

Promoting Democracy in the Post-Communist World Should We? Can We?

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In the U.S. Today, the Answer Is No: Bush's Liberty Doctrine Under Assault

- Results Few
 - Iraq, Afghanistan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia
 - Reversals
 - Where Success, little evidence of Bush actions (Georgia 2003, Ukraine 2004, Lebanon 2005)
 - Are More People living in democratic countries today than in 2001? No
- International Backlash (Russia, Iran, Venezuela)
- Criticism from Elites
 - Return of Realists- (Democrats and Republicans)
 - Buchanan and "The Nation" Isolationists
 - Democratic and Republican presidential candidates
- Attacks from Academia
 - Democracy does not reduce terrorism
 - Democratization leads to increased conflict
- Popular Support Low
 - 55% Republicans support "democracy promotion"
 - 13% Democrats support policy
 - More Support in Europe than in U.S.

Debate Is As Old as the USA

Realism versus Liberalism
(Isolation vs. Engagement)

Multiple Fronts of Realist-Liberal Debate

- **Between Presidential Administrations**
 - Nixon to Carter
- **Within Presidential Administrations**
 - Bureaucracies
 - Department of Defense versus AID
 - Individuals
- **Presidents vs Parliaments/Civil Society**
 - Nixon versus Senator “Scoop” Jackson
 - Pre-9-11 Bush versus Neocons
 - George H.W. Bush versus NDI (in USSR)
- **Within Individual Leaders**
 - Bush– Iraq versus Saudi Arabia
 - Cheney—Russia versus Kazakhstan

Promoting Democracy Never Highest Priority

- National security, narrowly defined (bases, allies)
- Raw materials access
- Economic interests
- “Stability”
- Democracy

Should The U.S. Promote Democracy?

YES

- Moral Reasons
- Economic Reasons
- Security Reasons

Moral Reasons

“No one pretends that democracy is perfect or all-wise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of Government except all those others that have been tried from time to time.”

Winston Churchill

Governance Advantages

- Democracies are better at protecting basic human rights.
 - Liberalism and Democracy Correlate (Freedom House)
- Democracies are better at constraining the power of the state.
 - Democracies do not starve their people or commit genocide
- Democracies are better at representing the will of the people.
- Democracies Do Not Fight Each Other.
- Democracies are More Stable.
 - Less prone to coups
 - Have mechanism for transferring power

Economic Advantages

- Democratic Institutions Constrain a Predatory State
 - Better at Securing Property Rights
 - Holds Taxes Down
 - Controls Corruption
 - Parliament
 - Opposition party
 - Independent media

Economic Advantages

- Political Stability Facilitates Growth
 - Democracy facilitates stability
 - Have an orderly method of handing over power
 - Autocracies do not
 - Latin America vs United States
- Democratic Leaders Need to Produce Economic Results to Stay in Power
 - Autocratic leaders have to please only a sub-set of the population
 - Democracies Learn
 - Can adjust policy, stop failed policies

Democracy and Growth

- In Aggregate, Causal Connection Still Poorly Understood
- Democracies are the Tortoises
 - Slower, but steady growth rates
- Autocracies are the Hares and Slugs
 - Some speedsters (China), Some laggards (Zaire)
 - Handful of speedsters, 60 dictatorships with slow growth
 - “the variance in economic growth rates for autocracies is about twice what it is for democracies.” (Bueno de Mesquita & Root, 2000 p. 6)
 - Autocracies twice as likely to experience collapse as democracies (Halperin et al, 2005, p. 17)
 - Average is the same as democracies

Variation Between and within Regions

- East Asia
 - Autocracies have grown faster than rest of world
 - But not in the 1960s: “Pacific Asia’s developing countries had, on average, a lower level of per capita income than their Latin American counterparts in the early 1960s.” (Feng, 2000, p. 173)
 - China under Autocracy did not perform well in 1950-1970s
 - Great Leap Forward, Cultural Revolution
- Post-Communist Eurasia
 - In first decade, fastest democratizers also experienced fastest economic turnarounds
- West Germany versus East Germany

FINAL MORAL REASON

PEOPLE WANT DEMOCRACY

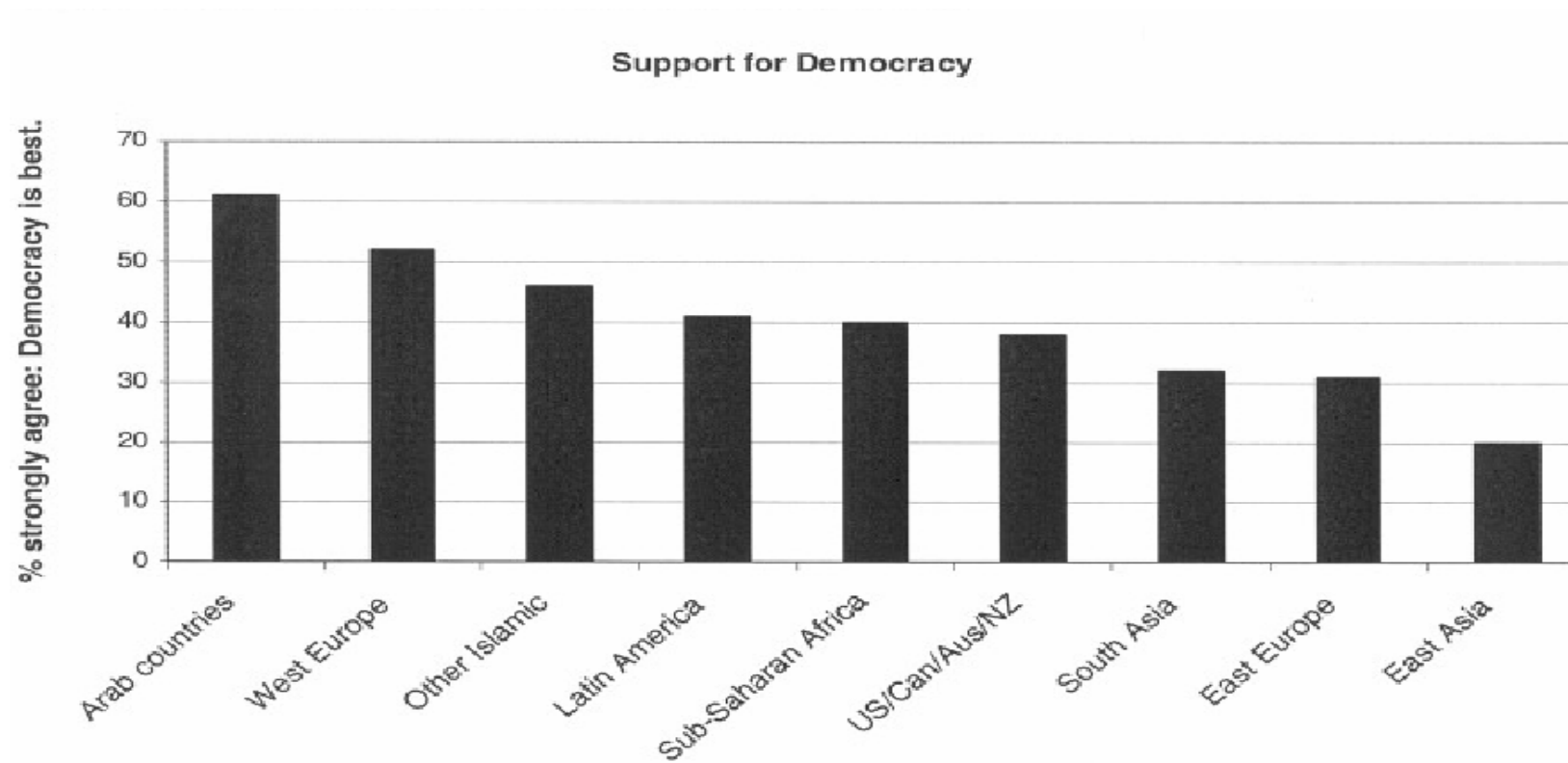
Democracy as Better than the Alternatives (Inglehart, 2005) (%)

Denmark	99	Latvia	89
Bangladesh	98	Peru	89
Egypt	98	Serbia	89
W Germany	97	Turkey	88
Iceland	97	Tanzania	88
Austria	97	Algeria	88
Greece	97	U.S.	87
Netherlands	96	Canada	87
Uruguay	96	Australia	87
Azerbaijan	96	Belarus	87
Croatia	96	El Salvador	87
Morocco	96	Zimbabwe	87
Norway	95	New Zealand	87
Albania	95	S Africa	86
Luxemburg	95	Georgia	86
Italy	94	Bulgaria	84
N Ireland	94	Taiwan	84
Sweden	94	Slovakia	84
Malta	94	Hungary	83
France	93	Brazi	83
Ireland	93	Ukraine	83
Czech Rep	93	Chile	82
E Germany	93	Pakistan	82
Venezuela	93	Macedonia	81
Dominican Rep	93	Mexico	80
Uganda	93	Philippines	79
Belgium	92	Kyrgyzstan	78
Spain	92	Britain	78
Japan	92	Romania	78
India	92	Moldova	78
Montenegro	92	Saudi Arabia	74
Bosnia	92	Armenia	73
Argentina	91	Vietnam	72
Finland	91	Indonesia	71
S Korea	91	Iran	69
Switzerland	91	Russia	62
Puerto Rico	91	Nigeria	45
Lithuania	91		
Slovenia	90		
China	90		
Estonia	90		
Jordan	90		
Poland	89		

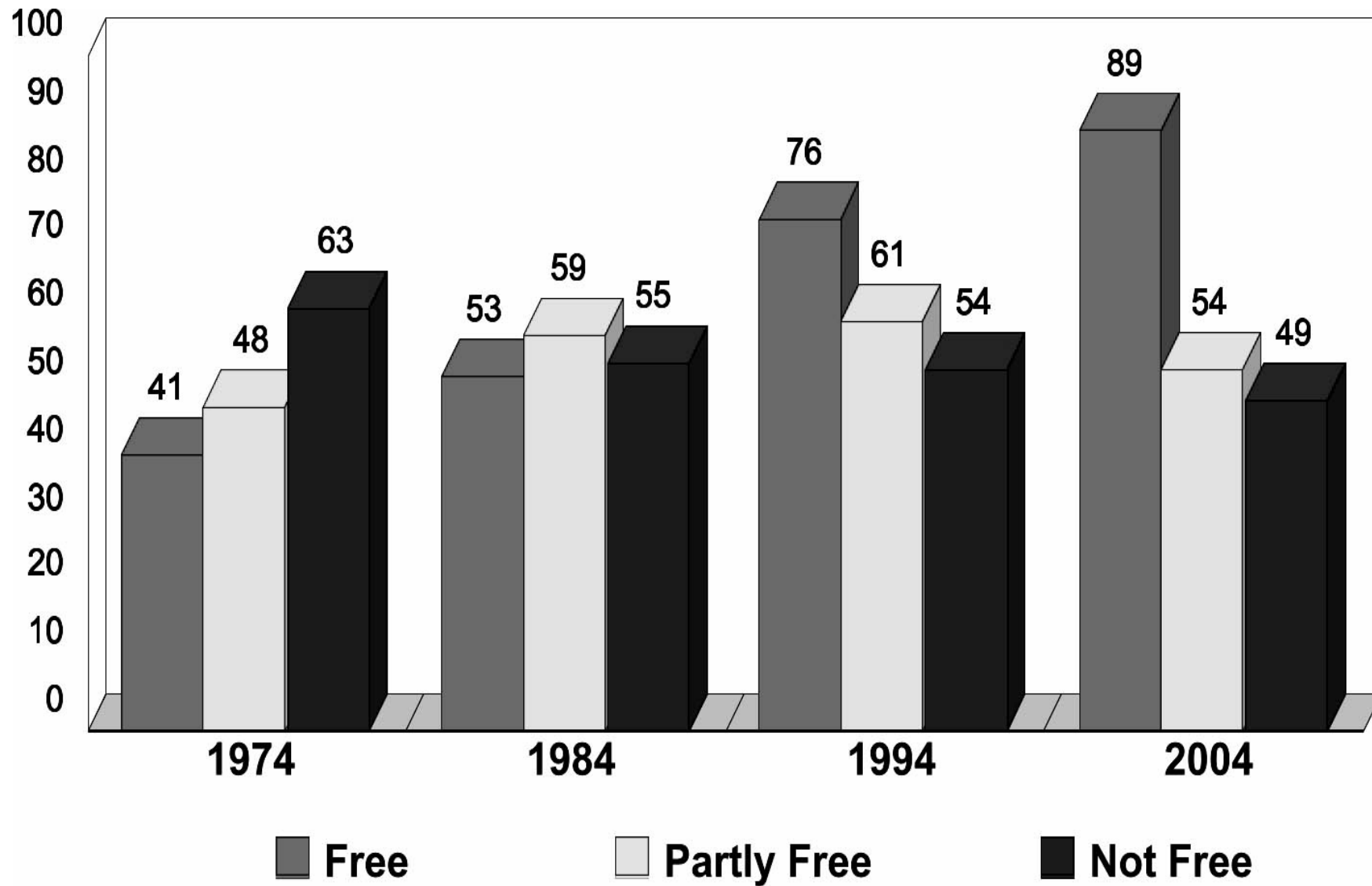
Source: Data from most recent Values Survey (the 1999-2002 wave for most countries, from the 1995-96 wave for Uruguay, Azerbaijan, Norway, Dominican Rep., Switzerland, Australia, Georgia, Taiwan, Brazil and Armenia).

Support for Democracy in Nine Cultural Zones

(Inglehart, 2005)



Democracies Increasing



Source: Freedom House, *Freedom in the World 2006*

Economic Reasons

- U.S. is largest economy in world
- U.S. benefits from open markets
- Open markets and democracy go hand in hand
 - Trillion dollar windfall from fall of communism

Security Reasons

- Every enemy of U.S. was/is dictatorship
 - Japan
 - Germany
 - Soviet Union
 - Iran
 - North Korea
- Transformation of autocracies into democracies has made the U.S. Safer
 - Germany
 - Japan
 - Russia
 - Serbia

Security Reasons

- Rising Autocracy Makes U.S. Less Secure
 - Iran
 - Venezuela
 - Russia
 - Threats to allies in Georgia, Ukraine
 - Undermining U.S. in Uzbekistan
 - Unreliable Energy Supplier
 - Unsupportive in Iraq (compare Germany vs Russia)

False Promise of Autocratic Stability

- Autocrats not Long-Term Allies
 - Change Their Minds Quickly
 - Uzbekistan 2005
 - Cannot Stay in Power or Transfer Power Easily
 - Shah in Iran
- Maintaining Regional BOP Not So Easy
 - Iraq-Iran
 - India-Pakistan
 - Cold War not so cold in periphery
- Autocrats Embarrassing Allies
 - Stalin, Shah, Pinochet, Mujahadeen, Saddam Hussein, apartheid regime in South Africa

Can the U.S. Promote Democracy?
Lots of Money and People Trying !

- **FY 2005-- \$1.4 billion**

U.S Actors: Democracy Assistance

- National Endowment for Democracy
 - National Democratic Institute
 - International Republican Institute
 - Solidarity Center/ACILS (AFL-CIO)
 - Center for International Private Enterprise

USAID/DG Implementing Partners

- Abt Associates
- Academy for Educational Development
- ABA/CEELI
- ACILS
- Associates in Rural Development
- Casal& Associates
- Manila Consulting
- Chemonics
- Creative Associates
- DPK Consulting
- Development Alternatives
- Development Associates
- Financial Markets International
- Freedom House
- International City Management Assoc.
- International Development Law
- IFES
- International Republican Institute
- Internews
- Management Sciences for Development
- MSI
- National Center for State Courts
- NDI
- Pact, Inc.
- PADCO
- Research Foundation of Suny
- Research Triangle Institute
- The Urban Institute
- Women's Campaign International
- World Learning

U.S Actors

- Undersecretary for *Democracy* and Global Affairs
- Director of Foreign Assistance (also head of AID)
- Bureau of Education and Cultural Affairs
- Bureau for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor Affairs (DRL)
- Special Coordinator for Assistance to Europe and Eurasia
- Coordinator for Reconstruction and Stabilization
- Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI)
- Media
 - Voice of America
 - Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty
 - Radio Marti
 - Radio Sawa
 - Al-Hurrah
 - Radio Farda

U.S. Actors (democracy and something else)

- Millennium Challenge Corporation
- NSC (Deputy National Security Advisor for global democracy promotion)
- DoD- IMET (International Military Education and Training)
- Department of Justice
- Department of Labor
- Intelligence community

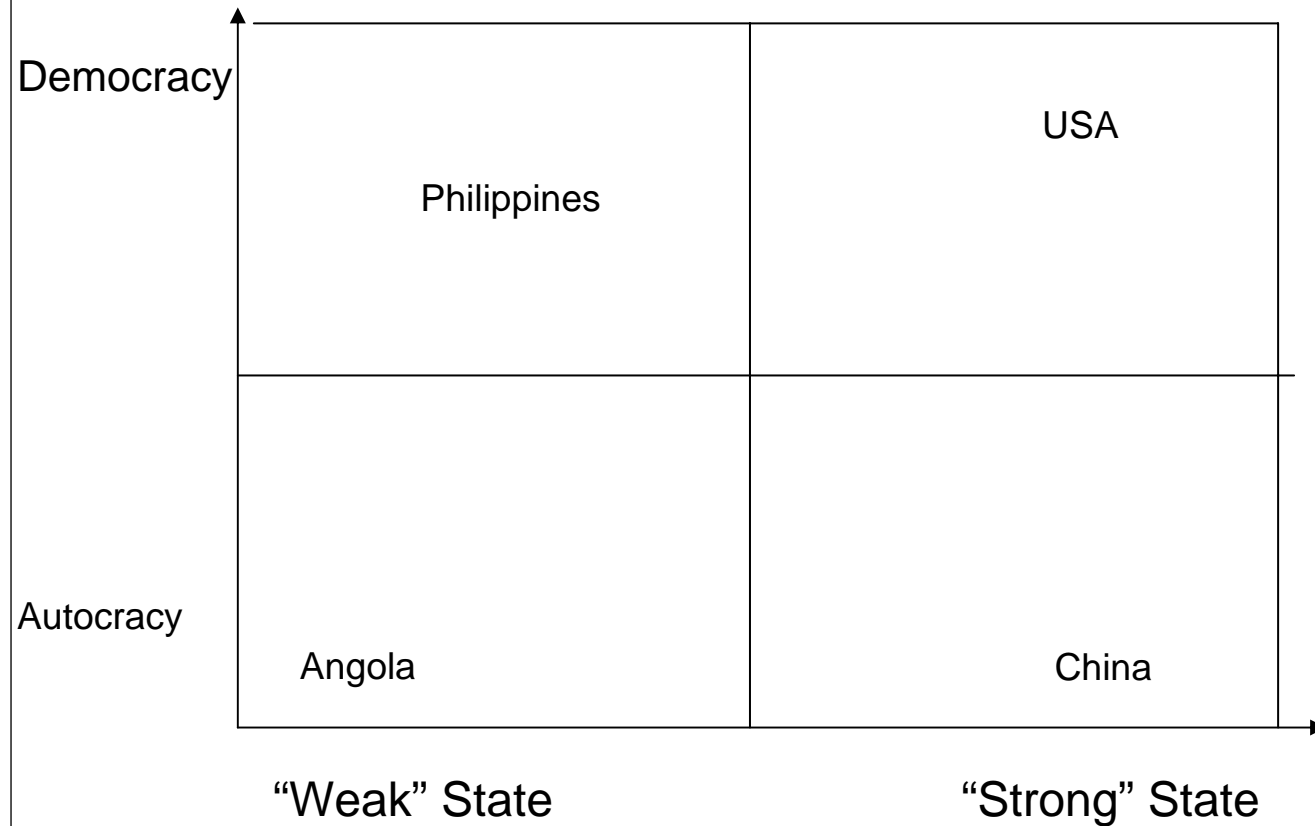
Can the United States Promote Democracy?

- Conceptual Problems
- Policy Problems
- Organizational/Resource Constraints
- Little Learning

Conceptual Problems with U.S. Democracy Promotion

- **No Single Theory of Democratization**
 - Modernization vs. actors
 - Elites vs. masses
 - Growth vs. economic crisis (as trigger)
- **No Agreement on Institutional Design**
 - Presidents vs parliaments?
 - PR vs SMD?
 - Federal vs. Unitary States
- **No Agreement on Sequencing**
 - Sequencing of first elections vs writing constitution
 - National elections first or regional elections first?
 - Sequencing democracy vs economic reform
 - Building states (before democracy?)
 - Does Electoral Democracy Lead to Liberal Democracy?
 - Does Semi-Autocracy Lead to Electoral Democracy?
 - Is Competitive Authoritarianism a Necessary Step between Full-Blown Dictatorship and Democracy?
 - Are Some Types of Autocracy More Conducive to Democratization than Others? (Kirkpatrick thesis)

Building States or Democracy: Regime Type vs. State Capacity



Conceptual Problems with U.S. Democracy Promotion

- No Distinction Between Democratization (End of Autocracy) and Democratic Consolidation
 - Democratization
 - Reducing Stakes of Transition for Autocrats
 - Preventing Revolution
 - Coopting Challengers
 - Increasing Costs of Oppression

Promoting Liberal Democracy: Checklist not a Strategy

- 1. Elected Officials Control the State
- 2. Executive power is constrained by the autonomous power of other government institutions (such as an independent judiciary, parliament, and other mechanisms of horizontal accountability).
- 3. No group that adheres to constitutional principles is denied the right to form a party and contest elections
- 4. Cultural, ethnic, religious, and other minority groups are not prohibited from expressing their interests in the political process or from speaking their language or practicing their culture.
- 5. Civil Society, Political Parties
- 6. Independent Media
- 7. Freedom of belief, opinion, discussion, speech, publication, assembly, demonstration, and petition.
- 8. Citizens are politically equal under law
- 9. Independent, nondiscriminatory judiciary.
- 10. The rule of law protects citizens from unjustified detention, exile, terror, torture, and undue interference in their personal lives not only by the state but also by organized non-state or anti-state forces.

No Agreement about Policies/Tools

- Triggers
 - China—Encourage Economic Growth
 - Iran- Encourage Economic Crisis (Sanctions)
- Institutional Design
 - Afghanistan- presidential system
 - Iraq-parliamentary system
- Sequence
 - Pact First –South Africa, Poland
 - Elections first-Iraq, Angola (1992)

No Capacity/Resources

- General John Abizaid: GWOT 10% military; 90% non-military.
- Department of Defense Budget: \$450 billion
- So Non Military Budget Should Be: \$4.1 trillion
- Where Is Equivalent of DOD? AID?
 - No Ministry for constructing democratic regimes
 - No Career Path for democracy promoters in HSG

Ethical Issues

- Providing Ideas about Democracy
 - Literature
 - Radios
 - lectures
- Providing Training about Democracy
 - Scholarships
 - Seminars (must they be non-partisan?)
- Technical Assistance to State Institutions
- Technical Assistance/Aid for Election Monitoring
- Direct Aid to NGOs
- Direct Aid to Media
- Direct Aid to Political Parties

Evaluating Democracy Assistance in the Post-Communist World

- No Systematic Study of ALL efforts
- Academia
 - Sectors, not whole country analyses
 - Case studies: Focus on one country (U.S.) or one kind of assistance
- Professional Evaluations
 - Narrow focus
 - Paid for by providers of aid
- **SHOCKINGLY HOW LITTLE WE KNOW !**

First Lesson:

“Democrats” Make Democracy

- No “Democrats”, No Democracy
- Not institutional design.
- Not sequence of political and economic reforms
- Not kinds of economic reforms
- Not Western aid or Western pull.

Paths from Communism

	Dictatorships	Partial Democracies	Democracies
BOP in favor of Challengers		Armenia Bosnia-Herzegovnia Georgia	Croatia * Czech Republic Estonia Hungary Latvia Lithuania Poland Slovakia* Slovenia
BOP Equal	Tajikistan	Moldova Russia Ukraine Albania Azerbaijan Macedonia	Bulgaria Mongolia
BOP in favor of Incumbents	Belarus Kazakhstan Turkmenistan Uzbekistan	FRY/Serbia	Romania

Second Lesson: Geography Matters

- International Institutions Matter
- Pull of the EU Has Been the Greatest Tool of Democracy Promotion Ever, (and most certainly in post-communist world)
- Conditionality Works
- Explains Over-Achievers (Bulgaria, Romania)
- Also Explains Why This Tool Does Not Work for Russia, Uzbekistan
- NATO? OSCE?
- U.S. –Marginal Role

Third Lesson: Learning from Failure in Russia

- Democracy Had a Chance to Succeed in Russia
- Culture and History Do Not Explain Rollbacks



Third Lesson: Learning from Failure in Russia

- Democracy Never High Priority
- Window of Opportunity for Influencing Institutional Design is Open for a Short Period of Time.
- Kind of Design:
 - Parliamentary better than presidential systems
 - harder to recreate dictatorship from
 - Need some form of PR in electoral law to stimulate parties
 - Bicameral house—helps with territorial divisions
- Aid Imbalanced
 - Modernization Theory
- Have to Build Constituencies that will Defend

Learning from Failure in Russia

- Overemphasis on Changing Institutions, Not Supporting Democratic Society
 - Theory was get institutions right, and they will transform society
- Over-Personalization of Relationships with Leaders
 - Gorbachev 1991 (missed window of opportunity)
 - Yeltsin 1993 (backing anti-democratic acts undermined US Credibility)
 - Putin 1999/2000 (West slow to see erosion)
 - Easier to push back when Putin was weaker, than today when autocracy stronger and Russia richer
- Socialization through International Institutions Did Not Work
- Western Leverage Negatively Correlates with the Price of Oil

Learning from Failure in Russia

- Way to Give Assistance
 - Big contractors worthless-
 - Foundations giving direct assistance much better
 - Exchanges and education – human capital investments most important.
- Failed entirely in “democracy” education
 - Thousands of business schools, but only a few places to study democracy
- ABOVE ALL ELSE—transfer of ideas. Create a situation in which templates are available. And Always Remember—don’t know how ideas travel
 - Jury trials in Russia
 - PR in electoral law.
- Failure in Russia Threatens Democracy in Region

Four Lesson:
Learning from Successes in the “Colored
Revolutions”: Serbia, Georgia, Ukraine



FREEDOM Support Act (FSA) Democracy Funding

(in dollars, millions)

Country	FY2003 (budgeted)			FY 2004 (budgeted)			FY 2005 (estimated)		
	Democracy	Total	% Demo	Democra cy	Total	% Demo	Democra cy	Total	% Demo
Ukraine	29.94	139.9	21%	30.92	97.12	32%	20.26	80.0	25%
Georgia	12.03	84.2	14%	11.90	71.80	17%	14.89	86.0	17%
Kyrgyzstan	8.16	38.2	21%	10.17	36.74	28%	11.29	34.3	33%
Serbia	40.0	(2000)							

ASSISTANCE ACTIVITIES RELATED TO THE 2004 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION IN UKRAINE *

Improving the Regulatory Framework and Electoral Administration

DA: Elections and Political Processes (1/03-11/03)

Roundtables with government officials and Rada members, party activists and civic leaders to facilitate improvements in the legal and regulatory framework as well as election administration (e.g. revamping the system for preparing the voter registers). Research on how to improve training of election commissioners and on the judicial systems and rulings related to election. Grants to civic groups to advocate for reform related to the electoral process.

DA: Strengthening Electoral Administration in Ukraine (12/03-12/04)

(A) Address voter registry; qualifications and competencies of election administrators; adjudication of election disputes; clear liability for fraud and election violations; fair access to media among candidates and parties; anti-fraud guidelines for new technologies adapted for election administration; rights for domestic non-partisan observers; and harmonization of the various types of election laws and regulations (e.g. presidential and parliamentary laws); and (B) Election training for election officials of all parties and judges.

TOTAL: \$2,617,000

Supporting Independent Media

Internews: Strengthening Independent Media (10/03-12/04)

(A) Provide training to print and broadcast journalists on election-related issues; (B) Training for journalists on legal rights and election coverage, roundtables conducted by local NGOs to publicize media monitoring results.

Embassy Kiev Media Development Fund (MDF) (10/03-12/04)

Election-related grants for Ukrainian journalists, media organizations and other NGOs.

CURE: Public Information Project (10/03-12/04)

(A) Support regional and national clubs and provide training seminars for journalists on election issues. (B) Support voter education nationwide through radio, television and print publications.

OSCE: Media Monitoring Project (2/04-12/04)

Countrywide media monitoring of access, content, and times.

TOTAL: \$1,137,000

Monitoring the Electoral Process, Strengthening Political Entities to Participate Effectively in Elections

OSCE: Election Monitoring and Projects (10/03-12/04)

(A) Funds for 250 U.S. monitors seconded to ODIHR observer mission for three rounds of balloting; (B) Funds for ODIHR observer mission diversification fund for 200 Visegrad country monitors; (C) Monitoring, analysis of electoral process; dialogue, coordination among leading Ukrainians from civil society, all political parties, government officials; (D) Funding for regional coordination centers in each oblast to monitor electoral process and ensure information flows to/from central working group.

Committee of Voters of Ukraine (CVU) (through NDI) (6/03-6/04)

(A) Support to CVU to monitor regional election media coverage; (B) Foster regional coalitions of civil society organizations for election monitoring, training; and (C) Training for regional election monitors to build additional election monitoring capacity.

FH (ND/IRI): Strengthening Electoral Process Oversight and Voter Participation (2/04-12/04)

(A) Improve civic oversight of electoral process; (B) Strengthen participation of voters, encourage participation of under-represented segments of society and increase quantity and quality of information about elections; (C) Field 1,000 international NGO monitors for the second and third rounds of balloting; (D) High-level election delegations for third round.

IRI: Political Parties and Political Processes (10/03-12/04)

Nonpartisan training for all political parties on sustaining political coalitions, election monitoring, campaign planning, and understanding voter attitudes. Activities to increase women's and youth political activism. Training for members of all parties serving on local election commissions.

NDI: Political Parties and Civic Activism Project (10/03-12/04)

(A) Non-partisan work with all parties on consolidation, strengthening internal party communication and coordination, improving constituency relations at both national, regional levels. Training for regional party branches on basic party work including message development, voter recruitment, research, voter contact, and media relations. Training to improve party effectiveness by increasing the competencies of elected officials; (B) Support for a quick-count parallel vote tabulation, a pre-election delegation, an observation delegation for election day, second round.

USAFMC: Election Observers (through USUF) (4/04-12/04)

Funding for pre-election and election day monitoring teams composed of former members of Congress and European parliamentarians.

TOTAL: \$12,451,000

Supporting Election-Related Civic Activism and Research

ISC: Civil Society Project (10/03-12/04)

(A) Election training for local NGOs on using election cycles to advance their agendas and to enable civic groups to implement appropriate elections-related activities. (B) Support to think tanks for policy research and opinion polling related to the election.

Eurasia Foundation Grants Program (10/03-12/04)

Small grants to Ukrainian NGOs on election-related subjects such as support to think tanks, citizen participation in the electoral process, mobilization of voters.

NED Grants Program (10/03-12/04)

Small grants to support a variety of civil society initiatives for voter education, support of free media, exit polling, and campaign monitoring.

Embassy Kiev Democracy Commission Small Grants Program (10/03-12/04)

Democracy Commission is a primary USG vehicle for small election-related grants to Ukrainian NGOs. Funding is planned for activities such as: exit polling, media press centers, dissemination of election monitoring information, get-out-the-vote activities, legal aid centers, sociological surveys, women and youth participation projects.

TOTAL: \$1,125,000

Voter Education, Mobilization, and Legal Aid

ABA/CEELI Project (2/04-12/04)

Training for party lawyers, judges, and advocates. Support *pro bono* legal advocacy centers and hotlines in each region. Voter education activities to targeted vulnerable segments such as students and laborers.

USUF Voter Awareness Project (3/04-12/04)

Voter education, public awareness campaigns, election rights, election process; work with the media.

TOTAL: \$985,000

ABBREVIATIONS

ABA/CEELI: American Bar Association's Central and Eastern Europe Law Initiative

CURE: Center for Ukrainian Reform Education

CVU: Committee of Voters of Ukraine

DA: Development Associates

FH: Freedom House

IRI: International Republican Institute

ISC: Institute for Sustainable Communities

NED: National Endowment for Democracy

NDI: National Democratic Institute

ODIHR: Office of Democratic Institutions and Human Rights, OSCE

OSCE: Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

USUF: U.S.-Ukraine Foundation

USAFMC: U.S. Association of Former Members of Congress

Total Funding: \$18,315,000

* **NOTE:** This chart covers activities in the pre-election period as well as for the October 31, November 21, and December 26 balloting.

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External Factors

“Constructive Engagement”

Support for media

Personal relations with leaders of ancien regimes

Intermediary services, provisions of polling date

Technical assistance, direct aid

Direct aid

Direct aid, technical assistance from other democratic revolutions

Precipitants

(1) Semi-Autocratic

(2) More unpopular leader

(3) Split among the guys with the guns

(1) Effective/united opposition

(2) Ability to monitor election

(3) Modicum of independent media

(4) Demonstrations

Ancien regime weakens

Regime Change

“Democratic Revolution”

Societal challenges strengthen

External Factors

No role

War (Serbia)

Conventional
democracy
assistance
programs

Programs
designed to
promote growth
and lower
corruption

Longer-Term Factors

Splits among elites

Economic failure,
corruption, loss in
wars

Divided, ineffec-
tive opposition

Civil society and
political society

Rise of middle
class (Ukraine)

Precipitants

(1) Semi-Autocratic

(2) Unpopular
leader

(3) Split among the
guys with the
guns

(4) Effective/united
opposition

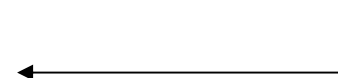
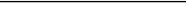
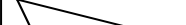
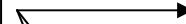
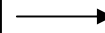
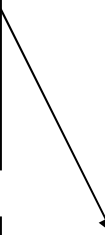
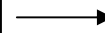
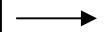
(5) Ability to
monitor election

(6) Modicum of
independent
media

(7) Demonstrations

Regime Change

“Democratic
Revolution”



Summarizing External Influences In “Colored” Revolutions

International System

- “Idea of non violent civic resistance” (idea from India; idea transfer subsidized by Western money)

Multilateral Institutions –

- OSCE—Helping to Create Perception of Falsified Votes

States

- Constraining Autocracy/Preserving semi-autocracy
- Adding Legitimacy to Falsification Claims (Serbia, Ukraine)

Non-Government Actors

- Technologies
 - Election monitoring
 - Civic Resistance
- Direct Aid
 - Election monitoring organizations
 - Media
 - Civic Mobilization groups

External Influences with Limited or No Role in “Colored” Revolutions

Multilateral Institutions

- Pull of EU
- Pull of NATO

States

- Sanctions
- Bombing Campaign
- Diplomacy to Convince Autocrats to Recognize Election Results
- (Courts, Executive Branches, Central Elections Commissions)

Non-Government Actors

- T.A. to Help Democratize State Institutions
- Campaign Techniques
- Development of “Civil Society” (writ large)
- Economic Reform programs
- Economic Growth programs

Can the U.S. Promote Democracy Better? Yes

- Get Our Own House in Order
- Reduce Double Standards
- Make Project Global (not US centered)
- Build New Security Institutions (OSCE in Middle East)
- Broader Definition of Democracy
 - Justice, Equality, “liberal” democracy
- Develop New Norms (Right to Assist)
- Economic Aid for Better Governance
- Separate U.S. Policy from Demo Assistance
 - NED, Freedom House, Eurasia versus DOD, DRL, MEPI, Ambassador’s funds
- Department of Democracy & Development
- Learn !!!

Should We? Yes
Can We? Sometimes

