already in place.

No regular international forum exists to focus specifically and exclusively on these and related "problems of democracy." The establishment of a regular gathering of world leaders and policy-makers would provide a forum to discuss the opportunities and mechanisms for strengthening democratic transitions around the world. Freedom House believes the *World Forum on Democracy* can become a much-needed platform to address such issues and establish consensus around an international agenda to deepen democratic culture and promote democratic change.

Literature Review: Two decades of democratic transitions around the world have yielded a rich literature on democratic change. Freedom House research on world-wide democratic trends has made an important contribution to the discussion. The annual *Freedom in the World* survey, which monitors political rights and civil liberties and includes essays on every country and territory in the world, and *Nations in Transit*, which analyzes 25 East-Central European countries and former Soviet republics, have been cited extensively in articles on democratization. Most recently, Fareed Zakaria, managing editor of *Foreign Affairs*, used Freedom House research as a basis for his article "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy" published in the November/December 1997 issue of his journal. Samuel P. Huntington used Freedom House statistical data on the changes in the percent of democratic societies in an article on democratic transition which appeared in the October 1997 *Journal of Democracy*. Prof. Seymour Martin Lipset, editor of the *Encyclopedia of Democracy*, Dr. Larry Diamond of the Hoover Institution, and other scholars regularly use Freedom House data, as have leading think tanks, government agencies such as the USAID, financial and business groups such as the World Bank and

major companies seeking to make investment decisions based on the human rights situation in countries, and prominent NGOs. Freedom House survey findings are regularly cited in the *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Washington Times*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Boston Globe*, *Miami Herald*, *Los Angeles Times* and scores of international, regional and local newspapers, as well as the major radio and television networks.

While analyses and conclusions drawn from Freedom House data vary, the thematic focus of much recent scholarship has centered on the conceptual, structural and cultural impediments to introducing democratic institutions into countries and regions which, as a result of colonialism, repressive regimes, or social custom, do not have strong democratic traditions.

Freedom House believes that the World Forum on Democracy will make a valuable contribution to the ongoing debate. Transcripts of the Forum's plenary sessions, panels and addresses will be distributed to the media, government and Congressional leaders and key opinion-makers. We anticipate that the event will stimulate important new academic research, excite press attention, and focus attention of world leaders on the issue of sustaining the global expansion of democracy through the evaluation of effective programs and strategies.

Program Activities

Freedom House will organize the first WFD conference and act as a permanent Secretariat for future meetings. The inaugural session will include 500-600 participants, and serve as an arena for networking between government leaders, business leaders, experts and NGOs. Participants will be drawn from the highest levels of government, major NGOs, and top business leaders from around the world. These will include roughly equal proportions of:

- government officials, including heads of state and government, foreign ministers and key deputies, Supreme Court justices, justice ministers, heads of major aid and development agencies, leaders of government broadcasting entities, legislative leaders from majority and minority parties;
- representatives from influential NGOs and democracy movements, labor leaders, religious leaders, private foundations/donors and think tanks;
- key business and corporate leaders.

World leaders --including 10-15 heads of state and heads of government--will be invited to make major addresses, and a select group of eminent scholars and thinkers will be invited to address plenary sessions, participate in panel discussions and lead smaller seminars.

Freedom House will invite the National Endowment of Democracy (NED) to serve as the key U.S. partner organization. Leading international experts on democracy from Europe,

Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East will join a consortium to ensure broad international participation. An International Advisory Board of eminent democratic leaders will be established along with an Organizing Committee and Secretariat established by Freedom House's Board of Trustees. A preliminary list of various committees and potential participants is appended to this prospectus.

The first task will be to establish a Program Committee of scholars and experts. We will begin initially with Freedom House Trustees and advisers to our Survey on Freedom. Among these are: Prof. Samuel Huntington, Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski, Prof. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Prof. Anthony Lake, Prof. John Norton Moore, and Dr. Larry Diamond.

The World Forum on Democracy will consist of two types of sessions. The first are plenary sessions at which major world leaders--both governmental and non-governmental-- will speak to an audience of 500-600 participants. The second are seminars organized in four blocs of six concurrent two-hour roundtable discussions. In all, there will be approximately 24 such seminar sessions, each two hours in length. Each of these seminar sessions is envisioned to allow for presentations by three-or-four speakers with a moderator leading the discussion. Participants will be asked to provide written papers, many of which the WFD hopes to publish in book form or as separate issues pamphlets.

Logistics, travel arrangement, and other technical support will be subcontracted.

Seminar Themes

The conference seminars will be structured around four main themes. These themes will be evaluated by the Program Committee of eminent scholars and experts in consultation with an International Advisory body. Some of the possible areas for discussion are:

1) Challenges to Democracy

- a) public attitudes toward democracy and authoritarian rule around the world;
- b) illiberal democracy: democratically-elected governments that violate minority rights, base politics on demagogic appeal, and suppress basic human rights;
- c) racist, nationalist and religious sectarianism: Islam and other fundamentalisms;
- d) building civil society after civil war or conflict (Rwanda, Haiti, Bosnia)
- e) economic stress and democratic governance: can poor democracies sustain their open societies?
- f) managing successful democratic transitions.

2) Democratic Governance

- a) decentralization of power and democracy;
- b) running the democratic city;
- c) the threat of corruption;

- d) coping with drugs and crime;
- e) presidential vs. parliamentary democracy;
- f) voter apathy and democratic rule.

3) Promoting Democracy and Deepening Democracy's Roots

- a) resources for democracy promotion: national foundations for democracy;
- b) coordination of efforts among established democracies;
- c) international institutions and democratization;
- d) media in democratic societies;
- e) an international organization of the democracies?
- f) the state of international broadcasting to closed societies.

4) Is There a Global Democratic Culture?

- a) is democracy a Western idea?
- b) Islam and democracy;
- c) is confidence in democratic governments eroding?
- d) 'Asian values' and democracy;
- e) democracy and the clash of civilizations;
- f) the globalization of media.

5) Markets and Democracy

- a) democracies and economic reform;
- b) democracies and economic growth;
- c) the World Bank, IMF and emerging democracies;
- d) commercial media and a free press.

6) Rule of Law and Democracy

- a) an international court of justice?
- b) authoritarian regimes, democracies and the enforcement of contracts;
- c) the independent judiciary in a democracy.

Funding Support

An amount of \$4.6 million will be sought for a three year cycle of activity that includes the year-round activities of the World Forum on Democracy secretariat for three years and the convening of two World Fora, the first in December 1998 in the US and a second in 2000 outside the US.

Year One: \$2.0 Million

Two million dollars in Year One support will cover the costs of a year-round staff of three-or-four professional staff; costs associated with publicizing the WFD; communications, graphics, stage sets for plenary sessions, office equipment, literature on the World Forum, travel to various countries for meetings with potential participants, work with scholars, and some limited research in support of the conference materials. The \$ 2.0 million in Year One funding also will be required to cover the full costs of participation of 200 of the 600 participants (including all 100 or so non-governmental speakers and panelists at seminar sessions as well as approximately 100 representatives of NGOs, parliamentarians, journalists, and scholars from less developed countries and new democracies), and approximately 40-50 short-term staff and volunteers. Costs will be sought for interpreters in English, French, Russian and possibly German. Dinners and lunches will be fully covered by this funding. Two hundred projected participants--mainly from the private sector--will be asked to cover the cost of accommodations and transportation and registration fees. An additional 200 participants will have meals and accommodations covered but will be asked to cover the costs of their transportation..

Speakers will be asked to contribute papers on a pro bono basis in return for the WFD covering all costs of participation.

Year Two : \$600,000

In the second year the work of the secretariat will be supported. In the second year we hope to convene under the WFD trademark several smaller regional meetings, which will be assisted logistically by the WFD Secretariat as part of an effort aimed at stimulating further regional dialogue on the democracy themes of the first WFD. The funding and costs for such regional meetings will be the primary responsibility of the local host organizations. On the basis of such cooperation, the site for the second WFD will be determined by the middle of the second year.

During the second year, the secretariat will lay the groundwork for the Second World Forum in 2000, produce books and studies from papers at the First WFD, and promote the visibility of the WFD.

Year Three: \$2.0 Million

Year Three will repeat the activities of Year One Funding. with one major difference, the majority of funding (outside U.S. participation) will be channeled through a host cooperating institution, which will be selected from among leading national NGOs in the country in which the Second WFD will meet. The WFD Secretariat will enter into a

contractual relationship with the co-sponsoring host organization which will ensure collaboration with significant input from the WFD secretariat.

Concrete Objectives and Outcomes

The World Forum on Democracy is envisioned as a process that will seek to place democracy promotion and the strengthening of new democracies at the center of the international agenda. Toward this end, we envisage the World Forum on Democracy as contributing to the following:

1. Scholarly Research and Monitoring

- * research on democratic governance;
- * more widespread attention to and dissemination of efforts to monitor political rights, civil liberties, rule of law and a free press, including broader distribution of the Freedom House Survey of Freedom;
- * research on the effectiveness of democracy promotion efforts and programs;
- * scholarly discussion in support of a common framework on what constitutes a democratic and free society.

2. Civic Education in Democratic Values:

- * recommendations on curricula for primary and secondary education (done in coordination with the scholarly community, democratic teachers unions, and education ministries);
- * the establishment of book programs and broadcasting into closed societies.

3. Donor Support

- * creation of national foundations to promote democracy;
- * dialogue among business and private foundations on efforts to promote democratic culture, civic education, and the rule of law;
- * assessment of government foreign aid efforts in the realm of democratic processes, civil society, and governance;
- * greater coordination of donor efforts and commitment of new resources.

4. Networking

- * networks of cooperating NGOs, think tanks, etc. at the international and regional levels;
- * networking between democracy NGOs, business, labor, and government.

5. Policy Coordination:

- * the emergence of regional meetings of established and new democracies;
- * discussion of an appropriate structure for a Community of Democracies to facilitate coordination among democratic governments;
- * the establishment of an international body of the democracies to monitor and assess elections;
- * consensus standard-setting for electoral and political processes;
- * coordination of donor activities by private and government agencies.

6. Dissemination of Democratic Values:

- * greater media attention to
- * moral support for democratic leaders and movements in emerging democracies and closed societies;
- * a declaration from the First World Forum on Democracy;
- * celebration of democratic progress.

About Freedom House

Freedom House, founded in 1941 by Eleanor Roosevelt and Wendell Willkie, is a non-partisan organization with a Board of Trustees made up of liberals, centrists, and conservatives that includes former government officials, business and labor leaders, scholars, writers, and journalists. Freedom House works to promote human rights, the rule-of law and democracy around the world through offices in Washington, New York, and overseas. Each year, Freedom House issues the authoritative Survey of Freedom, which assesses the state of political rights, civil liberties and economic freedom in 191 countries.