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Kathrin Brockmann, Christian Achraimer (eds.)

13th International Summer School 2009

“Reconsidering Democratization and Security:
Linkages, Lessons Learned and Prospects for the Future”

Berlin, July 6–17, 2009
International Forum on Strategic Thinking
German Council on Foreign Relations
Berlin 2009



DGAP

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Robert Bosch **Stiftung**



Fondation Avec et Pour Autres

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Last but not least a special thanks goes to all DGAP staff for their unconditional help and support, without which this International Summer School would not have been possible.



Otto Wolff-Director Prof.
Eberhard Sandschneider

Foreword

One of the major controversial debates of our time concentrates on the question if and how democratization can contribute to maintaining or strengthening security and stability. While the democratic peace thesis, holding that democratic countries do not enter into violent conflict with one another, suggests a positive correlation between democracy and security, countries in democratic transition are often prone to conflict and instability. A booming concept in the 1990s, the idea of external democracy promotion today is widely contested. Measures range from supporting civil society actors and democratic thinking elites to military regime change. Strategies have varied among actors, with the US-driven “freedom agenda” and the EU’s Neighbourhood Policy as two examples. Interference of external actors ultimately raises the question if democracy can be imposed or if it has to grow from within a society. Which role do socio-economic, cultural or historical aspects play? Are secularism and democracy inextricably linked or can there be an “Islamic democracy”? Which are the necessary preconditions for democratization efforts to succeed and what are “lessons learned” from past experiences? Is democracy at all the one-size-fits-all solution?

As today’s challenges are transnational, it is vital to engage in a strategic dialogue to ultimately find common solutions to global problems. For our 13th consecutive Summer School, which took place in July 2009, we have again invited a group of 29 outstanding participants for an intensive two week program, which focused on democracy, peace and security, linkages between these concepts and different perspectives on the prospects for democratization in various world regions.

For many years, we at the German Council on Foreign Relations have been actively trying to expand our network of young high-potentials in international relations. Many of our programs focus on attracting future decision-makers to our growing network, while they are still in their formative years at the university or in the early stages of their career.

One of the most successful programs is organized by our International Forum on Strategic Thinking, which—based on our annual Summer Schools and New Faces Conferences—established a network of well over 750 people from all over Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, and North America.

Assuming that members of this network will belong to future decision-makers in their respective countries, the mission and understanding of our Summer School

is based on the hope that experiences made here in Berlin and at the German Council on Foreign Relations will not only help to improve the participants' and our own understanding of different perspectives on international problems, but also contribute to promoting a better understanding of German foreign policy.

The feedback so far gives us strong support that our activities do contribute to enhancing regional and global networks dealing with political, economic and security challenges ahead. We will continue to enlarge and deepen our work bringing together international elites of tomorrow from strategically important regions. As part of these efforts DGAP and the International Forum on Strategic Thinking hope to welcome many Alumni of the last thirteen years as participants or speakers to our future events!



Prof. Dr. Eberhard Sandschneider
Otto Wolff-Director of the Research Institute

German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP)

The German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP) is the national network for German foreign policy. As an independent, non-partisan and non-profit organization, it actively takes part in the political decision-making process and promotes understanding of German foreign policy and international relations. More than 2000 members—among them renowned representatives from politics, business, academia, and the media—as well as more than 70 companies and foundations support the work of the DGAP. The DGAP comprises the research institute, the journal IP and its Global Edition and the library and documentation center.

- The DGAP's research institute works at the junction between politics, the economy and academia. It works interdisciplinary, policy-oriented and in all areas of German foreign policy, which are anything but static in a globalizing world: security and supply risks, international competition, integration and network issues.
- IP Global Edition is the quarterly English-language magazine of the German Council on Foreign Relations. It brings the missing European voice on global issues to readers across the world and is essential reading for everyone who is working in the field of politics and global economic issues.
- The DGAP Library and Documentation Center (BiDok) is one of the oldest and most significant specialized libraries in Germany open to the public. It holds substantial collections on German foreign and security policy.

International Forum on Strategic Thinking

The International Forum on Strategic Thinking is DGAP's main instrument for supporting young professionals and scholars in the area of foreign and security policy. It encourages international and multilateral cooperation, the exchange of ideas on global challenges, and cross-cultural dialogue. The forum's network currently comprises over 750 alumni and experts from partner organizations worldwide.

The Forum holds three major events per year: the International Summer School and two New Faces Conferences. In addition, an Alumni conference is held every third year, next time in fall 2011. Implementing this approach the Forum brings together new leaders in different stages of their careers, from regions such as Europe, the Middle East, Asia and Africa as well as from Russia and North America.

The International Forum on Strategic Thinking is proud to have the Robert Bosch Stiftung as its main patron.

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The DGAP International Summer School

DGAP's annual International Summer School targets highly qualified students and recent graduates between 20 and 27 years of age. By inviting participants from all over Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, Russia and North America, the International Forum on Strategic Thinking promotes the exchange of ideas between young people with various national, religious, ethnic, cultural, political and educational backgrounds. DGAP's Summer Schools address a series of contemporary issues in global affairs and seek to highlight their relevance to current foreign and security policy and strategic investments in the future. The two-week program consists of lectures and panel debates by internationally renowned experts and professionals as well as visits to political institutions and to significant sites of German history. Following general discussions, participants meet in small working groups to discuss their different opinions and share their personal perspectives.

The 13th DGAP International Summer School "Reconsidering Democratization and Security: Linkages, Lessons Learned and Prospects for the Future" took place in Berlin from July 6–17, 2009. It was devoted to patterns, processes and lessons learned in the democratization processes of countries in different world regions, with a special emphasis on security-related issues. In addition to analyzing both successful and failed cases of democratization and discussing measures and criteria of democracies in general, the Summer School addressed current challenges, processes and obstacles to democratization, analyzed the effectiveness and limits of various actors and their democratization efforts as well as scrutinized the security-related aspects of the liberal peace thesis.

The International Summer School is not just another set of university-style lectures. Throughout the two weeks, participants convened in working groups to work on controversial questions related to the overall topic of the Summer School. The working groups were tasked to present their findings in the form of Oxford-style debates, which were held on Friday, July 10th and Thursday, July 16th. Each working group met after every lecture to prepare its respective position and argumentation. The different national, cultural and religious backgrounds added to the heated debates, in which participants engaged in two opposing teams.

After two weeks of intense debates, exchanges till the early morning hours and visits to various institutions, participants had not only broadened their horizon, acquired new skills, met people from countries they had never seen before, overcame images of the “other” and learned about different perspectives on shared problems—they had also laid the foundation for a long-standing network of like-minded peers and friends.

Participants

Yasser Abbas	Egypt	Kishimjan Osmonova	Kyrgyzstan
Pırlıl Akin	Turkey	Martyna Anna Pańczak	Poland
Muhammad As’ad	Indonesia	Tobias Peyerl	Germany
Simona Ballmer	Switzerland	Nora Rafea	Egypt
Elena Beganu	Romania	Muhammad Salman	Pakistan
Koussay Boulaich	Spain	Olivier Schmitt	France
Ece Çelikel	Turkey	Sarah Schulman	Sweden
Raed Kamel Eshnaiwer	Palestine	Mona Siam	Jordan
Bledar Feta	Albania	Sarah Siemens	Germany/ USA
Jovan Ivanov	Serbia	Nodar Tangiashvili	Georgia
Alexandra Kessler	Germany	Gregory Warero	Kenya
Qianjie Liu	China	Adam Werner	Israel
Matthias Mayr	Germany	Astar Yadid	Israel
Antara Mitra	India	Yulia Zhitina	Russia
Edwin Mwiti	Kenya		

Agenda

Monday, 6 July

Opening Day

12:00–12:30

Opening of the 13th International Summer School

Welcome Address

Prof. Dr. Eberhard Sandschneider, Otto Wolff-Director
Of the Research Institute, German Council on Foreign
Relations (DGAP e. V.)

Opening Remarks

Christian Hänel, Deputy Head of Department, Interna-
tional Relations Western Europe, America, Turkey, Japan,
India, Robert Bosch Stiftung

12:30–13:30

Lunch

13:30–15:00

Keynote Speech

**20 Years After the Fall of the Berlin Wall: Taking
Stock of Two Decades of Democratization**

Dr. Pavol Demeš, Director, Central and Eastern Eu-
rope, The German Marshall Fund of the United States,
Bratislava, Slovakia

16:00–19:00

“Scavenger Hunt” through Berlin

19:00

Dinner at Mauersegler Restaurant

Tuesday, 7 July

Introduction—Democracy and Security

9:00–10:30

Democracy: Concept and Approaches

Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Merkel, Director, Research Unit “Democracy: Structures, Performance, Challenges,” Social Science Research Center Berlin (WZB), Berlin, Germany

Security: Concept and Approaches

Prof. Dr. Michael Brzoska, Director, Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy (IFSH), Hamburg, Germany

10:30–11:30

Discussion

11:30–12:00

Coffee Break

12:00–12:30

Introduction and Instructions to the Working Groups

David Bosold, Head of Program, International Forum on Strategic Thinking, DGAP

Kathrin Brockmann, Program Officer, International Forum on Strategic Thinking, DGAP



Prof. Merkel introduces the concept of defective democracy

Tuesday, 7 July Introduction—Democracy and Security (continued)

12:30–13:30 Working Group Sessions

13:30–14:30 Lunch

14:30–15:30 Beyond Democratic Peace Theory: Reconsidering the Linkages between Democracy and Security
Dr. Roger Mac Ginty, School of International Relations,
University of St. Andrews, United Kingdom

15:30–16:30 Discussion

16:30–17:00 Coffee Break

17:00–18:30 Working Group Sessions

18:30 Dinner



Dr. Roger MacGinty during his presentation on the linkages between democracy and peace

Wednesday, 8 July

Perspectives from Germany

09:30–11:30

Visit to the Ministry of Defense

Germany’s Role in ESDP and NATO

Brigadier General Hans-Werner Wiermann, Deputy Assistant Chief of Armed Forces Staff, Politico-Military Affairs and Arms Control Division, Federal Ministry of Defense, Berlin, Germany

From a Standing to an Operational Army:

Germany’s Forces Abroad

Ralf Schnurr, Head of Section II, Operations Division, Federal Ministry of Defense, Germany

11:30–13:30

Reception & Lunch at the Ministry

14:30–16:30

Visit to Axel Springer-Verlag Publishing House

The Geopolitics of the Crisis

Discussion with Prof. Dr. Michael Stürmer, Chief Correspondent of “Die Welt” (daily newspaper)

16:30–18:00

**Visit to Checkpoint Charlie and the Foundation
“Topography of Terror”**

19:00

Dinner at Restaurant Nola’s am Weinberg

Thursday, 9 July

Actors and Strategies

09:00–10:00

Internal and External Dimensions of Democratization I

The USA and External Democracy Promotion: Lessons (not) Learned from the Bush Administration?

Prof. Dr. Gale A. Mattox, US Naval Academy, Annapolis, MD, USA

Democratization from Below: A Grassroots Perspective

Ivana Howard, Program Officer, Central and Eastern Europe, National Endowment for Democracy, Washington, DC, USA

10:00–11:00

Discussion

11:00–11:30

Coffee Break

11:30–13:00

Working Group Sessions

13:00–14:00

Lunch



Ivana Howard discusses democratization efforts from below

Thursday, 9 July

Actors and Strategies (continued)

14:00–15:00

Internal and External Dimensions of Democratization II

Assessing OSCE Democratization Efforts: Conflict Resolution through Democracy Promotion?

Bob Deen, Project Officer, OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, The Hague, Netherlands

The EU Neighbourhood Policy: Potential and Limitations of Incentive-Based Democratization

Giovanni Cremonini, DG RELEX, European Commission, Brussels, Belgium

15:00–16:00

Discussion

16:00–16:30

Coffee Break

16:30–18:00

Working Group Sessions

18:00

Dinner



Giovanni Cremonini on the EU's incentive-based approach to democratization

Friday, 10 July**Debating Day**

09:00–10:45**Getting to Know DGAP: The Role of a German Think Tank**

Prof. Dr. Eberhard Sandschneider, Otto Wolff-
Director of the Research Institute, DGAP

10:45–11:00

Coffee Break

11:00–12:30**Introducing the Rules of Procedure and Preparation of the Debate**

12:30–13:30

Lunch

13:30–14:30**Debate 1: Democracy makes the world safer.**

Proposition: Working Group 1

Opposition: Working Group 2

14:30–15:00

Coffee Break



Elena from Romania argues that democracy does not make the world safer

Friday, 10 July

Debating Day (continued)

15:00–16:00

Debate 2: Democracy cannot be imposed.

Proposition: Working Group 3

Opposition: Working Group 4

16:00–16:30

Coffee Break

16:30–17:30

Debate 3: The UN should be replaced by a League of Democracies.

Proposition: Winner Debate 1

Opposition: Winner Debate 2

18:00

Dinner



Yasser from Egypt tries to convince his opponents and the audience that democracy cannot be imposed

Saturday, 11 July Social Day

15:30 **Visit to the Reichstag, Seat of the German Parliament**

17:30 **Social Gathering and Barbecue**

Sunday, 12 July Berlin Discovery Day

11:00 **Visit to the Memorial Berlin-Hohenschönhausen**

15:00 **Guided Walking Tour through Multi-Cultural Kreuzberg and Visit to the East Side Gallery (Former Berlin Wall)**



The group in front of the Reichstag, the seat of the German parliament

Monday, 13 July **Regional Perspectives I—Success and Failure**

09:00–10:00 **Democratization and Security in the Balkans**

Perspectives on Bosnia

Michael Weichert, South Eastern Europe Unit, Friedrich Ebert Foundation, Berlin, Germany

Perspectives on Kosovo

Dmitry Shlapachenko, Head of the Reporting Unit, Office of Political Affairs, UNMIK, Prishtina, Kosovo

10:00–11:00 Discussion

11:00–11:30 Coffee Break

11:30–13:00 Working Group Sessions

13:00–14:00 Lunch

14:00–15:00 **Democratization and Security in the Caucasus and Central Asia**

George Khelashvili, St Anne’s College, University of Oxford, UK



Mona from Jordan shares her perspective on democracy

Monday, 13 July **Regional Perspectives I—Success and Failure
(continued)**

15:00–16:00 Discussion
 16:00–16:30 Coffee Break
 16:30–17:30 Working Group Sessions
 17:30–18:30 Dinner

18:30–19:30 **NATO in the Age of Global Challenges**
 Mihai Carp, Operations Division, NATO HQ, Brussels,
 Belgium

20:00–21:00 **Debate: NATO Should Pull Out of Afghanistan**
 Moderator: Dr. Henning Riecke, Head of Program,
 USA / Transatlantic Relations, DGAP

Proposition Speaker: Jürgen Wagner, Executive Director,
 Informationsstelle Militarisierung, Tübingen, Germany

Opposition Speaker: Prof. Dr. Carlo Masala, Institute for
 International Relations and International Law, Munich
 Federal Armed Forces University, Germany



Prof. Carlo Masala explains why he believes that NATO should not pull out of Afghanistan

Tuesday, 14 July **Regional Perspectives II—Success and Failure**

9:00–10:00 **Democratization and Security in Asia**

Perspectives on South East Asia

Andreas List, International Relations Officer, Southeast Asia Unit, DG RELEX, European Commission, Brussels, Belgium

Perspectives on China

Prof. Dr. Eberhard Sandschneider, Otto Wolff-Director of the Research Institute, German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP)

10:00–11:00

Discussion

11:00–11:30

Coffee Break

11:30–13:00

Working Group Sessions

13:00–14:00

Lunch



Andreas List presenting the variety of South East Asia

Wednesday, 15 July Regional Perspectives III—Success and Failure

9:00–10:00 Democratization and Security in the Middle East

The Middle East: Prospects for Democracy

Zoé Nautré, Associate Fellow, German Council on Foreign Relations (DGAP), Berlin

Turkey as a Role Model for the Middle East?

Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Bağcı, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

10:00–11:00 Discussion

11:00–11:30 Coffee Break

11:30–13:00 Working Group Sessions

13:00–14:00 Lunch

14:00–15:00 Democratization and Security in Sub-Saharan Africa

Dr. Cyril I. Obi, Programme Coordinator, Post-Conflict Transition, the State and Civil Society in Africa Programme, The Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden

15:00–16:00 Discussion

16:00–16:30 Coffee Break

16:30–18:00 Working Group Session

18:00 Dinner

Thursday, 16 July	Final Debating Day
09:00–12:00	Preparation of the Debates
12:00–13:00	Lunch
13:00–14:00	Debate 1: Strong Dictatorship is Better than Weak Democracy. Working Group 1 vs. DGAP
14:00–15:00	Debate 2: Only a Secular State can be a Democratic State. Working Group 2 vs. DGAP
15:00–15:30	Coffee Break
15:30–16:30	Debate 3: Economic Development Inevitably Leads to Democratization. Working Group 3 vs. DGAP
16:30–17:30	Debate 4: There is No Security without Social Equality. Working Group 4 vs. DGAP
17:30–18:00	Coffee Break
18:00–19:00	Wrap-up Session, Feedback, Evaluation
20:00	Farewell Party at Freischwimmer Restaurant Vor dem Schlesischen Tor 2a, 10997 Berlin
Friday, 17 July	End of Conference
10:00	Departure of Participants

Lectures, Panels and Presentations

The following paragraphs provide a brief summary of each speaker's intervention in the order of their appearance at DGAP's two week International Summer School. Summaries of presentations held during visits to other institutions can be found in the following chapter.

Christian Hänel

Christian Hänel from the Robert Bosch Stiftung welcomed the participants by giving a brief introduction to Robert Bosch and the Robert Bosch Stiftung. He highlighted that the foundation was an enabling platform for creating interdisciplinary networks like the one participants would become part of after the Summer School. By describing how Robert Bosch himself was an active advocate of democratization, he related to this year's topic "Democratization and Security." Hänel calculated that participants had altogether traveled more than 90 000 km to take on the opportunity of discussing why and how democracy may be promoted; clearly illustrating the global world and dimension of challenges we are facing today. He encouraged the participants to make most out of this year's Summer School by exchanging different viewpoints, engaging in lively discussions and learning from one another. Dialogue, he concluded, was the key to successful international relations and finding solutions for shared problems.



Christian Hänel introduces participants to the work of the Robert Bosch Stiftung

Dr. Pavol Demeš

Keynote speaker Dr. Pavol Demeš, Director of the German Marshall Fund's Bratislava office, focused on democratization from 1989 onwards. Drawing from his personal experience, coming from Slovakia, and having been an activist for many years, he argued for four main prerequisites, which are essential for successfully promoting democracy. These include (1) a symmetry of will between recipients and providers of democracy assistance; (2) sensitivity towards domestic and individual circumstances, histories and authorities; (3) sincerity about the cause of democratization and (4) spiritual capacity, linking like minded people believing in the same fundamental principles and values. Dr. Demeš referred to the current financial and economic crisis as an obstacle to democratization processes since the crisis will have several impacts that might hinder democratization efforts. For instance, the Western states might spend less money on democracy promotion and states in transition might become fragile because of social tensions following the crisis. Though, crisis, meaning turning-point in its original sense, could also provide opportunities for the development of new ideas. Demeš also touched on the role of new media and raised awareness of its potential and limitations for democratization efforts.



Dr. Pavol Demeš shares his personal experiences with democratization in Eastern Europe

Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Merkel

What kind of democracies emerged during the so-called third wave of democratization? To analyze democracies, Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Merkel from the Social Science Research Center Berlin put forward an analytical tool, going beyond the minimalist understanding of democracy, i. e. free and fair elections. He further identified full political liberties, civil rights, the rule of law and the power to govern, the role of civil society and neighboring states to be key factors for democracy. Measuring the status and development of democracy, the model allows important assessments of a regime's stability and quality. Merkel pointed out that many countries were "defective democracies" lacking some of the mentioned criteria. Furthermore, countries in democratic transition, he assessed, were often vulnerable and susceptible to conflict, posing a significant challenge for any democratization effort.

Prof. Dr. Michael Brzoska

Prof. Dr. Michael Brzoska from the University of Hamburg elaborated on different approaches to security, highlighting the changing nature of the very concept of security. Moving away from the traditional, state-centric understanding, security increasingly takes on a more alternative and critical approach. Brzoska stressed that security as a multidimensional discipline remains an indefinable, ambiguous and extensive concept. One of the main debates evolves around the determination of the reference object being the state or rather the individual. Brzoska pointed out three main traditions, which are classified as post-modern, modern and pre-modern, each referring to different threats, measures and referent objects. Globalization and the end of the Cold War added heavily to the de-territorialization of threats, away from national security and the emphasis on armed forces. However, despite of these changing perceptions on security, development spending still receives much less attention than military spending and there are severe difficulties in implementing the so-called comprehensive approach to security and developing effective civil-military cooperation mechanisms.

Dr. Roger MacGinty

Actively engaging the participants, Dr. Roger MacGinty from the School of International Relations of the University of St. Andrews exemplified how peace has different meanings to different people, depending on time, circumstances and contexts. Peace, he noted, was a very subjective notion and in itself an empty social construction, which ought to be filled with meaning by people, states and institutions. In the discussion with participants MacGinty created linkages between peace, democracy, democratization and security, stressing that state-building and institutions were the most important aspects for peace-building. He assessed

liberal democracy to be a very western concept, which could not be implemented without severe impacts on a country's particular culture and society, including the relationships between citizens and the market, between citizens and other citizens and between citizens and the state. The attempt to "export" the liberal democracy model has thus attracted a wide range of criticism, he concluded.

Prof. Dr. Gale Mattox

Prof. Dr. Gale Mattox from the US Naval Academy assessed democratization efforts of the Bush administration and shed light on Obama's time in office. The Bush administration changed its agenda from leading a military global democratic revolution in 2003 towards less democracy promotion in 2005. The Iraqi failure evoked a review of basic values and the meaning of democracy. Mattox considered it substantial to help others to develop their own voice by supporting civil efforts and structures, in which democracy may flourish. She identified lack of food, a bad oil market, damaged hospitals, closed down schools, the missing infrastructure and severe issues with the police force as unfavorable conditions for democratization efforts in Iraq. The approach to democracy promotion seems to have shifted with Obama's entering into office. He highlighted his commitment to the rule of law and democracy, stating, however, that democracy cannot be imposed. While stability has been prioritized over democracy in the Middle East, there has been no substantial progress in either field so far. Also with regard to dealing with dictatorships the new Obama administration seems to follow a softer approach than its predecessor.

Ivana Howard

Ivana Howard, Program Officer at the National Endowment for Democracy, gave an insight into the role of civil society for instilling sustainable democratic values in a country, drawing particularly on her experience and field research in Bosnia and Herzegovina. She identified the lack of donor cooperation and the problem of supply- rather than demand-driven assistance as one of the main obstacles to effective democracy promotion from below. Clearly distinguishing genuine "grassroots movements" from "astroturf organizations," she elaborated on the dilemmas regarding the independence and sustainability of efforts faced by many NGOs in the region. The fact that many of the actors engaged in democracy assistance heavily rely on the funding of donors results into a counter-productive dynamic, with projects largely driven by the political agendas of these donors rather than the original vision or the genuine needs of NGO's addressees and the population.

Bob Deen

Bob Deen, project officer for the OSCE's High Commissioner for National Minorities, focused on the different challenges the OSCE faces with regard to conflict prevention through democracy promotion due to fundamental disagreements among its member states. In addition to the different interpretations of the role, principles and workings of the organization by its various member states, Russian reluctance to use the OSCE as a forum for conflict resolution in its sphere of influence significantly impedes the effectiveness of the organization. To illustrate these difficulties he extensively referred to his field experience in Georgia, and further elaborated on the role and level of cooperation of the actors involved. Like other multilateral organizations the OSCE's ability to deliver essentially depends on the shared political will among its constituent members.

Giovanni Cremonini

Giovanni Cremonini from the European Commission elaborated on the European Neighborhood Policy as one of the EU's key foreign policy priorities and main instruments to promote prosperity, stability and security in its immediate neighborhood. He further illustrated potential and limitations of conflict prevention through democracy promotion as well as incentive-based democratization efforts. The EU, while also struggling to meaningfully engage Russia as a partner, in addition faces the difficult challenges of setting attractive incentives in the absence of a membership perspective. Finding a coherent institutional framework for the two very different regional dimensions of its neighborhood relations, while providing tailor-made national action plans taking into account partner countries' peculiarities and needs, is key to the future development of the ENP. Tailor-made action plans provide the framework for political reform in the respective partner countries. However, the incentives of the ENP, which have been summarized in the buzzphrase "all but institutions," are many times not strong enough to stimulate the often painful and complex democratic reforms the EU expects from its partner countries. Despite these limitations the ENP, besides the powerful enlargement instrument, is a key policy tool in bringing neighboring countries closer to the Union.

Michael Weichert

How can sustainable multiethnicity and power sharing be achieved in the Balkans without creating a political gridlock situation? Does the principle of conditionality work vis-à-vis the countries in the region? What needs to be done to see democratic reforms on paper materialize into reality? For the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Michael Weichert from the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung concluded that democratization would be more successful if there was less intervention by

the international community and more ownership for the local authorities and population. He pointed out that even though a procedural democracy was already in place, the substance of democracy was still largely missing. With regard to the difficult role of the so-called international community he concluded that “the setting of the agenda by international actors can only be successful, if partners can be found to adopt the issues in question as their own. It is not a business to exercise power, but a business to exercise partnership.”

Dmitry Shlapachenko

Is Kosovo’s declaration of independence a dangerous precedent for further secessionist movements in the region or even beyond? How do different political agendas of various actors impact Kosovo’s future democratic development? And to what extent do UNMIK, EULEX and KFOR cooperate? Dmitry Shlapachenko from UNMIK assessed the relationship between the various international and non-governmental actors on the ground as rather complicated and highlighted potential and limitations of their engagement. He particularly pointed to the ineffectiveness of international engagement and the created institutions in the absence of acceptance by the local population. As an example, he referred to the boycott of elections by Kosovo Serbs, who would have better chances for representation, if they were to accept and participate in political processes. He emphasized the importance that the first self-organized and not imposed elections will have, serving as a test case for the further democratic development of Kosovo.



Dmitry Shlapachenko on the future of Kosovo

Mihai Carp, Prof. Dr. Carlo Masala and Jürgen Wagner

Afghanistan is the most prominent conflict in which the international community is currently engaged and a case which exemplifies many of the key conflict lines inherent in the debates on crisis management, post-conflict reconstruction, state-building, democratization and security. The ambiguous relationship of external forces and the local population, the role of religion and tribal structures as well as the interlinkages between development, democracy, security and stability and the unanswered question which of these has to come first, are but a few of the highly controversially discussed issues in this respect. With the German elections in fall 2009 and the Bundeswehr's commitment to ISAF up for renewal in December, the debate on NATO's mission in Afghanistan was particularly topical.

A speech by Mihai Carp from NATO's Crisis Management Policy Section on "NATO in the age of global challenges" was hence followed by a debate between Prof. Carlo Masala from the University of the German Armed Forces in Munich and Jürgen Wagner from the Information Center on Militarization on the motion "NATO should pull out of Afghanistan."

In his speech, Mihai Carp emphasized the transformation of the security agenda and its implications for NATO. While the changed security environment undoubtedly posed profound challenges to the alliance and repeatedly triggered discussions on its *raison d'être*, structure and strategic concept, Carp assessed that NATO was still an indispensable player in the global security arena, not only to provide security to its members, but also to further democracy and stability in the world, with Afghanistan as a litmus test for its further existence and development.

The ensuing debate highlighted the key problems that the North Atlantic Alliance currently faces in its most important mission. Prof. Carlo Masala represented the opposing side and argued that NATO must not pull out of Afghanistan. The Afghan state was still too fragile to survive without NATO's presence, he argued. A withdrawal would mean the recurrence of the Taliban, an abandoning of the Afghan population and a defeat of "the West" by radical forces with dramatic psychological consequences not only for the Alliance, but Western countries, with their model of democracy and values as a whole. Defending the mission against "imperial" charges, he further pointed out that NATO did not choose, but was forced to intervene in Afghanistan by the attacks of September 11th. Aside humanitarian reasons to protect and assist the Afghans to build-up a state free of tyranny and capable of developing towards more freedom and prosperity, he mentioned geo-political reasons that were in the very security interests of the international community that did not allow for a quick pull-out.

Jürgen Wagner on the other hand argued in favor of the withdrawal and highlighted the negative effects of NATO's intervention. According to him, the situation on the ground has deteriorated ever since NATO's deployment, with severe negative effects for the security of the Afghan population and international development actors. Wagner assessed that there had been no improvements in the fields relevant for the positive development of Afghanistan since 2001, i. e. security or stability for the people, the economic situation, access to education or women's rights. Altogether, he considered the military ill-suited to solve Afghanistan's most pressing problems and therefore called for NATO to pull out of the country. It was a heated but fair debate, which was eventually won by Jürgen Wagner.

George Khelashvili

George Khelashvili from Oxford University's St. Anne's college engaged participants in a discussion on the fundamental conflict lines of analyzing democracies and democratization as a process. Departing from Kant's notion of perpetual peace, he stressed that this dyadic logic worked with democracies only. The fact that democracies do not fight each other is nowadays considered one of the few existing laws in Political Sciences. Using Georgia as a prime example, he further pointed to the inherent conflict potential that democratization processes might carry. The dilemma of what to do when democratization fails and leads to a situation which sees the relative openness of a country followed by complete



George Khelashvili points out the inherent conflict potential of democratization processes

closure, such in the cases of Belarus and Georgia, left participants puzzled about the question if democracy was necessarily a desirable option for all countries in the first place, or if in select cases autocracy was the more appropriate mode of governance for the sake of stability.

Dr. Andreas List

Andreas List, a Southeast Asia analyst working with the European Commission in Brussels, pinpointed the diversity of South East Asia on both the economic and political plane. South East Asia, whose size equals that from the Spanish coast of the Atlantic to Baghdad, not only entails authoritarian states such as Myanmar, but also young democracies such as Indonesia and non-democratic, but economically successful states such as Vietnam. This diversity, according to List, is an indication that there was not one single model of success for Asian states and that hence any democratization and reform efforts need to pay attention to the variety of national cultures and mentalities.

Prof. Dr. Eberhard Sandschneider

Studying the case of China, Prof. Sandschneider stated, was a good illustration of the false belief that the emergence of a middle class was necessarily followed by demands for democratization and increased political participation. Challenging common perceptions of China and its rise in the international community, he further characterized China's recent growth not as China's rise to power, but rather as a return to the Chinese ingenuity and dominance. While he assessed China's list of problems to be as long as its list of successes, he generally encouraged participants to be astute to the misleading nature of absolute numbers when it comes to assessing China's economic and political development. Moreover, Sandschneider elucidated that Chinese politicians are acutely aware of the problems China faces, and that domestic stability was the primary concern of Chinese policy. Because of China's inwardly-focused policy and resistance to foreign interference in handling its domestic issues, Sandschneider, accordingly, warned the West not to be too pushy vis-à-vis Chinese political elites, which would ultimately mean ignoring the great self-confidence China has achieved over the past years.

Zoé Nautré

In her speech on prospects for democracy in the Middle East, particularly the Arab states, Zoé Nautré, Associate Researcher with DGAP, addressed the mismatch between rhetorical support of democratic structures by Arab political leaders and their simultaneous failures to further democratic reform. Nautré emphasized the absence of a vivid civil society as an additional factor that currently hampers democratic reform. While a number of NGOs and Civil Society organi-

zations existed in countries such as Jordan, these were usually under the control of the ruling elites or their family members, making them almost state-controlled organizations, rather than genuine grassroots movements representing the needs and interests of society. Despite numerous obstacles to democratic reforms, such as the lack of civil society, but also destructive, reform-reluctant political leaders and the difficult role of external actors, Nautré made an impassionate case for democracy as the most desirable form of governance, providing equal rights and opportunities for everyone, also in the Arab states.

Prof. Dr. Hüseyin Bağcı

Prof. Bağcı from the Middle East Technical University in Ankara engaged participants in a lively talk on Turkey being a potential role model for countries in the Middle East. Due to its special economic, strategic and geopolitical situation Turkey not only functioned as a bridge between Europe and the Middle East, he said, but also carried particular responsibility to support democracy promotion in the Middle East. Even though he considered it to be impossible for Arab countries to simply copy the reforms Turkey has gone through, Prof. Bağcı saw great opportunity for Turkey to help these countries with instilling democratic values in their societies. He further emphasized the importance of strong and stable institutions as a precondition for these values to successfully take root and for extremism to be marginalized and contained. With regard to Turkey's image in the Arab world, he saw the slowly and positively changing perception of Turkey



Participants involve Prof. Bağcı in a discussion after his presentation

among the Arab population as a further encouraging sign for Turkey to constructively engage in democracy promotion in the region, hand in hand with the US, its key strategic partner.

Dr. Cyril Obi

In his presentation on “Democracy and Security in Sub-Saharan Africa” Cyril Obi defined democracy as a mode of governance which organizes, distributes and manages power in the interest of the citizens of a given country, and allows for the resolution of differences in a non-conflictive way. He further elaborated on the relationship between economic development and democracy, concluding that without economic prosperity democracy would rest on a very weak foundation. “You start building a house from its very foundation, you do not start with the roof.” To illustrate this point he referred to Europe’s history, where democracy was preceded by a successful economic integration project. Applying the idea of different models of democracy to the African continent, Obi critically questioned the international community’s attempts to promote a certain (western) kind of democracy by inextricably linking democracy and development through the principle of conditionality. This “designer democracy,” however, might not fit African realities and needs and has therefore only limited prospects to take root in the region. Democracy, he emphasized, can only be built by the people.



Dr. Cyril Obi insists that democracy can only be built by the people

Social Activities and Visits to German Institutions

The 13th International Summer School’s academic program was complemented by a number of social activities and events including visits to various institutions in and around Berlin. By organizing social activities, the Summer School aims at building a strong network of alumni, who will want to stay in touch well beyond the actual event itself, making it a unique cross-cultural experience for all participants.

On the first day of the program, following the official opening, reception and keynote speech, participants embarked on a scavenger hunt through Berlin, during which they had the chance to get to know one another, and to gain an introduction to Berlin’s many historic sites. Following the event, participants and organizers got a flavour of Berlin’s very rich history and special atmosphere, while enjoying dinner together in one of Berlin’s famous beer gardens called “Mauersegler,” which is located exactly where the former wall stood that divided the city.

On Wednesday, the participants visited the German Ministry of Defense and Germany’s largest publishing house, the Axel-Springer-Verlag. At the Ministry of Defense, Brigadier General Hans-Werner Wiermann, Deputy Assistant Chief of



Participants explored Berlin and got to know each other during the Scavenger Hunt

Armed Forces Staff, explained the context of German security policy and military engagement, stressing the principles of comprehensiveness, prevention and multilateralism. He outlined contemporary threats to security and gave an overview of the Bundeswehr's responses to the changing security environment.

Mr. Ralf Schnurr, Head of Section II, Operations Division, then further elaborated on the Bundeswehr's missions abroad, explaining that the evolution from a standing to an operational army not only prompted new questions regarding capabilities, supply and material, but also posed considerable challenges to soldiers undertaking out-of-area operations. He further outlined different training facilities and programs that help soldiers to cope with the new situation confronting them when they enter the foreign theatre. After the discussion the group was invited for a reception and lunch to the officers' mess, where they not only enjoyed the MoD's hospitality, but were also able to continue their debates with General Wiermann and Mr. Schnurr.

At the Axel Springer Publishing house the participants engaged in a controversial discussion with Professor Dr. Michael Stürmer, Chief Correspondent of "Die Welt." Under the heading "The Geopolitics of the Crisis" Stürmer highlighted the significance of history for finding adequate solutions to contemporary problems, but also the unpredictability of events such as the current economic and financial crises. His rather gloomy assessment of the state of current world affairs was confronted with participants' own willingness and dedication to incrementally contribute to a brighter vision for the future.

In the evening the group met for dinner at the Swiss restaurant Nola in Berlin's district Prenzlauer Berg, to reflect on the interesting experiences of the day and discover a new part of Berlin.

The first week of intensive days and inspiring discussions was complemented by the weekend, which offered plenty opportunities for cultural and social activities and interaction. Before the official visit to the Reichstag on Saturday afternoon, participants met to engage in their probably most interesting football match ever, which featured two teams consisting of male and female participants from more than ten countries. In addition to the diversity of the teams, the scenic location directly in front of the seat of the German Parliament made this match a particularly memorable one. During the following guided tour through the Reichstag, the group was introduced to the German political system, the German Bundestag as well as the history of the building. The visit was followed by a barbecue and social gathering, during which participants not only continued their lively debates

and discussions until late in the night, but also introduced each other to some of the contemporary music and dance styles in their respective home countries. The evening finished with a “Balkan Beats” Party in Berlin’s multicultural district Kreuzberg.

The next day started with a visit to the memorial Berlin-Hohenschönhausen, a former remand prison of the GDR’s secret service Stasi. During the guided tour the participants learned about the history of the German Democratic Republic in general and the role of the Stasi within this repressive system in particular. Turning from repression to tolerance, the group embarked on a guided tour through Kreuzberg, which is home to 40 000 inhabitants of Turkish origin making the district the largest Turkish community in the world outside Turkey. The tour ended at the East Side Gallery, which is 1.3 kilometers long and therefore the largest remaining part of the former Berlin Wall. After the wall was opened in 1989, 118 artists from 21 countries came to Berlin to paint pictures making it a multicultural artwork.

The farewell evening on the floating restaurant Freischwimmer showed once more that the 13th International Summer School had been successful not only in promoting intercultural dialogue and exchange, but also in forging strong personal friendships and a group of peers that will stay in touch for a long time to come. As Nora Rafea from Egypt put it: “This experience has filled me with so



Reading the biographies of political prisoners in the former GDR remand prison Hohenschönhausen

much energy and hope that WE can really make this world a better place for all. Those are not only words or cliches, but a great belief in the capability of each one of us to bring change to at least his / her own environment. I wish that this experience of getting to know each other and working together can be repeated on different scales. The power of having one goal and an open heart and mind to accept each other without judgements or prejudices has been so strong in this year's summer school. We have gained so many things this summer that are truly priceless: life long friends, new experiences, and most importantly a network of truly amazing people.”



Raed from Palestine and Adam from Israel

Working Groups and Debates

Divided into four working groups, participants met consistently throughout the two weeks of the Summer School to discuss and prepare debates on key questions regarding the overall topic of the Summer School. Motivated by the task of engaging in and eventually winning a debate, working groups convened after each lecture to prepare their argumentation and position for the debates. Working groups were deliberately composed of participants from diverse backgrounds and regions. This mix stimulated the debate, prevented the discussion from degenerating into stereotypes and provided the working groups with first-hand knowledge and insight from the respective regions.

Discussing controversial statements such as “Democracy makes the world safer,” “Democracy cannot be imposed,” “The UN should be replaced by a League of Democracies,” “Only a secular state can be a democratic state,” “A strong dictatorship is better than a weak democracy,” “There is no security without social equality,” and “Economic development inevitably leads to democratization,” the participants quickly realized the diverse perspectives on the very concept of democracy, its desirability as a model for all countries and the question how it can be best achieved. Differing opinions often resulted in emotional debates, but, eventually, the commitment to consensus and the willingness to compromise outweighed disagreements. The groups also succeeded in overcoming culturally determined differences in their discussion styles and finally worked out a common position for the debate.

While participants competed against each other after the first week, the Summer School ended with four debates between teams composed of Summer School participants on the one and teams of DGAP experts on the other side. This final debates eventually resulted in a 2:2 draw between the Summer School participants and the DGAP experts.

The following section presents summaries from the four working groups’ argumentation for the debates:¹

- (1) Democracy makes the world safer.
- (2) Democracy cannot be imposed.

¹ These summaries represent the outcome of the debate preparation process among participants. They do not reflect the views of DGAP, the editors or necessarily all participants.

Debate 1: Democracy makes the world safer

Proposition: Democracy does make the world safer

Working Group Members: Ece Çelikel (Turkey), Bledar Feta (Albania), Tobias Peyerl (Germany), Quianjie Liu (China), Sarah Schulman (Sweden), Mona Siam (Jordan), Nodar Tangiashvili (Georgia), Gregory Warero (Kenya)

1. Introduction: Spread of democracy will make the world safer

Is a state democratic when a tyrant manipulates elections and claims legitimacy afterwards? No, it is not, because democracy does not simply mean majority rule through voting. It is rather a political and social system which grants security, not only from a physical point of view, but also economically and socially, giving priority to education, health, job opportunities, freedom of speech and diversity. It is a system that fearlessly supports innovation and respects the cultures and rights of minorities. Democracy, when accompanied with institutions that protect and promote freedom, is therefore the preferred alternative and the adoption of democracy is an integral part of a larger struggle towards more prosperity and freedom.

During the transition period states are fragile and may even sometimes collapse from within. But mostly, societies in a liberal democratic system with strong social institutions will not vote themselves into dictatorships, but will uphold a safer political system.

2. Democracy makes the world safer, because democratic states do not fight each other – external restrictions

Today, citizens of the European Union feel safer from war than ever before since a prerequisite for a country to join the EU is to adhere to common democratic values that preserve peace and make democracies not to fight each other. Think of the relations between Germany and France, for example, which have been hostile for centuries, but improved immensely after the two countries became real democracies.

Liberal democracy is the best form of government for a country whose people do not want to be endangered by being drawn into a war. A democracy, in which the needs of the *demos* are given top priority, will never invade a neighboring country or draw its people into a bloody war just because of the whim of a group or a single leader. Instead, leaders need significant support from the citizens. Public opinion on the other hand is greatly influenced by free media, civil society and



Ece Çelikel (Turkey)

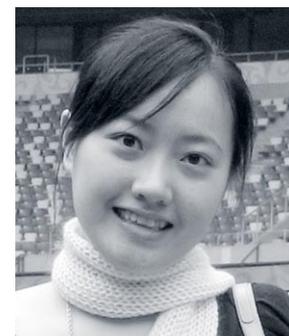
Ece Çelikel (Turkey)



Bledar Feta (Albania)



Tobias Peyerl (Germany)





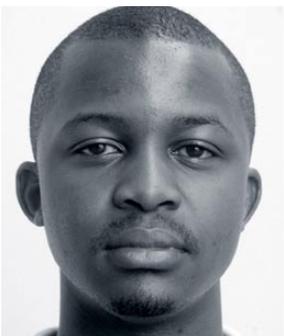
Sarah Schulman (Sweden)



Mona Siam (Jordan)



Nodar Tangiashvili
(Georgia)



the genuine opposition which are only existing in liberal democracies. Moreover, leaders are restricted by elections and a long-term war project is unlikely to improve their chances for re-election. On top of that people in general do not support wars for other reasons than self-defense, because people have to suffer most, directly and indirectly. That makes a decision to go to war even more unlikely.

Further, the constitution and the division of executive and judiciary power within a democratic state place restrictions on the decision makers that prevent them from taking dictatorial decisions. Thus, declaring a war usually requires the consent of the legislature, which is normally representing diverse forces and interests. Hence, citizens of a democratic state can feel safer, because their political leaders face significant constraints in waging a war since it is impossible to mobilize resources and gain acceptance without a wider consensus.

To summarize, democracy makes the world safer because:

1. people who have the major say in a democracy would not endorse a war of choice
2. public opinion and diverse political interest groups constrain leaders from easily making pro-war decisions
3. there are serious institutional obstacles for leaders to start a war
4. there are democratic norms of behavior that are translated into foreign policy.

Of course, this is not to say that democracies or countries in democratic transition never fight wars. We have all seen that they sometimes do! But those rare cases of wars are incomparably smaller in number than those that the world was witnessing when there were only a couple of democracies around. Even if democracies tend to fight non-democratic states, the chance of war is still far lower than it would have been when non-democratic conditions prevail, because it is more difficult to justify a war in a pluralistic society.

3. Democracy makes the world safer for the individual—internal restrictions
Within a liberal democracy the individual is protected from abuses conducted by the state itself by means of legal guarantees in terms of judicial and legal rights (1) when an individual can, through established systems, counter what may constitutionally infringe on the rights of the individual, and (2) when the individual can seek involvement of international human rights bodies, if national mechanisms are dissatisfactory. These procedures result in a relationship between the state and the individual that is based on mutual trust.

Secondly, a democracy provides for social welfare, meaning that the state grants financial support in cases where citizens do not have the ability to earn their living. This financial security ensures that impoverished individuals are entitled to state support and as long as individuals within a society are content, social uprisings will be rare.

Lastly, democracies are based on accountability. The electoral process gives the individual tools to influence and in some way control the development of policies and law according to their individual needs, through their appointed leaders. Individuals are safer as they actively take part in matters of food as well as financial and social security.

4. Concluding remarks

Humans are not perfect, nor are democracies. But a democracy does at least enhance safety on two levels. Externally it restricts the state from taking violent actions against other countries. Internally it is designed to protect the individual against actions that would violate a person's dignity, human rights and equality in relation to others. Democracies do not fight each other, and have therefore been able to come together and create supranational and international organizations that are protecting the fundamental rights of the citizens of all democracies, hence making the world a safer place.

That being said, democracy per se is not bringing world peace in an instant and does not create a total absence of conflicts, but one should remember a quote by Winston Churchill, who after having lost the election of 1947 said: "Democracy is the worst form of government, except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time."



Muhammad As'ad
(Indonesia)



Elena Beganu (Romania)



Matthias Mayr (Germany)



Martyna Panczak (Poland)

Opposition: Democracy does not make the world safer

Working Group Members: Muhammad As'ad (Indonesia), Elena Beganu (Romania), Matthias Mayr (Germany), Martyna Panczak (Poland), Nora Rafea (Egypt), Olivier Schmitt-Navarin (France), Astar Yadid (Israel).

1. Definitions

1.1. Security

Democracy does not make the world safer. Safety does not only encompass physical security, the absence of active violence against one's body, but also includes passive and structural components. The security to have something to eat every day, the security to be able to go to school, or to be safe from natural disasters like tsunamis or droughts are just some examples from a wide range of meanings associated with the term security. The security of the individual, human security, is unfortunately directly and indirectly endangered by many democracies in the world. (...)

1.2. Democracy

Democracy cannot ensure the security of the world since democratization is an open-ended process that creates different kinds of democracies and not every country that refers to itself as a democracy enjoys the advantages of a western style democracy. In fact, many states remain in the early stages of democratization and suffer from several defects while still being referred to as a democracy. Rightly so, these states are frequently labeled as “defective democracies”.

2. Democracies and economic insecurities

In addition, democracies can destroy social welfare and contribute to economic insecurity. Therefore, they create a more dangerous world for individuals.

As several analysts have emphasized, the foreign policy agenda of liberal democracies is intrinsically related to the promotion of neo-liberal measures, such as deregulation, free trade or reform of the State structures and the financial sector. This agenda is often implemented at the expense of local populations in recipient states, which are forced to adapt to such measures. Accordingly, «democracy promotion» is often a justification for a more violent and costly economic agenda and this «shock doctrine» has had disastrous effects on local populations and local well-being in recent years. Naomi Klein, for instance, calls the tendency of democracies to use catastrophic events, such as natural disasters or wars, as opportunities for making money by «disaster capitalism». She argues that democracies wait for destructions, or sometimes even provoke them, to create new profit opportunities.

The financial crisis is a clear-cut example for a major destabilization created by liberal democracies that brought economic insecurity to their own populations as well as to people all over the world. Would one therefore say that democracies make the world safer anyway? On the contrary, it can be argued that they have even made the world more dangerous for a huge number of people who lost their homes, their jobs, their entire lives, thanks to the democratic / neo-liberal agenda.

It is in this respect how democracies contribute greatly to economic insecurity, due to their strong advocacy for the neo-liberal system. And even though this is obviously an extreme case, one has to be aware that it is also part of the democratic agenda. It may hurt some people's democratic feelings, but still we should think twice before asserting that democracies make the world safer. Sometimes they make daily life much more insecure for individuals.

3. The imposition/promotion of the democratic paradigm

Regardless of the ethics and rationale behind their actions, democracies can engender destabilization and violence by the imposition of their democratic paradigm on others.

Following the general consensus that good governance is the product of democracy and the belief that democratic organizations within countries encourage good relations between them, democracies are supposed to have a propensity to deal and associate with each other and favor exporting their mode of governance. This propensity does not make the world safer on both the active and passive understanding of this argument.

Some people argue that a war declared by a democracy is always better than one declared by an autocracy. Yet, the examples of Afghanistan and Iraq show the contrary and prove that democracies do not make the world safer. The 'West' fights these wars to promote its mode of governance and the dramatic and ongoing consequences following the military interventions stand as counterevidence for its supposedly benign aims of merely bringing about peace. The political instability, lack of local ownership and empowerment, as well as the general decline of security (i.e. the increase in number of attacks) argue in favor of the negative impact of democracies' imposition of their own ideology for global security.

In the same way, trying to impose the democratic model of government in the Balkans by encouraging the principle of self-determination in the Former Yugo-



Nora Rafea (Egypt)



Olivier Schmitt-Navarin (France)



Astar Yadid (Israel)

slav Republic worsened the severe instability of the multi-ethnic region and failed to bring about a peaceful and stable order.

Hence, democracies do not make the world safer because they fail to stand up for the principles they represent, namely protecting citizens and valuing human lives on a global level. Following this algorithm, the failings to intervene decisively in the Rwandan genocide to prevent the killing of more than 800,000 people or in Srebrenica, where 8000 men were massacred, made western democracies passive accomplices of these atrocities.

To sum up, from a fact-based perspective on the violent consequences of the forceful imposition of democracy, democracies do both actively and passively jeopardize human security on a global scale.

4. Global/Supra-national accountability

Winston Churchill once said that “democracy is the worst form of governance, except for all those other forms that have been tried from time to time.” He is both very right and very wrong at the same time. This is because Churchill forgot to mention one aspect.

On an international and inter-governmental level, democracies are not performing very differently than any non-democratic state: they are rational actors driven by national interests and office-seeking politicians.

Every nation state strives for resources, be it highly capitalist countries like Switzerland or poor and agricultural states like Mali. The national leaders need these resources to consolidate their power within their countries – either through getting re-elected, or paying the National Guard enough to be protected against attacks from the opposition.

Democracies do not make the world safer since every democratic nation state is an exclusive concept that results in the creation of insecurities and inequalities for the people who are not citizens of this particular state. (...) Political elites throughout the world tend to focus on national constituencies rather than the global good to the benefit of all.

Democracy, organized on the national level only, remains an exclusive concept. While consolidating prosperity, security and freedom in the countries of the North, it leaves out many parts of the world, that suffer from environmental insecurity, food insecurity, health insecurity and religious insecurity. (...)

Democracy as an exclusive concept for a few does not make the world safer. It is not only undemocratic in a global sense but leads to envy, hatred and bloodshed as do authoritarian regimes. Until supra-national structures are created, representing the entire global society – from Beijing to Nairobi and New Delhi to Istanbul, inward-looking national democracies deepen the already existing dividing lines and hence contribute to global insecurity.

5. Necessary preconditions

Sustainable and broadly distributed economic growth is one of the necessary preconditions for the evolution of a democratic system. Otherwise, the poor may be exploited by elitist rulers who are able to take advantage of their vulnerabilities. In addition, a certain level of economic prosperity guarantees an acceptable level of human security. People should achieve their basic human needs before having the privilege to vote. What is the significance of elections or voting if the people do not have access to food, shelter, and clothing? How does democracy serve them? And most importantly, how can a democratic system operate in a society that is deprived of the basic human needs that guarantee long-term physical well being? The fact that people in poor countries have to struggle for their survival makes democracy an absurd term that would make their world more unsafe.

Democracy cannot blossom in nation states with a high level of illiteracy and ignorance. Ignorance does not serve the people on any level but produces rulers and structures that hinder the potential development of any individual. It can also lead to the waste of many lives, as the significant number of human beings that have died before, during or short after democratic elections illustrates. The world today and past experiences tell us that education with its comprehensive meaning is the most important source for producing informed citizens who can develop their countries and protect the world from misinformed decisions that threaten every human being.

Lastly, the imposition of a democratic system on a state that does not have strong institutions will lead to further instability. A lack of good governance, absence of the rule of law, the prevalence of corruption, nepotism and other systemic disabilities are fundamental obstacles to democracy as an organizing principle for governance and society. Moreover, the lack of strong institutions can even turn the country towards autocracy. (...).

6. Belligerent leaders

Democracy does not make the world safer since such a system is incapable of preventing the rise of belligerent leaders. Democracy cannot promise to protect its people from irrational leaders that lead the country into a disaster. Even within a democratic system, a leader can mislead its voters and does not have to act according to his pre-election promises once he or she is in power. Democratic leaders are able to manipulate their voters and use democratic methods to pass racist laws and to engage their country in an unnecessary war or military operation. Once in power, a leader has many competences that can be used unwisely and may harm the citizens of its country. This point is crucial since it is also almost impossible to replace him, during his or her official term.

In addition, a belligerent leader may enjoy the support of a large part of society that believes in an extremist ideology. In fact, this is not only problematic in case a single belligerent leader takes over power but also for the coming into power of a whole group of extremist politicians that will not support human rights, equal rights for women, peaceful means to solve conflicts etc. (...)

Several recent examples, like the victory of Hamas in the democratic elections in the Palestinian territories in 2006, demonstrate that democracy cannot prevent extreme, racist and violent movements from coming to power and causing insecurity in the respective region.,. Even though it may deliver basic social services, Hamas also violates human rights and rejects basic democratic principles. The Palestinian elections led to a division between Hamas and Fatah and further complicated the political situation in the region instead of bringing about democracy. Moreover, we witness the empowerment of right wing parties all over the world, such as the Front National in France, the FPÖ in Austria, and Israel Beytenu of Lieberman in Israel, parties whose constructive role for democracy, security and stability is questionable.

Conventional wisdom might suggest at first sight that democracies make the world a safer place. However, it is not as simple as that. Democracies can also destroy global social welfare, contribute to economic insecurity and therefore assist in creating a more insecure world for individuals. Such developments may be caused by the foreign policy agendas of liberal democracies that are intrinsically related to the promotion of neo-liberal measures causing inflated food prices in Haiti, inhuman working conditions in NIKE factories and forcing children to support their families from a very early age.

Subsequently, atrocities are committed in the name of democracy to promote absolute Western values. Democracies actively engender destabilization and violence by imposing the infallible democratic paradigm as a universal mode of governance, as has been done in Afghanistan or Iraq.

Moreover, democracies passively fail to stand up for the principles they represent, closing the eyes from saving lives at the global level. The Rwandan and Bosnian genocide could have been prevented, but they weren't.

Democracies focus on their own national interest as much as any other form of government does and fail to promote a globally inclusive system of freedom, prosperity and peace. There is a clear distinction between belonging to a northern democracy and being a citizen of the south. These are double standards that create human suffering and a culture of insecurity all around the world. As long as nationality comes before humanity, democracies are not only not contributing to world safety but are fostering human insecurity.



Lively discussion during a working group session



Yasser Abbas (Egypt)



Pırl Akin (Turkey)



Koussay Boulaich (Spain)



Jovan Ivanov (Serbia)

Debate 2: Democracy cannot be imposed

Proposition: Democracy cannot be imposed

Working Group Members: Yasser Abbas (Egypt), Pırl Akin (Turkey), Koussay Boulaich (Spain), Jovan Ivanov (Serbia), Antara Mitra (India), Sarah Siemens (USA), Adam Werner (Israel)

The imposition of democracy has failed in the past and is destined to fail in the future for a variety of reasons that rest on the definition of democracy and the resulting contradiction in successful imposition. Imposition in this case is the means to lay the burden of duty without consent or cooperation on an indigent people of an un-democratized society. The culture and scope of democracy is similarly different in every country and needs to be addressed locally. The basic tenants of democracy are rule of law, the freedom of choice and accountability, values that would be undermined by an outside force or an uneven application of democratic values by a local elite without consent of the population. Imposition breeds contempt, which de-legitimizes not only the foreign power, but also the very idea of democracy in that country. The imposition of democracy has failed in Iraq, Afghanistan, Cuba, Venezuela, China, Vietnam, Iran and elsewhere. While democracy is still the best form of government because of its inclusive system and the freedoms it ensures, it needs to be promoted and instituted by the local populace. Democracy can only take hold if it is a bottom-up, grassroots movement that promotes civil society creation and education. There needs to be economic growth and development and cooperation between elites and the local population in order to ensure strong, effective institutions.

There is a clear distinction between a humanitarian and security intervention, which is sometimes necessary to save human lives and ensure vital stability, and the imposition of democracy. The US invasion of Kuwait in 1991, an un-democratized society, did not end in occupation and imposition of democratic institutions. Sadly, this was not the case in the Second Iraq war, which started in 2003.

Iraq may have been a vile autocratic state to begin with. However, its capabilities have deteriorated significantly since the US led invasion, one of whose aim was to promote and impose democracy in the country. The imposition by foreign powers has caused resentment and violence by empowering nationalist splinter groups. Sectarian violence has torn the country apart, destabilized the entire Middle East region and, ironically, empowered Iran to become the region's major power. Democracy cannot take hold in Iraq by foreign imposition; security and stability are preconditions for an active participation of the people.

Afghanistan is another example of a failure to impose democracy. Barack Obama probably said it best in his speech in Cairo, calling on the Muslim world to free itself and emphasizing that the future of Afghanistan must be civilian and not military.

Furthermore, democracy should be rooted within the context of the local culture, and an imposition of an alien model, whether it be democracy or any other form of governance is doomed to fail, and may possibly offset bloodshed. “Democracy should come as a natural development of a country’s politics, it has to be home-grown,” as Prof. Wolfgang Merkel pointed out in his presentation on the first day of the summer school: “You need to have demand as much as supply to have a democracy, and unfortunately we tend to forget that”—therefore, it cannot be imposed against the will of the indigenous population.

Moreover, the imposition of democracy runs the risk of creating a polarization between democratic and non-democratic countries, further giving those undemocratic countries a reason to consolidate on a common goal: resentment to “the West,” and a developed nation. A binary composition of confrontation between nations of the world is a powder keg that will inevitably explode either internally within the threatened countries or in the form of radicalized terrorism. Therefore, history showed us that imposition is not only ineffectual, but can turn lethal, potentially shaking the foundations of the international system built on consensus building and strategic trade-offs.

Some of the best methods to promote democracy are practiced by the European Union, the largest development actor in the world. One of the most important tools is the human rights clause, which prevents the EU from trading with countries that violate human rights as an incentive to make countries more democratic without imposing in a physical way. Economic incentives are one of the cornerstones of democracy promotion without the traditional sense of imposition. Other democracy promotion tools are election observation as well as traditional peace building missions. We have seen these forms of cooperative democracy building take effect in Central Asia, Georgia and South Africa.

To summarize, we noted a quote by Barack Obama in his Cairo speech which not only cites the failure of the Bush doctrine of democracy imposition, but also exemplifies the change in approaches since Obama came into office: “No matter where it takes hold, government of the people and by the people sets a single standard for all who hold power. You must maintain your power through consent not coercion, you must respect the rights of minorities and participate with a spirit of tolerance and compromise.”



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Opposition: Democracy can be imposed

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1. Introduction

Democracy can be imposed, because it is the best form of governance we know and the best way to deal with human rights violations and global security problems. It ensures that human security and prosperity works for and not against the people, and represents their interests. It has such a powerful moral value, because even dictatorships claim to be democratic and to represent the people, but only democracy is dedicated to ensuring the life, liberty and safety of free people.

2. Inevitable cases for imposing democracy

Sovereignty is a principle that should be respected mutually. However, sovereignty is meant to serve the people and not to be used as a tyrannical instrument of a ruling elite. Thus, sovereign nations which suppress their own people are not legitimate, and it is very much justified and in accordance with international law and universal moral principles to intervene in those states on humanitarian grounds. The international community holds the mandate to impose democracy in such societies so that people can enjoy the rights they are entitled with.

However, the direct hard line approach including military means remains the last option if all other civil and diplomatic efforts have been exhausted. In cases of genocide and if international security is seriously threatened the international community has a responsibility to protect. Case studies that underline this argument are Rwanda, the former Yugoslavia and currently Darfur (Sudan).

But we cannot impose democracy by force alone as proven in the ongoing situation in Iraq. Democratic imposition by military intervention has to be followed by active promotion of civil society. Therefore, a successful and sustainable democracy imposition requires a combination of both the direct hard line approach and the indirect soft line approach. Based on the historical evidence of previous attempts to impose democracy, it must be emphasized that the process should be long term, and prior to the start of any military intervention a clear strategy is necessary to ensure the inclusion of civil society in the democratic process. This includes institutional capacity building, development aid, civil society empowerment, support of local initiatives and grassroots movements, cooperation and dialogue.

3. Democracy as the best model for solving global challenges

Nowadays the world is facing new global challenges like large scale poverty, migration and climate change. These challenges require global solutions and therefore cooperation is needed which is better delivered by democratic regimes that are likely to share the same values and the same commitment to cooperation. For instance, there is a historical record that democracies do not engage in wars with each other. Furthermore, democratic regimes are more prone to respond to civil society pressure, that might, for example, emerge through groups, which promote environmental protection, and to tackle social inequalities, which are the root cause of problems such as illegal migration. We need to solve the causes of these problems on the local level, not their consequences on the global level. We have to take common proactive actions.

Secondly, in dictatorships local initiatives do not have the political space to emerge and participate in political and social life. In these cases external pressure can facilitate the allocation of more space for grassroots movements. The autocratic rulers use force and violence to control and suppress such initiatives thus it will take a considerable time for a strong opposition to emerge from within and be successful. Hence a combination of external means together with empowered internal actors supports the case for the imposition of democracy when necessary.

Moreover, democracies also promote a market economy which is based on equal and fair competition. In contrast, dictatorships not only restrict political participation, but also monopolize economic resources or opt for a command and state controlled economy. Following this logic it is not surprising that economies in democratic states perform better and that they provide more social benefits such as pensions, health care and education. Consequently they reduce social tensions resulting from extreme poverty and social inequality.

Another argument in favor of democracy imposition is the rescue of failing states. We have to take into account that states, which are already fragile, will become even more unstable when affected by climate catastrophes and migration waves. These fragile states are not able to deal with migration waves, poverty and climate change on their own and pose a threat to international security.

4. Terrorism and proliferation of Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD) as major threats

Terrorism is a major threat to all states and all human beings since terrorists can strike at any time and at any place. Terrorist attacks are ultimately addressed



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against universal core values such as the rule of law, the protection of civilians, mutual respect between people of different faiths and cultures and peaceful conflict resolution. These notions can only be ensured through world wide democracy promotion, because terrorism breeds in societies that lack these values. Corrupt and authoritarian regimes are not interested in promoting accountable democratic systems, but impose closed systems in which terrorists can recruit many supporters. The imposition of a democratic system hinders extremism by opening the political arena for non-violent conflict resolution.

Kofi Annan, in his address to the Madrid summit 2005, mentioned 5 D's to curb terrorism among which 2 D's are of highest importance in this context: developing the capacity of states to prevent terrorism and defending human rights. These notions, again, can only be ensured by promoting democracy in those states. This helps to prevent the prevalence of frustration in those societies, the latter being the main cause of terrorism.

Another very alarming issue is the possession and proliferation of WMD, since also non-democratic states are holding such weapons while being less responsible towards global security and peace than democracies. Hence, in order to ensure global security we need to promote democracy in those countries. How could we tolerate such authoritarian regimes to threaten other states by being able to simply wipe them off? As Spanish Prime Minister José Luis Zapatero put it correctly: "Tomorrow 1,200 babies will be born in Spain and 1.8 million in the whole world. Let us think of them, let us think of offering them a bright and safer future."

5. Closing remarks

To oppose the motion, one can focus on direct as well as indirect democracy imposition.

Direct democracy imposition can be used by the international community as a last resort. In 1945 we were late in choosing to act and could have prevented the extermination of 6 million Jews if there had been earlier action. Should we not better have imposed democracy earlier? In 1994 we again failed to act and prevent the mass genocide of 800,000 Rwandese people. Right now in Darfur, thousands and thousands have died and continue to die. Can one say that, because they are a sovereign nation, we should not impose democracy? One can also consider cases where democracy has been imposed, like in former Yugoslavia. What would have happened there if the international community had not intervened? Or imagine Japan without the invasion during WWII and the following imposi-

tion of democracy. Would Japan nevertheless have the 2nd largest economy in the world with free people who live in peace and prosperity?

On the other hand it can also be fruitful to use the indirect soft approach of democracy promotion, for example by empowering civil society. The opposition group has argued that democracy has to be promoted from the grassroots level. That is all well and good, but what about states that refuse to heed the voice of the people? Look at Thailand and Burma for example, where people protest but the state refuses to act. What about the threat to international security that terrorism poses? Should we wait for Iran and North Korea to develop and use WMD against Israel?

What is democracy but the pursuit of peace, security and freedom for all people. We live in a world where we are faced with fear, insecurity, vulnerability and uncertainty. A world where there is light and darkness. We have come to recognize and accept that the democratic model is the only choice that guarantees peace and security.

The question is, if we shall act or wait to react. During the G8-Summit on July 9, 2009, President Obama put it clearly: “We can either shape our future, or we can let events shape it for us!”

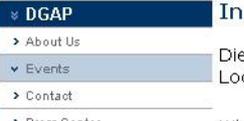


Lively discussion in DGAP's garden

The Summer School Online and in the Press

During the Summer School a blog was posted every second day on the DGAP web site both in German and English. It informed about current events and featured summaries of the lectures, debates and social activities. It can be found in the archive of DGAP events under: <http://en.dgap.org/dgap/events/archive/between/2009-7-01/2009-8-01/>.

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Press Center Contact Imprint German Font size - +		Search <input type="text"/> <input type="button" value="Go!"/>
DGAP > About Us > Events > Contact > Press Center > How to reach us > Research Institute > Journal IP > Library and Documentation Center > Publications	International Summer School: Day 1 - Twice around the world Montag 06. Juli 12:00 - 19:30 Location: DGAP, Berlin <p>Can democracy be exported? Can the democratization process that took place in Central and Eastern Europe 20 years ago be emulated in the Middle East? Does increased democratization improve the global security situation? The 13th International Summer School will address these and similar questions in the coming 12 days in the context of the event's umbrella theme „Reconsidering Democratization and Security: Linkages, Lessons Learned and Prospects for the Future“. 29 participants from 22 countries will discuss aspects of security and democracy from July 6 to 17 and have travelled a total of 90.000km – twice the circumference of the earth – to come to Berlin as Christian Hänel, representative of the Robert Bosch Stiftung mentioned in his introductory remarks.</p> <p>Subsequently, Dr. Pavol Demeš, head of the Bratislava office of the German Marshall Fund, gave his keynote speech on “20 Years After the Fall of the Berlin Wall: Taking Stock of Two Decades of Democratization“. In his speech</p> 	Event calendar: Angriff oder Verteidigung? Völkerrechts- und Menschenrechtsverletzungen Zum Konflikt zwischen Georgien und Russland Mittwoch 30. September 19:00 - 21:00 DGAP, Berlin 20 Jahre Freiheit, 1989 – 2009 Donnerstag 01. Oktober 18:00 - 20:00 DGAP, Berlin Buchpräsentation: Kampf der Emotionen Dienstag 06. Oktober 18:30 - 20:00 DGAP, Berlin DGAPforum NRW: Der erste Riss in der Mauer, September 1989 Ungarn öffnet die Grenze - Berichte und Analysen aus der Sicht von Zeitzeugen Dienstag 06. Oktober 19:00 - 21:30 Staatskanzlei NRW, Düsseldorf

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Press Center Contact Imprint German Font size - +		Search <input type="text"/> <input type="button" value="Go!"/>
DGAP > About Us > Events > Contact > Press Center > How to reach us > Research Institute > Journal IP > Library and Documentation Center > Publications	International Summer School: Day 7 & 8 Dienstag 14. Juli 10:00 - Mittwoch 15. 18:00 Location: DGAP, Berlin <p>Which role does the US play in democratization processes? Are top-down or bottom-up approaches more favorable? And what is the role of institutions such as the OSCE and the EU in the realm of democracy assistance? On Thursday participants and lecturers discussed various actors, their agendas and democratization efforts. While Prof. Dr. Gale Mattox from the US Naval Academy focused on external democracy promotion and its inherent limits, Ivana Howard from the National Endowment for Democracy gave an insight into the role of civil society for instilling sustainable democratic values in a country, drawing particularly on her experience and field research in Bosnia and Herzegovina.</p> <p>She identified the lack of donor cooperation and the problem of supply- rather demand-driven assistance as one of the main obstacles to effective democracy promotion from below, and clearly distinguished “grassroots movements” from “astroturf organizations“. Bob Deen from</p> 	Event calendar: Angriff oder Verteidigung? Völkerrechts- und Menschenrechtsverletzungen Zum Konflikt zwischen Georgien und Russland Mittwoch 30. September 19:00 - 21:00 DGAP, Berlin 20 Jahre Freiheit, 1989 – 2009 Donnerstag 01. Oktober 18:00 - 20:00 DGAP, Berlin Buchpräsentation: Kampf der Emotionen Dienstag 06. Oktober 18:30 - 20:00 DGAP, Berlin DGAPforum NRW: Der erste Riss in der Mauer, September 1989 Ungarn öffnet die Grenze - Berichte und Analysen aus der Sicht von Zeitzeugen Dienstag 06. Oktober 19:00 - 21:30 Staatskanzlei NRW, Düsseldorf

DGAP's 13th International Summer School also received very positive media coverage. One example is an article in Germany's monthly diplomatic magazine *Diplomatisches Magazin*. It can be downloaded under: <http://www.diplomatisches-magazin.de/DM-mediadata/DM_09-09.pdf>.

Internationale Beziehungen



Mehr Demokratie wagen? Taking a chance on more democracy?

Studenten aus aller Welt diskutieren in Berlin über politische Mitbestimmung und Sicherheit
Students from all parts of the world discuss political co-determination and security in Berlin

Text: Annette Kaiser

Kurz bevor Mohammad aus Ägypten ins Flugzeug nach Berlin stieg, erreichte ihn der Anruf seiner besorgten Mutter: „Glaubst du wirklich, dass du in Deutschland sicher bist?“, hat sie ihn gefragt. Nur wenige Tage zuvor war eine junge Ägypterin in einem Gerichtssaal in Dresden ermordet worden. Nach seinem Aufenthalt bei der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik (DGAP) in Berlin kann der Politikstudent aus Kairo die Frage klar mit „Ja“ beantworten: „Ich habe gelernt, dass Deutschland eine tolerante und multikulturelle Gesellschaft ist.“

Wie Mohammad bietet die „Internationale Sommerschule“ der DGAP rund 30 jungen Teilnehmern aus Europa, Norda-

merika, Asien, Afrika und dem Nahen Osten jedes Jahr die Gelegenheit, miteinander in Kontakt zu treten und das Gastland besser kennenzulernen. Ziel dieses Projekts, das vom Programm „International Forum on Strategic Thinking“ organisiert und von der Robert Bosch Stiftung finanziert wird, ist die Bildung eines Netzwerks aus Politikstudenten, die künftig zu den Entscheidungsträgern in ihren Ländern gehören werden. „Wir wollen Angehörige von Staaten zusammenzuführen, die sich sonst kaum begegnen würden“, sagt Programmleiter David Bosold. Vom 6. bis zum 17. Juli 2009 trafen sich zum Beispiel Pakistaner, Inder, Palästinenser, Israelis, Russen und Georgier, um sich mit dem Thema „Demokratisierung und Sicher-

heit“ zu beschäftigen. Dabei diskutierten sie über Fragen, die sie und ihre Heimatländer betreffen: Fördert oder verschärft Demokratisierung die Sicherheitslage? Sind Demokratie und Islam vereinbar? Welche Mindeststandards müssen erfüllt sein, damit wir überhaupt von einer Demokratie sprechen können? Ziel war es, über alle religiösen, ethnischen, kulturellen und politischen Grenzen hinweg gemeinsame Lösungen zu entwickeln. Die Teilnehmer bewarben sich auf Empfehlung eines Experten in ihren Ländern – z. B. Universitätsprofessoren. „Durch unsere Kontakte und Reisen in die Zielländer erhalten wir Einblicke in das Denken der Menschen und gewinnen neue Partner für unsere Nachwuchsförderung“, sagt Pro-

Alumni

Through its annual International Summer Schools and New Faces Conferences, the International Forum on Strategic Thinking aspires to build a network of young professionals and scholars actively engaged in the field of foreign and security policy. After successful completion of the DGAP International Summer School, participants thus join the Forum's Alumni network of currently approximately 750 Alumni worldwide. Summer School Alumni may recommend future participants, and may themselves apply directly to participate in a New Faces Conference later on in their careers. They are also invited to take part in the Forum's tri-annual Alumni conference, receive regular newsletters and may make use of the Forum's Alumni database, which facilitates professional networking and exchange.



The screenshot shows a web page for the DGAP Alumni database. At the top, the DGAP logo and the full name 'Deutsche Gesellschaft für Auswärtige Politik e.V.' are displayed. Below this is a navigation bar with links for 'Press Center', 'Contact', and 'Imprint'. The main content area features a profile for Rana Gaber. On the left, a vertical menu lists various DGAP programs and groups, with 'Global Challenges Program Group' selected. The profile itself includes the name 'Rana Gaber', her affiliation 'Cairo University, Faculty of Economics and Political Science', her participation in 'Summer School 2008', her email 'rana.gaber@gmail.com', and her fields of interest: 'Conflict prevention, transatlantic Relations'. There is also a 'CV: Click to open' link and a photo of Rana Gaber. At the bottom of the profile, there is an 'About' section with a text box and a 'Back' link.

One example of a profile within the Alumni database



Participants of the 13th International Summer School in front of the former Berlin wall

Impressum

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