



DEMOCRACY UPDATE

News from the Democracy Coalition Project, www.demcoalition.org

SPECIAL EDITION

COMMUNITY OF DEMOCRACIES MEETING
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NON-GOVERNMENTAL FORUM OF THE COMMUNITY OF DEMOCRACIES

The Second Non-Governmental Forum of the Community of Democracies (CD) brought leading democracy advocates and scholars from around the world to Seoul, Korea 10-12 November 2002. Under the theme "Global Solidarity for Expanding and Strengthening Democracy," more than 250 participants convened parallel to the Ministerial Meeting in order to advance international collaboration on democracy promotion and to address pressing issues facing democracies in all stages of development. Some 100 participants endorsed an appeal to the assembled governmental officials urging them to strengthen the Community of Democracies by tightening eligibility, linking bilateral development assistance to membership, creating a permanent secretariat, and forming a democracy caucus at the UN.

Among the prominent Forum attendees were Korean President and former Nobel Prize winner Kim Dae-jung, former foreign ministers Madeleine Albright (U.S.), Bronislaw Geremek (Poland) and Surin Pitsuwan (Thailand), East Timor's Foreign Minister and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Jose Ramos Horta, philanthropist George Soros, Burmese opposition leader and Nobel prize recipient Aung San Suu Kyi (via video), European Parliamentarian Emma Bonino, Cambodian political party leader Sam Rainsy as well as many outstanding democracy activists, parliamentarians, trades union officials, journalists, and business leaders.

The Forum was organized by the Korean NGO Network, the Sejong Institute, and an International Planning Committee composed of an NGO from each of the CD Convening Group countries: Korea, Poland, Chile, Mexico, India, South Africa, Mali, Czech Republic, Portugal and the U.S.

For more information about the Forum, visit the official website at: www.cdngf2002.org

FINAL REPORT OF THE COMMUNITY OF DEMOCRACIES NON-GOVERNMENTAL FORUM

The Second Community of Democracies Non-Governmental Forum met at a time of mounting challenges to democracy around the world. The war on terrorism; burgeoning corruption, and growing disillusionment of many citizens with the economic and political performance of their democratic governments, underscore both the imperative of effective democratic governance, and the need for a broad range of institutional reforms and policy initiatives in order to deepen and improve democracy in different spheres.

The Forum was organized around nine topical panels, in addition to plenary sessions and regional group meetings. The topical sessions focused on major impediments to democracy strengthening and recommendations to overcome them. Below are short excerpts from their individual reports. The complete Final Report can be found at: www.demcoalition.org/html/seoul.

Strengthening Political Party Systems

Political parties are one of the cornerstones of a democratic system, performing such indispensable functions as representing and aggregating social interests and facilitating political participation. However, political parties are facing a crisis of public confidence due to their organizational and political shortcomings, including a lack of internal democracy and the widespread perception of corruption in party and campaign finance. Reforming and renovating the political party system must become a priority among the worldwide network of pro-democracy activists and elected leaders.

Local Government and Democracy

Democratic local governance provides a vital mechanism to bring political power closer to the citizenry, stimulate local economic development and alleviate poverty, increase the participation of women and other marginalized groups, and to recruit and train new political leaders.

Gender and Democracy

Obstacles to women's full participation in political and economic life present some of the greatest challenges to the achievement and legitimation of full democracy. Gender issues should be a concern for

policymakers and civil society activists committed to improving and consolidating democratic rule. Initiatives to enhance women's political participation should be reflected in all dimensions of democratic development.

Corruption and Democracy

No problem more threatens the efficacy and legitimacy of democracy than corruption. Survey data from new and established democracies shows growing public disaffection with democratic institutions as a result of burgeoning corruption and the failure of governments to take effective measures to combat it. Institutional reforms to reduce corruption represent one of the most important challenges for both democratic governments and the international democratic community. Civil society—including free and independent media—has a critical role to play in combating corruption, and democratic governments should view these actors as allies in the struggle for reform.

Market and Democratic Governance

It is a great moral tragedy that over a billion people live on less than two dollars a day. Growing income/wealth inequality poses a major threat to building durable democratic systems. In the 19th century the richest country had a per capita income only twenty times higher than the poorest one. Today, Luxembourg's per capita income is 100 times that of Sierra Leone. The past few decades have yielded some crucial lessons about the relationship between democracy and economic growth. One of these is the importance of private initiative and the institutional underpinnings of market economies, including a system of property rights, a market-oriented regulatory apparatus to curb fraud and anti-competitive behavior, and the rule of law.

Media and Democracy

Press freedom and the free flow of information are universal values that should be vigorously respected by all governments. A free and responsible press is a crucial bulwark against corruption and the abuse of power, and therefore an important element in restoring public confidence in democratic institutions. Even in many democratic countries, civil society must take the lead to pressure governments to respect press freedom and ensure citizen access to information.

Education for Democracy

A high quality democracy, with broad participation and legitimacy, depends on an informed citizenry that values and understands democracy. Civic education programs of all kinds are vital for developing in citizens the knowledge, skills, and normative commitments to participate effectively in democratic governance. Session participants have established a steering committee to work with governments to implement a series of recommendations generated in Seoul.

Freedom of Association and the Protection of NGOs

Despite some isolated local exceptions and higher visibility of labor standards and NGO-related issues, world conditions are generally deteriorating for both of these civil society pillars. Restrictive new laws are being enacted, the search for foreign investment is driving down labor standards, significant weaknesses in key democratic institutions persist and many governments actively resist or show little interest in genuine reform.

The “war on terrorism” is being used by governments to crack down on trade unions, NGOs and political opponents in the name of security. Governments throughout the world are using draconian internal security regulations (often counter to protections and rights guaranteed in their own constitutions) to harass and detain labor and civil society activists. Some governments and corporations are taking advantage of the impact of globalization to limit the influence and activities of unions and NGOs in such areas as the environment and consumer protection.

Promoting Civil Society in Closed Societies

While the CD ministerial has generally steered clear of issues related to authoritarian societies and democracy building, session participants felt strongly

that democratic governments have an obligation to support politically, diplomatically, and financially efforts by civil society activists in these countries struggling to promote political liberalization and democratization.

At the urging of the Closed Societies panel, Forum attendees expressed their “solidarity with those courageous democrats—Aung San Suu Kyi of Burma, Oswaldo Paya of Cuba, Saad Eddin Ibrahim of Egypt, and Morgan Tsvangari of Zimbabwe—who were denied the rights to travel and were thus prevented by their governments from being with us at this international assembly to expand and strengthen democracy throughout the world. We stand with them and their peaceful struggle for democratic values and fundamental human rights. And in their name we extend our solidarity as well to all those who suffer under dictatorial regimes, particularly those who live in the darkest and most isolated corners of the world. They are not alone. Through our common efforts, their countries will someday—soon we hope—join the Community of Democracies.

We also wish to extend our support to those people of Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Vietnam, and other authoritarian countries who have been detained, imprisoned or have disappeared because of their opinions and beliefs.

CIVIL SOCIETY LEADERS ISSUE APPEAL TO GOVERNMENTS MEETING IN SEOUL

Recognizing that the world’s democracies must devise new ways of cooperating with one another to safeguard the democratic gains of the 20th century and to advance a common agenda for democratic change in the years ahead, and in the interest of helping to create an international environment conducive to democratic development, participants at the Non-Governmental Forum made the following appeal to governments gathered at the Ministerial Meeting of the Community of Democracies. The Appeal was included in the final report of the Ministerial Conference.

1. Strengthening the Community of Democracies

Only governments that respect democratic norms set forth in the Warsaw Declaration

should be included in the Community of Democracies.

We applaud the decision of the Convening Group governments to adopt the democratic standards outlined in the Warsaw Declaration as criteria for participation in the Community of Democracies. We recognize the value of creating a category of observer states that have not yet met these standards and therefore are not allowed to participate in the group's decision-making process until they have made demonstrable progress toward implementing democratic reforms.

We propose the creation of a third category of candidate states which subscribe to these standards and are making demonstrable progress toward them. Candidate states would enjoy all the benefits of membership as long as they continue to make concrete progress.

The Community of Democracies should establish a transparent mechanism to monitor and assess which governments continue to meet the democratic standards set forth in the Warsaw Declaration. It should issue warnings and offer assistance when democratic crises erupt. Where political rights and civil liberties are seriously eroding, the Community of Democracies should suspend the government in question unless it is taking concrete steps to improve the situation. If a democratically-elected government is overthrown, the illegitimate regime should be expelled immediately from the Community of Democracies. In making these decisions, governments must systematically consult with civil society organizations, political parties and independent experts, especially those groups actively working to promote democratic reforms in countries under review.

To ensure effective implementation of its plan of action, the Community of Democracies should create and fund a permanent secretariat to carry on its work between ministerial meetings. The secretariat should be charged with establishing a transparent peer review mechanism, monitoring country developments, devising collective responses to threats to democracy, tracking best practices and lessons learned, and coordinating ministerial conference preparations.

2. Linking Development Assistance to Democracy

Democratic states should increase their bilateral development assistance to governments

participating in the Community of Democracies process. In addition, members of the Community of Democracies should receive preferential treatment in multilateral assistance strategies, debt relief and trade privileges, and work together to democratize international financial and trade institutions.

One of the greatest threats to democracy is the prevalence of poverty and inequality. As observed in the United Nations Development Programs Human Development Report for 2002, Advancing human development requires governance that is democratic in both form and substance. To make development aid more effective, government-to-government development assistance should be confined to members and candidate members of the Community of Democracies. In other countries, development aid should be channeled only through nongovernmental institutions, or spent under the direct supervision of the donors, except in certain circumstances of humanitarian emergency.

Democratic governments should also use their voting power at international financial and trade institutions (IFTIs) to make them more transparent, more inclusive of civil society participation, and more responsive to the needs of emerging democracies. Members and candidate members should be given preference for multilateral development bank loans, debt relief and trade privileges. Donor strategies should also embrace increased spending and attention on democracy-building programs and policies, including democratic political party development, free media and citizen participation.

3. Creating Democracy Caucuses

Democratic governments that belong to the Community of Democracies should act collectively to promote democratic values, the rule of law and sustainable development. To that end, they should organize their own caucuses at the United Nations and regional organizations.

The world's democracies have a common interest in ensuring that the United Nations and regional organizations reflect their shared democratic values. Members of the Community of Democracies must support each other when electing candidates for key international positions, particularly those relating to democracy and human rights, such as the UN Human Rights Commission.

For a list of signatories to the Appeal, or to add your name, please contact the Democracy Coalition Project at: info@demcoalition.org

MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE COMMUNITY OF DEMOCRACIES

The Second Ministerial Meeting of the Community of Democracies, “Democracy: Investing for Peace and Prosperity” demonstrated the growing support for global efforts to expand and defend democracy. Foreign Ministers and representatives from over 100 countries met in Seoul, Korea 10-12 November 2002, and culminated two days of meetings with unanimous approval of an Action Plan.* The Convening Group was formally endorsed as the body to follow up implementation of the Seoul Plan of Action and to report to the third governmental conference, which the government of Chile announced it would host in 2005.

Excerpts from the Seoul Action Plan are included in the following section. The full document can be found at:

www.demcoalition.org/html/seoul_ministerial.

*The following countries participated in the Ministerial: Albania, Andorra, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Bahamas, Bahrain, Bangladesh, Belgium, Belize, Benin, Bolivia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Cape Verde, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Finland, France, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, Honduras, Hungary, Iceland, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Lesotho, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Macedonia, Mali, Malta, Mauritius, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Romania, Russian Federation, Saint Kitts and Nevis, Samoa, Senegal, Seychelles, Slovakia, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka, Suriname, Sweden, Switzerland, Tanzania, Thailand, , East Timor, Turkey, Tuvalu, United Kingdom, United States, Venezuela, Yugoslavia. In addition, the following countries attended as Observers: Afghanistan, Algeria, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Haiti, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Tunisia, Ukraine, and Yemen. Of the Observers, Afghanistan and Oman were not invited to the first Ministerial in Warsaw, while the others had been downgraded for the Seoul meeting.

SEOUL ACTION PLAN

We, the Participants in the Second Ministerial Conference of the Community of Democracies held in Seoul on 10-12 November 2002, affirm that the essential elements of representative democracy in all its forms are: respect for human rights – civil, political, economic, social and cultural – including freedom of expression, freedom of the press, and freedom of religion and conscience; access to and free exercise of power in accordance with the rule of law; the holding of periodic free and fair elections based on secret balloting and universal suffrage monitored by independent election authorities; freedom of association including the right to form

independent political parties; separation of powers, especially an independent judiciary; and constitutional subordination of all state institutions, including the military, to the legally-constituted civilian authority. We also reaffirm the Warsaw Declaration which includes our common commitment to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and fundamental principles of international law.

“Recognizing the universality of these democratic values, the dedication of the Community of Democracies to promote and defend democracy, and the human rights and fundamental freedoms protected under democracy, we are committed to the continuous development of democracy domestically and the promotion of democracy regionally and globally. We, working as individual countries, within our regions and globally, adopt this Seoul Plan of Action with a view to accomplishing the following:

1. Regional Action

Recognizing that democratic countries are stronger economic, security, and political partners, and that the promotion of democratic ideals strengthens regional stability and cooperation, we intend to promote regional democratic progress, individually, through regional institutions, and through various measures including:

1-1. In each respective region, developing and fully implementing regional instruments which call upon regional partners to build democratic institutions, adhere to democratic principles, and provide assistance in this field to states which are in need of assistance using proper regional instruments;

1-2. Developing regional human rights and democracy monitoring mechanisms in order to consolidate regional potentialities to promote and protect human rights and democratic principles as well as to promote dialogue between countries on those issues and to remedy their violations;

1-3. Improving diplomatic engagement and dialogue with countries where respect for human rights, fundamental freedoms, and universally-accepted principles of democracy are in question, in order to highlight international concerns and promote democratic change;

1-4. Fighting corruption and upholding government integrity and good governance. In addition, we further encourage states to consider various measures which may include:

1-5. Convening regional meetings of representatives of the government, political parties and civil society.

1-6. Engaging regional and extra-regional partners to assist in democratic development and institution building.

2. Responding to Threats to Democracy

Recognizing the need to protect against threats to democracy including terrorism, the Community of Democracies may outline a series of measures that could be used with full respect for international law by countries individually, together or as members of international or regional organizations to promote, defend, strengthen or restore democratic institutions.

To prevent or respond to scenarios of violence against a democratic government, disruption of constitutional rule, persistent unconstitutional alteration of the democratic order, or support for terrorism, countries may need to resort, preferably within the framework of regional or international organizations, to a range of measures, including but not limited to:

2-1. In the particular case of terrorism, suspending bilateral relations, commerce with or aid to those states supporting terrorism and aid, support or linkages to non-state organizations supporting terrorism and, as appropriate, upon determination by the UN Security Council;

2-2. Adopting and complying with all their obligations in the 12 UN Conventions against Terrorism, and the mechanism adopted by the UN Security Council Committee established pursuant to Res. 1373 (2001), concerning counter-terrorism (the Counter-Terrorism Committee).

2-3. Creating a cadre of trained experts able to assist countries facing a threat to their democracy;

2-4. Developing monitoring systems for democratic crises so that early assistance can be provided to support democracy;

2-5. Considering convening countries when needed to coordinate diplomatic or other efforts or political mediation;

2-6. Providing recommendations based on an on-site analysis in order to uphold democratic principles and human rights;

2-7. Supporting actions through rapid consideration mechanisms by regional and international organizations;

2-8. Enhancing existing regional and international instruments and democracy clauses, e.g. by

strengthening positive economic incentives, and by preventing not only ruptures in but also the deterioration of democracy;

2-9. Offering good offices to assist, as needed, governments, other political actors, civil society, and public institutions to produce an accord committing to prescribed remedial measures;

2-10. Providing long-term technical support or monitors to strengthen democratic institutions, election process and reform efforts;

In accordance with the principles articulated in the Warsaw Declaration, the Community of Democracies, through as wide consultations as possible with its participants, will not include those countries where there is currently a disruption of constitutional rule or severe persistent erosion of or lack of essential elements of democracy.

3. Education for Democracy

Recognizing that education at all levels is a fundamental component for ensuring citizens are aware of their rights and civic duties as members of a democratic society, equipped with the basic skills for effective participation in public affairs, and that an educated citizenry is essential to the development, maintenance, and strengthening of democratic institutions and growth, we intend to encourage States and all relevant levels of government in our respective countries to promote a culture of democracy through education for democracy by:

3-1. Strengthening public education.

3-2. Organizing public information campaigns regarding democracy, civil rights and civic responsibilities.

3-3. Encouraging the media to play a role in public education and in spreading democratic values.

4. Promoting Stronger Democracies through Good Governance

Recognizing that transparency and accountability are a democratic government's responsibility to its citizens, we intend to build strong democratic institutions and practices that are the backbone of good governance.

4-1. Promoting the rule of law.

4-2. Alleviating poverty and promoting economic growth.

4-3. Building and sustaining a strong political party system and a healthy civil society.

5. Volunteerism: Toward a Stronger Civil Society

Recognizing that active involvement in the community strengthens an individual, those served, and the community as a whole; contributes to a vibrant civil society; and encourages partnership among citizens, civil society organizations, and governments, we intend to promote volunteerism by:

- 5-1. Encouraging our citizens to volunteer service domestically or internationally in the interest of promoting democracy and civil society;
- 5-2. Minimizing obstacles or legal limitations to volunteerism;
- 5-3. Urging public and private sector groups to encourage their workforces to volunteer and to forge partnerships with volunteer activities;
- 5-4. Highlighting the importance of volunteerism.

6. Coordinating Democracy Assistance

As democracy assistance has increased over the past decade, it has raised the need to ensure effective coordination in order to multiply effectiveness, create synergy, and avoid duplication in some areas while other important areas are under-assisted. While coordination at the country level has improved in certain instances, there is room for continued improvement for democracy promotion policies. The Community of Democracies intends to:

- 6-1. Identify assistance methods including those that most effectively facilitate free and fair elections, help countries develop an independent judiciary and accountable government institutions, and strengthen political parties, the free press, civil society groups, and a democratic political culture.

7. Procedures

The Convening Group will continue to meet regularly and be available to offer support and advice to participating states for actions taken within regional or international organizations following and based on the valuable experience gained in the past two years. In close consultation and cooperation with the Community of Democracies and interested participants, the Convening Group will encourage the formation, among others, of coalitions and caucuses to support democracy. The Convening Group thereby aims to identify means of facilitating action, sharing information about developments of and to discuss means of promoting and

consolidating democracy in the respective regions. The Convening Group will also be available as a means of bridging regions and regional organizations to promote the sharing of best practices and ideas.

The Convening Group will follow up on the progress in the implementation of the Seoul Plan of Action and report to the Third Ministerial Conference (Santiago de Chile)."

STATEMENT ON TERRORISM: Strengthening Democracy is the Best Way to Combat Terrorism

In response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 and other incidents around the world, participants at the Second Ministerial Conference of the Community of Democracies issued an official statement on 12 November condemning such acts as "a grave threat to democratic societies and the values they embrace." The participants emphasized that "the democratic principles and institutions promoted by international and regional organizations and reiterated by the Community of Democracies are crucial elements in endeavors to combat terrorism. Democracy provides a solid foundation for peaceful, thriving societies by empowering people, holding governments more accountable and responsive to the people's needs, facilitating sustainable economic development, and, above all, enhancing respect for and protection of all human rights and fundamental freedoms. To protect societies from the scourge of terrorism and to create equitable, stable and secure societies, the participants reiterate their determination to strengthen sound democratic institutions and good governance as well as to promote their underlying principles. The participants stress that any laws or measures against terrorism should comply with states' existing obligations under international human rights law, as well as international humanitarian and refugee law applicable in specific situations".

The statement also underscored that "terrorism cannot be justified by any cause or under any circumstances and note that the fight against terrorism requires a comprehensive set of actions, including addressing conditions that may offer a breeding ground for terrorism. *The promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms,*

mutual understanding, respect for cultural diversity, public civil education as well as collaborative efforts to alleviate poverty and empower socially marginalized people could help contain terrorism and promote a more peaceful and prosperous international community.”

To read the statement in its entirety, please go to: <http://www.cd2002.go.kr>

OTHER NEWS FROM THE MEETINGS IN SEOUL

The Democracy Coalition Project used the occasion of the Ministerial Conference and the Non-Governmental Forum to draw special attention to the cause of democracy activists working in closed societies. DCP organized a reception hosted by George Soros to honor those democracy activists struggling against authoritarian governments. The highpoint of the event was comments by Gibson Sibanda, Vice President of the Movement for Democratic Change in Zimbabwe; Yevgeny Zhovtis, a leading democracy and human rights campaigner in Kazakhstan; and Saad Eddin Ibrahim, who was able to send a personal message from his jail cell in Cairo that was read by European Parliament member Gianfranco Dell’Alba. Prior to the meetings, DCP worked with Cuban democracy activists in exile and some still in Cuba. The most prominent is Oswaldo Paya, leader of the Varela Project, who recently won the European Parliament’s Sakharov Prize. A powerful video-taped message from Paya was shown during the conference.

Democratizing the Arab World

By Saad Eddin Ibrahim
Cairo, Egypt

For the last twenty-five years, a few western educated Arabs took it upon themselves to vocally advocate democratic reform in the Arab world. I was one of them.

Now, from my prison cell the world looks as chaotic in 9/11, 2002 as it did a year earlier – possibly with less panic, but also with less human compassion. The world today looks as bi-focused on the U.S. and the Middle East as it did a year ago.

The theme is still a war on terrorism, but with far less consensus this year than last year, as the “evil spot”

moved from Afghanistan to Iraq, and the attention shifted from Osama Bin Laden to Saddam Hussein.

These two -- Saddam Hussein and Osama Bin Laden have been mirror images of what is an endemic problem of my Middle East region for at least the past half century or longer: secular fascism wrapped in national liberation claims and religious racism garbed in worldly Jihad for justice on Earth and Heaven in the Here-After.

In the name of these lofty claims, these two types of fascism have oppressed, denied basic human rights and fundamental freedoms, killed and maimed millions of their own people their neighbors, or other innocents in far away lands – Egyptian diplomats in Islamabad, foreign tourists in Luxor, pleasure seekers in a Bali night club, or office workers in New York’s World Trade Center. The targets of the two types of fascism have been as multi-national, multi-cultural, and multi-religious, as any pluralist anthropologist could have envisioned – fellow Arabs, fellow Muslims, Kurds, Iranians, Kuwaitis, Black Africans, White Europeans, Japanese, Americans, Buddhists, Hindus, Animists, Muslims, Jews and Christians.

Whether in the name of “National Liberation” or “religious salvation”, fascism is essentially the same. The doubters, skeptics, and cynics are intimidated, silenced, imprisoned, driven out of the country, or physically liquidated. Absolute obedience and absolute fear become the only two available modalities.

Twelve years ago, an Iraqi author, Mr. Makkaya, gave an anatomical account of secular fascism in his book, The Republic of Fear. He was talking then about Saddam Hussein’s Iraq. Today I am sad to report that the number has grown to nearly a dozen republics of fear across our region. It is our modest attempts—those of myself along with my fellow human rights activists --- to expose the dangers and break the cycle that has prevented me from being with you today.

We need your help from the democratic world more than ever before. Change cannot come from the outside only, and change can certainly not be unilaterally dictated. But together we can stand for principles -- of freedom, democracy, and the rule of law. We can insist that governments live up to their international commitments, and to their constitutional obligations to their people. I salute you and I share with you my belief that freedom for all can save us all.

Thank you.

More than 200 international personalities appeal for the release of Buddhist dissident Thich Quang Do

Madeleine Albright and Bronislaw Geremek were among some two hundred Forum participants from 60 countries who signed an appeal for the release of Thich Quang Do, deputy leader of the banned Unified Buddhist Church of Vietnam. He is currently under administrative detention at the Thanh Minh Zen Monastery in Saigon for proposing an 8-point transition plan for democratic change in Vietnam. The appeal was first circulated during a presentation in the Closed Societies topical panel by Mr. Vo Van Ai, President of the Vietnam Committee on Human Rights and founder of Quê Me: Action for Democracy in Vietnam. Mr. Ai declared that the foremost task for governments was to seek the release of prisoners of conscience. "How can we promote civil society when the leaders of civil society are in jail?" he asked.

Vietnam was one of the countries singled out in the Final Report of the Non-Governmental Forum for its repressive practices, including the arrest and detention of political prisoners.

Threats to Democracy Task Force

Democratic governments, international organizations and NGOs have responded poorly and often at cross purposes when democracies are threatened by coups or erosion of democratic processes and institutions, concluded a report by an independent international task force sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations. The blue-ribbon task force is co-chaired by former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and former Polish Foreign Minister Bronislaw Geremek and issued its report, "**Threats to Democracy: Prevention and Response**," in Seoul. Geremek, a leading force behind the CD's inaugural meeting in Warsaw, was invited to present the key findings to the Ministerial Conference.

The report says key international actors are paying more attention to the plight of new democracies, but have yet to take necessary steps to turn their good intentions into a viable plan of action that can mobilize the resources and political clout of the world's democratic community. The task force, which includes dignitaries from six continents, put forward a series of recommendations for more

effective action to deter or respond to unconstitutional interruptions of the democratic process and the more gradual erosion of democratic principles and practices. The task force calls on the Community of Democracies to implement these recommendations when there is a threat to the survival of democracy in one of its member states. For the Executive Summary and full text of the report, see:

www.cfr.org/publication.php?id=5180

DEFENDING DEMOCRACY: A Global Survey of Foreign Policy Trends 1992-2002

DCP Releases First-ever Study Comparing Democracy Promotion Trends in 40 Countries

The first-ever survey assessing how democratic governments have integrated democracy promotion into their foreign policies, concludes they are doing a better job but still put other interests first when dealing with dictatorships or responding to violations of democratic rights.

Defending Democracy: A Global Survey of Foreign Policy Trends 1992-2002, produced by the Democracy Coalition Project, grades 40 countries on implementation of their commitment under the Warsaw Declaration to protect and promote democracy, based on their response to such events as the 1999 military coup in Pakistan, flawed elections in Zimbabwe earlier this year, and the attempted ouster of Venezuelan President Chavez in April 2002. Each surveyed state is given a "defending democracy" rating ranging from very good to poor.

Morton H. Halperin, President of the Democracy Coalition Project, described the findings as "clear evidence that promoting democracy is not only the right thing to do, but the smart thing to do." The survey found that, while the gap between rhetoric and reality is closing, promoting democracy is not yet a central element of the foreign policy of the world's democracies. When the defense of democratic norms clashed with economic, military or other national interests, surveyed states tended to give short-shrift to democracy related goals.

The survey also documented a strong direct correlation between a country's internal democratic development and its support for democracy abroad. The better a country's record on protecting democracy and human rights at home, the more

likely its government defends them beyond its national borders. The study's authors rated almost half of the surveyed countries as either "good" or "very good" promoters of democracy abroad, while just over a third were given a grade of "fair". Six countries received a grade of "poor." Germany, along with the United States and the United Kingdom, were among those receiving a "good" rating while France and Japan were judged "fair". Only Canada, Netherlands and Sweden were rated as "very good".

In general, more established democracies scored higher, although a number of newer democracies also earned a score of "good," including Ghana, Chile, Poland and the Republic of Korea. Those with the poorest "defending democracy" records – Georgia, Indonesia, Jordan, Kenya, Morocco, and Russia - were also those with the lowest levels of internal democratic development.

The survey was very well-received by Forum participants. Commonwealth Secretary-General Donald McKinnon described it as "very significant, as it sheds light on the evolution of foreign policy trends and on governments' commitment to supporting democracy worldwide." The authors hope it will be a tool for democracy proponents, whether civil society activists or policymakers, to make democracy promotion abroad a higher priority for governments. Stories about the Survey have appeared in numerous publications around the world, including in Bloomberg News, Radio Free Asia, the Middle East Review of International Affairs, Ghanaweb, and two Moroccan weeklies, among others.

For more information about the survey, please visit: <http://www.demcoalition.org>. To obtain a copy of the survey, please contact us at: info@demcoalition.org

**PRE-SEOUL EVENTS:
Community of Democracies
Discussed in Latin America, Europe and
former Soviet Union**

**EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT DEBATES
COMMUNITY OF DEMOCRACIES WITH THE
EUROPEAN COMMISSION**

On 11 October 2002, a prominent group of Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) addressed the European Commission about its role in the Community of Democracies. MEPs of different parties, including Emma Bonino, Marco Pannella, Gianfranco Dell'Alba, Benedetto Della Vedova, Alima Boumediene-Thiery, Bob van den Bos, Ulla Sandbæk and Gianni Vattimo, among several others, focused their query on the importance of the CD and the upcoming meeting in Seoul, stressing that "this event is particularly significant because it provides an opportunity for thinking about and boosting the instruments and procedures for promoting the rule of law, political democracy and respect for human rights in the world."

In their oral question to the European Commission, the MEPs pressed for further active involvement in the CD initiative, noting that its objectives "coincide with the commitments and principles solemnly declared on several occasions by the European Union in connection with the need to consolidate and promote democracy, the rule of law and human rights in the world on the basis of a joint effort by all the countries governed by democratic systems".

MEP Della Vedova added that the Transnational Radical Party dedicated an entire congress to debate the Community of Democracies. Participants saw the need to create a secretariat to promote and sustain the initiative; and to form a democracy caucus at the UN to act in the defense and promotion of the democratic principles, human rights and rule of law. Vedova opined that such a caucus could take up the issue of Libya assuming the presidency of the UN Commission on Human Rights.

Stating the "profound interest" of the Party of European Socialists in the Community of Democracies, MEP Gianni Vattimo argued: "In a world where the risk of terrorism is followed by a risk that the anti-terrorist struggle becomes the occasion to establish new imperial hegemonies, it seems fundamental that the Community of Democracies becomes a guarantee of peace and respect for freedom against any authoritarian

temptation, from whatever country it comes.”

The European Commission, represented by the Vice-President and Commissioner Loyola de Palacio, responded that there is no common EU position on this matter. However, the Commission viewed as very positive the central contribution of one of its member states, Portugal, in drafting a paper proposing criteria for the participation and invitation of states to the Community of Democracies.

DCP ORGANIZES PRE-SEOUL MEETINGS IN LIMA AND BRUSSELS

During the months prior to the meetings of the Community of Democracies, DCP organized or made presentations at a series of meetings and conferences to discuss strategies and proposed outcomes for Seoul.

LIMA

The international forum on “**State, Civil Society and Democracy in the Americas: One year after the Inter-American Democratic Charter**” was held in Lima, Peru, 24-27 September. DCP co-organized the conference with Transparencia/Peru, Acuerdo de Lima (Lima Accord, network of Latin American civic groups), RID (Inter-American Network for Democracy) and International IDEA.

Held to commemorate the first anniversary of the Inter-American Democratic Charter, the forum was an excellent opportunity to bring attention to the Warsaw Declaration and to the CD process.

The event took place at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and included prominent international figures such as Alejandro Toledo, President of Peru; Allan Wagner, Peruvian Foreign Minister; Javier Perez de Cuellar, former UN Secretary General; Joao Baena Soares, former OAS Secretary General; Valentin Paniagua; former interim President of Peru and member of DCP’s international advisory board; and former foreign ministers Diego Garcia Sayan (Peru); Augusto Ramirez Ocampo (Colombia); Antonio Aranibar (Bolivia); Benjamin Ortiz (Ecuador); Eduardo Stein (Guatemala); Dante Caputo (Argentina); Rosario Green (Mexico); and Noemi Sanin (Colombia). The attendees numbered almost

400 and came from civil society, government, and the private sector.

DCP organized two sessions:

a. Plenary session “The Community of Democracies Process: From Warsaw to Seoul and Santiago” The presenters at this session included former President Paniagua; Eduardo Stein; Andrea Sanhueza, Executive Director of PARTICIPA/Chile and member of the international planning committee for the CD Forum in Seoul; Rafael Roncagliolo, Secretary General of Transparencia/Peru and member of the Peruvian DCP; and Ted Piccone, Co-Director of DCP. Marcelo Varela-Erasheva, DCP Regional Director for Latin America and the Caribbean, moderated this session.

b. Democratization of International Organizations Panelists included Edmundo Jarquin, head of the State and Civil Society Division of the Inter-American Development Bank; Amy Gray, Manager of the Latin American Program at the Bank Information Center; and Eduardo Ballon, Senior Researcher to DESCO/Peru.

DCP also co-sponsored a panel on Legislatures and Democracy, organized by the Inter-American Dialogue and moderated by one of its senior fellows, Sean Carroll.

The forum was hosted by the Peruvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and received significant contributions from the following institutions: the Inter-American Development Bank, World Bank, OAS, UNDP/Peru, the Andean Community, and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

For more information about the conference, or about DCP’s work in Latin America, please contact us at: lac@demcoalition.org.

BRUSSELS

In October 2002, DCP organized another pre-Seoul conference in Brussels entitled, “**The Community of Democracies: European Perspectives and Strategies on the Road from Warsaw to Seoul.**” The meeting, held at the European Parliament, focused on the challenges and opportunities presented by the CD Ministerial Meeting and parallel Non-Governmental Forum, and to update participants -Members of the European Parliament, senior E.C. officials, diplomatic representatives, NGO leaders, academics, and journalists- on preparations for the two gatherings.

Conference presentations on issues surrounding the CD were made by Jaime Gama, former Foreign Minister of Portugal; Emma Bonino, MEP; Jos Lemmers, Director, North-South Centre of the Council of Europe; Park Yang-Chun, Ambassador of Korea in Belgium; Steven Wagenseil, Deputy Director of OSCE/ODHIR; Irune Aguirrezabal, Regional Director of the ICC Coalition; and Claudia Caldeirinha, Regional Director of DCP for Europe. The conference concluded with a luncheon address by EP Vice-President Pacheco Pereira in which press participated.

Following the formal conference, DCP held a strategy session with some of its key partners from Europe and a few of the Newly Independent States of the former Soviet Union. It proved to be a fruitful opportunity to discuss concrete strategies for Seoul and to identify common interests across Europe. Among those in attendance were Jana Chrzova, Czech Helsinki Committee; Gianfranco Dell'Alba,

Member of the European Parliament; Ludmilla Alexeeva, Chair of the Moscow Helsinki Group; Frances D' Souza, Westminster Foundation (UK); Yuri Dzhibladze, President, Center for the Development of Democracy and Human Rights (Russia); Hryhoriy Nemyria, Board Chair, International Renaissance Foundation (Ukraine); Antonio Pinto Ribeiro, Portuguese Coalition for Democracy; Aleksander Smolar, Board Chair, Stefan Batory Foundation (Poland), Mabel Wisse-Smit, Open Society Institute, Director of the Brussels Office; Jos Lemmers, Director, North-South Center; Matteo Meccaci, Transnational Radical Party; Alexander Lomaia, Regional Director of DCP for the former Soviet Union; and Robert Herman, Co-Director DCP.

For more information about the conference, or about DCP's work in Europe, please contact us at: europe@demcoalition.org.



DEMOCRACY COALITION PROJECT

Created in June 2001, the Democracy Coalition Project (DCP) seeks to support civil society actors around the world who are engaged in democracy-building in their respective countries and at the international level. Working with leading organizations and individuals in the democracy movements of selected countries, the Project supports these actors in their efforts to inform and influence public debate on issues critical to strengthening more democratic processes and outcomes.

DCP is part of the International Planning Committee of the Community of Democracies Non-Governmental Forum, and receives financial support from the Open Society Institute.

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