The Foreign Policies of Emerging-Market Democracies

What Role for Human Rights and Democracy?

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

April 14-15, 2011

Foreign Policy
at BROOKINGS

forum
International Forum for Democratic Studies

The Foreign Policies of Emerging-Market Democracies

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AGENDA

Thursday, April 14

2:00PM-2:30PM **Welcome and Introduction**

Ted Piccone, *Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Foreign Policy at Brookings*

Marc F. Plattner, *Director, International Forum for Democratic Studies, National Endowment for Democracy*

2:30PM-3:30PM **India**

MODERATOR:
Francine Frankel, *Professor and Founding Director, Center for the Study of Contemporary India, University of Pennsylvania*

AUTHOR:
Pratap Bhanu Mehta, *President, Center for Policy Research*

COMMENTATOR:
Satu Limaye, *Director, East-West Center*

3:30PM-3:45PM **Break**

3:45PM-4:45PM **Brazil**

MODERATOR:
Diego Abente-Brun, *Deputy Director, International Forum for Democratic Studies, National Endowment for Democracy*

AUTHOR:
H.E. Roberto Abdenur, *Former Brazilian Ambassador to U.S. and China*

COMMENTATOR: Carlos Pereira, *Visiting Fellow, Foreign Policy at Brookings*

4:45PM-5:45PM **Turkey**

MODERATOR:
Fiona Hill, *Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy at Brookings*

AUTHOR:
Soli Ozel, *Professor, Kadir University*

COMMENTATOR:
Ömer Taşpınar, *Nonresident Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy at Brookings*

Friday, April 15

9:00AM-10:00AM **South Africa**

MODERATOR:
Akwe Amosu, *Africa Advocacy Director, Open Society Foundations*

AUTHOR:
Moeletsi Mbeki, *Deputy Chairperson, South African Institute for International Affairs*

COMMENTATOR:
Pauline Baker, *President Emeritus, Fund for Peace*

10:00AM-10:15AM **Break**

10:15AM-11:15AM **Indonesia**

MODERATOR:
Brian Joseph, *Senior Director, Asia and Multiregional Programs, National Endowment for Democracy*

AUTHOR:
Rizal Sukma, *Executive Director, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta, Indonesia*

COMMENTATOR:
Donald Emmerson, *Senior Fellow, Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, Stanford University*

11:15AM-12:15PM **Republic of Korea**

MODERATOR:
Katy Oh, *Nonresident Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy at Brookings*

AUTHOR:
Youngshik Bong, *Senior Researcher Asian Institute for Policy Studies*

COMMENTATOR:
Scott Snyder, Director, *Center for U.S.-Korea Policy, The Asia Foundation*

12:15PM-2:00PM **Keynote Address**

SPEAKER:
Samantha Power, *Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director, Office of Multilateral Affairs and Human Rights*
National Security Council

INTRODUCTION BY:
Carl Gershman, *President, National Endowment for Democracy*

2:00PM-3:00PM **Multilateral Organizations**

MODERATOR:
Richard Gowan, *Associate Director, Center on International Cooperation*

AUTHOR:
Ted Piccone, *Senior Fellow and Deputy Director, Foreign Policy at Brookings*

COMMENTATOR:
Peggy Hicks, *Global Advocacy Director, Human Rights Watch*

3:00PM-3:15PM **Break**

3:00PM-5:00PM **Concluding Session: Implications for the Future of Democracy and International Politics**

MODERATOR:
Larry Diamond, *Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution, Stanford University*

SPEAKERS:
Thomas Carothers, *Vice President for Studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

Robert Kagan, *Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy at Brookings*

Moises Naim, *Senior Associate, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*

PARTICIPANT BIOGRAPHIES

Roberto Abdenur

Roberto Abdenur is a retired career diplomat with Brazil's Foreign Service, where he most recently served as the Brazilian Ambassador to the United States. Previously, he served as Ambassador to Ecuador, China, Austria, and Germany; and as Deputy Foreign Minister. He now works as a consultant on international economic and political issues for corporations and provides analysis to various media outlets. He serves on the boards of a number of Brazilian corporations and the Brazilian Institute for International Relations.

Diego Abente-Brun

Diego Abente-Brun is deputy director of the International Forum for Democratic Studies at the National Endowment for Democracy. Prior to joining the Forum, Mr. Abente-Brun served as a professor of sociology and politics at Catholic University in Asunción, Paraguay; as a senior research fellow at the Centro de Análisis y Difusión de la Economía Paraguaya; and as an associate professor of political science at Miami University (Ohio). A former senator, minister and ambassador of the Republic of Paraguay, he is the author and editor of a number of books and articles on democracy and governance, including *Latin America's Struggle for Democracy.*

Akwe Amosu

Akwe Amosu is the director of the Africa Advocacy program at the Open Society Foundations (OSF), which supports African civil society partners in West, East, and Southern Africa and seeks to raise the profile and objectives of African constituencies at regional and international levels. For more than twenty years, Ms. Amosu has worked as a journalist at *allAfrica.com*, the *BBC World Service*, the *Financial Times*, and *West Africa Magazine*. She has served as the head of communications at the UN Economic Commission for Africa and is on the boards of the International Women's Media Foundation, Trust Africa, Global Voices Online, and the AllAfrica Foundation.

Pauline Baker

Pauline Baker is president emeritus of The Fund for Peace, which is dedicated to preventing war and alleviating the conditions that cause conflict. Ms. Baker previously taught at the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced and International Studies, and the University of Lagos. She also has served as staff director for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's Africa Subcommittee, deputy director of the Aspen Institute's Congressional Program, senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, as well as a Rockefeller Foundation fellow, where she conducted research in Southern Africa.

Youngshik Daniel Bong

Youngshik Daniel Bong is a senior researcher at the Asan Institute for Policy Studies in Seoul, Korea. Before joining the Asan Institute, Dr. Bong was an assistant professor at American University's School of International Service, a Freeman post-doctoral fellow at Wellesley College, and an assistant professor of Korean Studies at Williams College. His articles have been published in the *Journal of Asian Studies*, the *Korea Observer*, *Political Science Quarterly*, and *Korean Studies*. His research focuses on territorial disputes, anti-Americanism, and the U.S.-Korea alliance.

Thomas Carothers

Thomas Carothers is vice president for studies and director of the Democracy and Rule of Law program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He has worked on democracy assistance projects for many public and private organizations and carried out extensive field research on democracy-building programs around the world. He is the author or editor of eight books on democracy and rule of law promotion, including most recently *Confronting the Weakest Link: Aiding Political Parties in New Democracies*, as well as many articles in prominent journals and newspapers. He has previously worked at the Office of the Legal Adviser of the U.S. Department of State.

Larry Diamond

Larry Diamond is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University, where he also directs the Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law. He is the founding coeditor of the *Journal of Democracy* and a senior consultant at the International Forum for Democratic Studies at the National Endowment for Democracy. He has served as a consultant to the World Bank, State Department, United Nations, and U.S. Agency for International Development. His most recent book is *The Spirit of Democracy: The Struggle to Build Free Societies throughout the World*.

Donald Emmerson

Donald Emmerson is director of the Southeast Asia Forum at Stanford University's Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center. His previous affiliations include the Australian National University and the University of Wisconsin. He is the author of a number of books and articles on Asian political development, U.S. foreign policy, democracy, and governance, including *Islamism: Contested Perspectives on Political Islam and Hard Choices: Security, Democracy and Regionalism in Southeast Asia*. Mr. Emmerson serves on the advisory boards of several journals, including *Contemporary Southeast Asia* and the *Journal of Democracy*.

Francine Frankel

Francine Frankel is professor of political science and the founding director of the Center for the Advanced Study of India at the University of Pennsylvania, as well as a founding member of the University's Institute for the Advanced Study of India in New Delhi. The author of eight books, including *India's Political Economy: 1947–2004*, she has held appointments at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Delhi School of Economics, and the Institute for Advanced Study and the Center for International Studies, both at Princeton University. Professor Frankel has served on policy task forces sponsored by the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), the Asia Society, the Brookings Institution, and the Carnegie Foundation for International Peace.

Carl Gershman

Carl Gershman is president of the National Endowment for Democracy, where he has overseen the creation of the *Journal of Democracy*, the International Forum for Democratic Studies, the Reagan-Fascell Democracy Fellows Program, and the World Movement for Democracy, as well as presiding over the Endowment's ongoing grant operations throughout the world. Prior to heading the Endowment, Mr. Gershman was a senior counselor to the U.S. Representative to the United Nations, a resident scholar at Freedom House, and executive director of Social Democrats USA. He has lectured and published extensively on foreign policy, development, governance, and human rights.

Richard Gowan

Richard Gowan is an associate director at New York University's Center on International Cooperation (CIC), where he is responsible for developing CIC's outreach and profile, in addition to working on peacekeeping, multilateral security arrangements, and the relationship between the UN and the EU. He is also a policy fellow at the European Council on Foreign Relations. He has previously served as the manager of the Europe Programme at The Foreign Policy Centre (London), and regularly broadcasts with the BBC, CNN and PBS, and contributes to policy magazines and websites.

Chaibong Hahm

Chaibong Hahm is the president of the Asan Institute for Policy Studies in Seoul, Korea. He previously has served as a senior political scientist at the RAND Corporation, professor of international relations and director of the Korean Studies Institute at the University of Southern California, as well as director for social sciences and research at UNESCO. He is the author of numerous books and articles on Korean and East Asian politics, including *Confucianism for the Modern World*. He has been a visiting professor at Duke, Georgetown, and Princeton Universities and a visiting fellow at the International Forum for Democratic Studies.

Peggy Hicks

Peggy Hicks is global advocacy director at Human Rights Watch (HRW), where she is responsible for coordinating HRW's advocacy team and providing direction to its advocacy worldwide. Hicks previously served as director of the Office of Returns and Communities in the UN mission in Kosovo and as Deputy High Representative for Human Rights in Bosnia and Herzegovina. She has also worked as the Director of Programs for the International Human Rights Law Group (now Global Rights), clinical professor of human rights and refugee law at the University of Minnesota Law School, and as an expert consultant for the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.

Fiona Hill

Fiona Hill is director of the Center on the United States and Europe and a senior fellow in Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution. She has researched and published extensively on Russia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, regional conflicts, energy, and strategic issues. Ms. Hill has previously served as the National Intelligence Officer for Russia and Eurasia at The National Intelligence Council and as director of Strategic Planning at the Eurasia Foundation, as well as holding a number of positions at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, including director of the Project on Ethnic Conflict in the Former Soviet Union.

Brian Joseph

Brian Joseph is senior director for Asia and global programs at the National Endowment for Democracy, where he is responsible for the management of a grant portfolio supporting democratic development with more than 250 civil society organizations. He previously served as director for South and Southeast Asia programs at NED and taught at the Foreign Service Institute. He has been published in a number of journals and newspapers, including the *Journal of Democracy* and the *International Herald Tribune*, and has appeared on PBS, CNN, and Radio Free Asia.

Robert Kagan

Robert Kagan is a senior fellow in Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution. He also writes a monthly column on world affairs for the *Washington Post*, and is a contributing editor at the *Weekly Standard* and the *New Republic*. He has previously served in the State Department as a member of the Policy Planning Staff, as principal speechwriter for Secretary of State George Shultz, and as deputy for policy in the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs. Mr. Kagan's books include *The Return of History and the End of Dreams* (2008), *Dangerous Nation: America's Place in the World from its Earliest Days to the Dawn of the 20th Century* (2006) and *Of Paradise and Power* (2003).

Satu Limaye

Satu Limaye is the director of the East West Center and editor of the Policy Studies Series. He has previously served with the Institute for Defense Analyses, and as director of the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies' research and publications division. Mr. Limaye was an Abe Fellow at the National Endowment for Democracy's International Forum for Democratic Studies and a Luce Scholar and head of South Asia programs at the Japan Institute of International Affairs in Tokyo. He has also written, edited, and co-edited numerous books, monographs, and studies, including *US, Australia and Japan and the New Security Triangle* and *Japan in a Dynamic Asia*.

Moeletsi Mbeki

Moeletsi Mbeki is deputy chairman of the South African Institute for International Affairs, an independent think tank based at the University of the Witwatersrand, and the author of *Architects of Poverty: Why African Capitalism Needs Changing*. A private business entrepreneur, he is director of several companies and chairman of KMM Investments Limited, Endemol South Africa Limited, and African Resources & Logistics Corporation. He is also a member of the executive council of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. Mr. Mbeki previously worked as a journalist contributing to *Africa*, *New African*, and *Africa Now* magazines, as well as the BBC.

Pratap Mehta

Pratap Mehta is president of the Centre for Policy Research in New Delhi. He previously taught Government and Social Studies at Harvard University and serves on the faculty of New York University Law School. He has published widely on political theory, Indian politics, and India's role in world affairs. His most recent book is *The Oxford Companion to Politics in India*. Mr. Mehta has a column in the *Indian Express* and writes extensively for national and international dailies. He has served as Member Convenor of the Prime Minister's Knowledge Commission and was the recipient of the Malcolm Adisheshiah Award for significant contributions to development.

Moises Naím

Moises Naím is a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace where his research focuses on international economics and global politics. He is also the chief international columnist for *El Pais*, Spain's largest newspaper. Before joining the Carnegie Endowment, Mr. Naím served as the editor in chief of *Foreign Policy* magazine, as Venezuela's minister of trade and industry, as director of Venezuela's Central Bank, and as executive director of the World Bank. He chairs the board of directors of Population Action International and of the Group of Fifty (G-50), and is a member of the board of the National Endowment for Democracy and the International Crisis Group.

Katy Oh

Katy Oh is a nonresident senior fellow in Foreign Policy at The Brookings Institution. She is also as a researcher at the Institute for Defense Analysis, a life-time member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and a member of the Korea Working Group at the United States Institute of Peace. In addition, Ms. Oh is a member of the board of directors of the United States Committee of the Council for Security and Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific and co-founder and co-director of The Korea Club in Washington, DC. She is the author of numerous articles and books, including, *The Hidden People of North Korea: Everyday Life in the Hermit Kingdom*, and is currently working on her third book on North Korea.

Soli Özel

Soli Özel is currently a full time Professor at Kadir Has University. He is also a columnist at *Habertürk Daily* newspaper, and an advisor to TÜSİAD (the Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association). He edits TUSIAD's magazine, *Private View*. He has guest lectured at Georgetown, Harvard, Tufts and other U.S. universities. He is a regular contributor to the German Marshall Fund's web site's "On Turkey" series and a regular contributor to World Affairs Journal blog. Most recently he is the co-author with Suhnaz Yılmaz of "Rebuilding a Partnership: Turkish-American Relations in a New Era."

Carlos Pereira

Carlos Pereira is a visiting fellow in the Latin America Initiative at Brookings Institution. He also works as an assistant professor of Comparative Politics at Michigan State University and as a professor of political economy at the Getulio Vargas Foundation in Brazil. His research focuses on political economy and public policy in comparative perspective in Latin America. His work has led to publications in journals such as *Journal of Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, *Political Research Quarterly*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *Electoral Studies*, *Quarterly Review of Economics and Finance*, and the *Journal of Legislative Studies*.

Ted Piccone

Ted Piccone is a senior fellow and deputy director of Foreign Policy at the Brookings Institution. His areas of expertise include U.S.–Latin American relations, global democracy and human rights, and multilateral affairs. He previously served as the executive director and co-founder of the Democracy Coalition Project, a research and advocacy organization which promotes international cooperation for democracy and human rights; as well as serving for eight years in the Clinton Administration as Associate Director of the Secretary of State's Policy Planning staff, Director for Inter-American Affairs at the National Security Council, and Policy Advisor in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. His most recent publication is "Catalysts for Rights: The Unique Contribution of the UN's Independent Experts on Human Rights."

Marc F. Plattner

Marc F. Plattner is the director of the International Forum for Democratic Studies, coeditor of the *Journal of Democracy*, and vice president for research and studies at the National Endowment for Democracy. Prior to joining the Endowment, Mr. Plattner was a fellow at the National Humanities Center, an advisor on economic and social affairs at the United States Mission to the United Nations, and managing editor of *The Public Interest*, a quarterly journal on public policy. He is the author or editor of many books, including *Democracy without Borders? Global Challenges to Liberal Democracy*.

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Samantha Power is the Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Multilateral Affairs and Human Rights at the National Security Council. Ms. Power most recently served as the Anna Lindh Professor of the Practice of Global Leadership and Public Policy at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government, where she taught courses on U.S. foreign policy, human rights, and extremism and where she was the founding Executive Director of the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy. She is the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide* (2002) and *Chasing the Flame: Sergio Vieria de Mello and the Fight to Save the World* (2008), the basis for the award-winning HBO documentary "Sergio." Power has served as a columnist at *Time Magazine*, and prior to serving at the NSC contributed regularly to the *New Yorker Magazine*, the *New York Review of Books*, and the *New Republic*.

Scott Snyder

Scott Snyder is director of the Center for U.S-Korea Policy at The Asia Foundation, an adjunct senior fellow for Korean studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, and a senior associate at the Pacific Forum CSIS. The author of *China's Rise and the Two Koreas: Politics, Economics, Security*, he previously served as a program officer in the Research and Studies program at the United States Institute of Peace, as acting director of The Asia Society's Contemporary Affairs program, and as a Pantech Visiting Fellow at Stanford University's Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center.

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Rizal Sukma is the executive director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies, Jakarta, and has worked extensively on issues of Southeast Asian security, ASEAN, Indonesian defense and foreign policy, military reform, and Islam and politics. He is also a member of the Board of Governors of the implementing agency for the Bali Democracy Forum at the Institute for Peace and Democracy and was a Fulbright Visiting Scholar at Columbia University. He is a member of the editorial boards for the journals *Global Change*, *Peace and Security Studies in Asian Security*, as well for Stanford University Press. His books include *Islam in Indonesia's Foreign Policy*.

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Ömer Taşpınar is a nonresident senior fellow and director of the Turkey Project with the Center on the United States and Europe at the Brookings Institution, as well as a professor of national security strategy at the National War College and an adjunct professor at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced and International Studies. An expert on Turkish foreign policy and Islamic radicalism, he has published two books: *Political Islam and Kurdish Nationalism in Turkey* and *Winning Turkey: How Turkey, Europe and the US Can Revive a Fading Partnership* (with Philip Gordon).

The Foreign Policies of Emerging-Market Democracies

What Role for Human Rights and Democracy?

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
APRIL 14-15, 2011

The Managing Global Order Project of the Brookings Institution's Foreign Policy program and the National Endowment for Democracy's International Forum for Democratic Studies co-hosted a two-day international conference to examine the foreign policies of emerging-market democracies. The category of emerging-market democracies (EMDs) comprises those developing countries that are governed democratically and also play a significant role in the world economy. Given their growing economic and political influence on the international stage, the foreign policies of these countries, and specifically the weight they give to supporting democracy and human rights abroad, deserve greater attention and analysis.

Over the course of the two days, experts from Brazil, India, Indonesia, South Africa, South Korea, and Turkey assessed their countries' willingness to promote democracy and human rights in their dealings with other countries both bilaterally and at the multilateral level. Experts provided examples of these states' efforts (and failures) to support human rights and democracy in other countries and explored the diverse domestic drivers behind these decisions. The conference highlighted that each of these states has unique traditions and histories that have shaped their definition of national interest and values. Despite these differences, they share some common features in their approach to the international democracy and human rights agenda:

- a heightened concern for traditional principles of nonintervention in internal affairs;
- an abundance of caution in working with the United States and other Western democracies on a more robust approach to supporting democratic transitions and human rights, with a strong preference for multilateral mechanisms and modest steps;
- a growing willingness to lead by example in their neighborhoods and, in some cases, around the world as states that have made major economic advances while deepening democratic governance and values; and
- a preference for maximum flexibility to sustain and strengthen ties with a wide range of countries regardless of regime type.

Views were mixed on the future trajectory of these states as key actors in advocating political reforms. As their own democracies mature, they may be more confident in sharing their own experiences, but their expanding economic interests in a globalizing world may cut the other way.

The following report summarizes the presentations of the speakers and commentators at the conference.

Opening Remarks

Ted Piccone, Senior Fellow and Deputy Director of Foreign Policy at Brookings, introduced the conference and its relevance to the larger study of international democracy and human rights support. Currently, there is a dearth of research and understanding in Washington and other capitals on the role that these six countries, and others that fit in the category of emerging-market democracies, can play when it comes to supporting democracy and human rights around the world. There is a real need for a better intellectual grasp of the historical, political, and economic drivers implicated in the formulation of these governments' national interests, how these are changing, and how they are reflected in their respective foreign policies. With the help of experts from the field, the conference aims to fill this intellectual gap and inform policymakers, advocates, and analysts in developed democracies about how to better partner with these emerging powers.

The underlying assumption for the discussions is that democratic development is and must be controlled by domestic actors, but that external actors can and do have influence on the margins, in some places more than others. In the 21st century, the democracy and human rights agenda will depend on whether emerging-market democracies see value in a world composed of states with similar political systems in which human rights are respected, the rule of law is consolidated and enforced, and governance is transparent and accountable. Or will they instead pursue foreign policies detached from democratic values, in favor of realpolitik approaches or noninterventionism.

Piccone highlighted critical, unanswered questions that must be addressed to better understand if and how these states will contribute to international democracy and human rights support. First, how will media, civil society, parliamentarians and business interests influence governments to take notice of what is happening to human rights and the rule of law in other countries and change their views on sovereignty? Second, will intervention be justified by the doctrine of the right to protect or by the protection of civilians, which has authorized muscular UN interventions in Libya and Cote d'Ivoire? And

Carl Gershman addresses the audience.

will states develop a more enlightened concept of self-interest guided by democratic peace theory which concludes that neighbors will be stable only to the extent that they are democratic?

Marc F. Plattner, director of the International Forum for Democratic studies, explained the conceptual framework for the conference and outlined its major objectives. It has become clear that the world's democratic community can no longer be simply divided into "advanced" Western democracies and new democracies from other regions. Just as students of international relations have highlighted the importance of "emerging powers" and economists have emphasized the importance of "emerging markets," he has been struck by the salience of a new group of nations: "emerging-market democracies" (EMDs). These are countries with relatively consolidated democratic institutions, growing economies, and increasing clout on the world stage. This category encompasses many countries, but the conference chose to focus on six of the most important: India, Brazil, Turkey, South Africa, Indonesia, and South Korea.

Many supporters of democracy in the West had hoped—and even expected—that the EMDs would become advocates for democracy internationally. After all, most had succeeded in bringing down their own authoritarian regimes, and a commitment to democracy seemed integrated into their national identity. Yet these countries have turned out to be rather hesitant about championing human rights and democracy outside their borders and have even explicitly backed some authoritarian regimes. The conference strives to answer why this is the case.

Some will undoubtedly insist that since all states—including the advanced democracies—prioritize security and economic interests, it is hypocritical to expect the EMDs to promote democracy and human rights. But does this mean we should simply accept the view that nations can and should act solely on the basis of their interests, and that to criticize them on moral or humanitarian grounds is unreasonable? Of course, we cannot expect states to neglect their security and economic interests in order to promote democracy and human rights. In the real world, there will inevitably be tradeoffs between support for democracy and the pursuit of other foreign policy goals.

In a democracy, these tradeoffs reflect the interests and views of different parts of the population. The democracy and human rights advocacy community in the United States, for instance, wins some battles and loses many others. In some cases, state decision making may be the preserve of a foreign policy elite, in other circumstances there may be broad national consensus behind foreign policy decisions, and sometimes different political parties favor very different foreign policy priorities. The conference also aims to illuminate these domestic determinants of foreign policy in each of the six countries. The immediate goal is not to strengthen the forces favoring a greater role for democracy and human rights but to learn about how key emerging democracies view and incorporate these issues in their dealings with other countries.

Session I: India

Pratap Bahnu Mehta, President of the Center for Policy Research, began the session by explaining that democracy and human rights are very important to India, and that it relies on both to buttress its national identity. To put it plainly, India would not be a nation without democracy. In Mehta's view, India is tentatively moving towards espousing democracy and human rights on an international scale, but he expects that it will take a more muted approach on these issues in the short term. This is to be expected since India's foreign policy generally follows a mantra of cautious prudence, and Indian policymakers are reluctant to embrace a potentially polarizing ideological goal.

As in other countries, certain background assumptions and drivers fuel India's foreign policy. Its motivations differ from those of nations like the United States. First, India is culturally a more prudent, and often suspicious, nation. It believes that calls for it to promote democracy and human rights originate in the West. Second, India is still too fractious to take on long-term risks. Deep internal divisions prevent any radical shifts in policy. Third, India is directly impacted by the actions of a number of its authoritarian neighbors. It has to balance China to its northeast and Myanmar to its southeast. In the case of Myanmar, India is forced to recognize and cooperate with the ruling military junta; insurgents in India's troubled Eastern fringes have sought safe haven in Myanmar. Ultimately, India's regional policies reflect the structural vulnerabilities that the country faces. Cooperation with authoritarian neighbors is not merely about economic self-interest, it is about security.

Finally, India performs a complicated balancing act, trying to manage its relationship with the West and to adopt a more internationalist posture while maintaining its leadership role in the Nonaligned Movement (NAM), which favors non-interventionism. It goes largely unrecognized today that India had been a vociferous supporter of internationalism during the founding of the United Nations and that it supported UN intervention in South Africa. India came to embrace the sovereignty principle in large part because of its experience with Kashmir at the UN. Mehta recalled that during the Cold War interventionism was largely associated with subverting democratic regimes, not building them. As this association fades, India's approach may change. Even if India does not explicitly embrace democracy promotion as a foreign policy goal, it serves as a successful model and is actively involved in helping other governments—from Afghanistan to several in Africa—build institutions and run proper elections. As a model, India shows the world that democratization and economic development are not mutually exclusive. To that end, the failure of democracy in India would have grave implications for the democracy agenda.

> "India recognizes that being a successful democracy is potentially a great strategic asset in the international order; it does flaunt its credentials as the world's largest democracy and all that comes with it."
>
> —Pratap Mehta

In his remarks, Satu Limaye, Director of the East-West Center, agreed that democracy and human rights will not be priorities of India's foreign policy but he disputed some of Mehta's underlying arguments. First, he doubted that India would challenge the sovereignty principle. As long as India faces challenges in Kashmir and combats Naxalite insurgents, it will remain committed to the sovereignty principle and continue to manage an uneasy relationship between international pressures and strategic interests. In addition, as India aspires to take on an advanced and expanded leadership role in international organizations, it has a strategic interest in garnering the

support of the G-77 countries. This will only serve to encourage India to defend non-interventionism and make it more hesitant to embrace the democracy and human rights agenda.

Aside from its strategic interests in invoking the sovereignty principle, India will be restrained from promoting democracy and human rights because of its sheer geography. Its relationships with China, Russia, Iran, and its neighbors in South Asia are bound to grow in importance, leaving it less room to maneuver on democracy and human rights. Limaye also questioned the divide between India's interests and its ideology, insisting that in a globalized world India's ideational and material interests will converge. India's quest is for strategic autonomy, which means it will seek to maximize its gains wherever they may be, making democracy promotion unlikely. Finally, Limaye explained that any democracy and human rights promotion India engages in is a flow-through from the US-India relationship, as India's support in this area is a core element of the normalization of U.S.-India relations in the post-Cold War era.

"India's quest is one for strategic autonomy, which means it will seek to maximize its gains wherever they may be, making democracy promotion unlikely."

—Satu Limaye

Francine Frankel, Professor and Founding Director of the Center for the Study of Contemporary India at the University of Pennsylvania, commented primarily on Mehta's view that India lacks a clear foreign policy direction. Frankel insisted that India has clearer interests than ever before. It wants to be a dominant country in its region, needs to manage a developing strategic rivalry with China, and seeks to prevent a two-front war with China and Pakistan. In this context, India is pursuing a clear strategy of balancing China by embracing allegiances with Japan, South Korea, and the United States.

Although Mehta agreed that China looms large in India's decision-making process, he broadly disagreed with Frankel's assessment, insisting that India will continue to pursue its own interests in a piecemeal fashion. India is not convinced that the United States will stand behind it against China and is not interested in putting all of its eggs in the U.S. basket. Mehta observed that the dynamic between piecemeal policies and general ideology is playing out in India's immediate neighborhood, where actual practice has more of an impact than sweeping doctrine. In both Nepal and Bangladesh, India will act out of self-interest, guided not by values but by a prudent assessment of what it can and cannot achieve. A self-interested India should be no surprise. India has worked, and will continue to work, with non-democratic regimes like those in Vietnam and China. Democracy promotion, as India understands it, remains largely a tool of the United States and the West.

In the Middle East, India has maintained a realist position. New Delhi largely sees the region as supportive of Pakistan in the Kashmir conflict, and as a result Indian diplomats have not been inclined to support some of the troubled regimes in the Middle East. Limaye also pointed out that India has the largest diaspora population in the Middle East, making it particularly cautious about engaging in democracy and human rights activities that might trigger reprisals from an authoritarian regime. In Africa, India's interests are largely driven by commerce, particularly private sector-led commerce. Moreover, this is appreciated on the African continent as it does not come with sentimental baggage.

At an international level, Mehta noted, India is not likely to go too far in promoting human rights and democracy. Any efforts in these areas should be expected to come in incremental steps through bilateral or regional organizations and not through global efforts that are largely associated with the U.S. agenda. In these areas, civil society may play an active role but not as democracy advocates would like, since Indian civil society is more likely to be pro-sovereigntist and anti-American than internationalist.

Session II: Brazil

Roberto Abdenur, former Brazilian Ambassador to the United States and China, explained that the issue of democracy and human rights in Brazil's foreign policy cannot be understood without understanding Brazil's domestic transition to democracy in 1985 after 21 years of military dictatorship. The Brazilian military, though dictatorial, never lost sight of the superior legitimacy of democratic institutions. The regime even created an opposition party, recognizing that it needed an opposition—no matter how constrained—in an effort to gain even a modicum of legitimacy. Thus, unlike other countries that experienced dictatorships in the region, Brazil never experienced a total interruption of political life. Carlos Pereiera, Visiting Fellow in Foreign Policy at Brookings, agreed that Brazil's political life during its military dictatorship was not completely interrupted, contributing to its successful transition. The regime's focus on development and trade liberalization also helped secure a successful transition.

While transitioning to democracy, Abdenur noted, Brazil understood that its foreign policy should reflect its domestic efforts to liberalize. During the final presidency of the dictatorship, for instance, the Foreign Ministry insisted that the president's first official visit be not to Brazil's closest ally, Argentina, then ruled by an authoritarian regime. Instead, the president visited Venezuela, then a beacon of democracy in the region, as a signal to the world that Brazil was committed to democratization.

Abdenur explained that the word "democracy" has had a long and peculiar meaning in Brazil's foreign policy. As a developing country and now as an emerging power, Brazil is uncomfortable with the elitist nature of the international economic and political order. It has consistently fought to democratize and expand power-sharing in multilateral institutions. In this context and at the multilateral level, Brazil reliably articulates the relationships between human rights, development, democracy, and peace. Since the return to democracy in 1985, Brazil's foreign policy has strived to reflect its constitutional commitment to human rights and human dignity in international forums like the UN General Assembly, the Human Rights Council, and Mercosur.

In fact, Abdenur considered that the founding of Mercosur, a major achievement in South American integration, was only made possible by the democratization of Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. The attachment to democracy and human rights is an essential, indispensible tenet of this grouping. These partners together declared in 1998 that, in case of disruption of the democratic order, a member state could be suspended from participation or be totally deprived of its membership rights. During a serious political crisis in Paraguay a few years ago, the threat of suspension contributed decisively to avoiding a coup.

In 2001, Brazil played a leadership role in the creation of the Inter-American Democratic Charter (IADC) of the Organization of American States (OAS). This comprehensive document goes well beyond the idea that democracy consists exclusively of holding elections. It also defines a mechanism for collective action in the case of a sudden or irregular interruption of the democratic process. In 2000, Brazil grudgingly established a dialogue with the Community of Democracies, though it considers this forum a small club strongly influenced by U.S. interests.

Brazil took several steps under the presidency of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1995–2002) to display its commitment to human rights. It placed itself under the jurisdiction of the Inter-American Human Rights Court and extended a permanent invitation to rapporteurs of the UN human rights system. This was a significant gesture on behalf of Brazil, as it served to challenge its adherence to the principles of sovereignty and noninterference. Under the Lula administration (2002–2010) Brazil was deeply engaged in the creation of the UN Human Rights Council and took on a leadership role in the creation of a new mechanism, the Universal Periodic Review.

In all of its pursuits related to human rights, Brazil has acted as a stalwart defender of economic, social and cultural rights. For instance, following the 2008 economic crisis, Brazil engaged its fellow BRIC countries and other emerging powers in discussions about the impact of the crisis on human rights, especially in poorer countries. It helped convene a special session at the UN Human Rights Council on the human rights implications of the financial crisis. Brazil's leadership on economic, social, and cultural rights clashes at times with the views of many Western countries, including the United States, which prefer to delineate human rights as primarily civil and political in nature.

Brazil's preferred role in multilateral fora has been as a mediator between various actors, seeking to reduce what it considers a tendency to politicize human rights issues. It has not hesitated to work with non-democratic regimes in its efforts to mediate and foster regional integration. In 2008, the Lula government worked hand-in-hand with President Chavez's Venezuela to establish UNASUR, the Union of South American Nations. This ambitious new organization is aimed at creating broad regional integration. Due to the influence of Venezuela, the constitutive treaty of UNASUR is lacking in references to democracy and human rights.

Overall, the Cardoso and Lula administrations illustrate a tension between Brazil's commitment to democracy and human rights and its political and pragmatic interests. Domestically, Brazil has prioritized human rights with a comprehensive set of policies and initiatives. There has been a remarkable growth of Brazilian civil society. These internal strides, however, did not prevent Lula from fraternizing with authoritarian regimes when it would serve Brazilian economic or security interests. In Abdenur's view, Brazil's stance on human rights has changed enormously and in a positive direction under President Dilma Rousseff. It is noteworthy that Brazil and the United States now express willingness to work together in defense of human rights, and the Rousseff-Obama Joint Communiqué is a prime example of this potential collaboration.

Though Brazil has gone too far at times in cooperating with non-democratic regimes, Abdenur insisted that it has not lost interest in the general defense of democracy internationally. In its foreign policy, the Brazilian government will strive to balance its support for democracy with its adherence to principles of sovereignty and noninterference. This ambivalence is currently at play in its policy towards the fast-changing Middle East, where Brazil's communiqués do not explicitly reference democracy, though they do acknowledge the need for progress and rights.

Brazil's foreign policy will also continue to be guided by a focus on regional integration, making it risk-averse in its dealings with neighbors. This focus helps explain why Brazil may be more proactive about democracy and human rights at the international level than in its own neighborhood. Nonetheless, Abdenur concluded that Brazil ought to play a stronger role in supporting democracy and human rights in its region. It may have too much at stake, and lack the required leverage, to raise issues of human rights abuses with a country like China, but its ascendance as a regional power allows it more space and influence to raise these issues in its neighborhood. Pereira suggested that the best way to promote democracy in the region is through the establishment of institutions with robust checks and balances.

> "There is a certain tension in Brazil between the commitment to democracy and human rights and real political interests."
>
> —Ambassador Abdenur

In regard to Brazil's famous deal with Iran and Turkey, Abdenur admitted that he did not quite know why Brazil made this decision, and said that he considered it a deviation in its foreign policy. Pereira considered Brazil's reaction to the coup in Honduras a similar deviation from its traditional foreign policy. Abdenur understood and supported Brazil's initial response to the coup in Honduras but thought the government misstepped when it failed to recognize the outcome of subsequent free and

fair elections. On Nicaragua, Abdenur explained that Brazil has been shy about raising issues of democracy and human rights and pointed to this ambivalence as a prime example of Brazil's trying to balance its values with its pragmatic interests in its neighborhood.

Session III: Turkey

Soli Ozel, Professor at Kadir University, began the discussion by explaining that human rights do not play a major role in Turkey's foreign policy. While listening to the discussions about India and Brazil, he observed that "Turkey" could have been substituted 75% of the time for "India." These emerging-market democracies are no different, in his view, from major powers in terms of how they define and implement foreign policy. All the hypocrisies committed by established democracies are also committed by developing countries. The case of Turkey stands out for several reasons. It is an emerging power actively challenging the Western world order, but more than any of its fellow rising powers, it is also integrated into an institutional framework that the West has created, particularly as a member of NATO and candidate to the European Union. Turkey's interests are very much intertwined with the interests of those countries it is actively challenging, and it faces the dilemma of being part of the established order while elbowing its way to get more space in the field. Foreign policy decisions in the country are guided first and foremost by security and stability considerations, and these priorities will almost always trump democracy and human rights. Ozel admitted that this may not be the most far-sighted approach, since authoritarian regimes do not have the requisite legitimacy for long-term survival. This scenario is playing out now in the Middle East, where Turkey is in the eye of the storm.

> "While Turkey and others may fail to prioritize democracy and human rights in foreign policy decisionmaking, the international community in which they operate has committed to these values in principle."
>
> —Soli Ozel

While Turkey and others may fail to prioritize democracy and human rights in foreign policy decision making, the international community in which they operate is committed to these values in principle. Therefore, states operate in a tense space between the world community's commitment to human rights and democracy and the requirement and necessity that foreign policy serve state interests. In some cases the will of the international community wins out—as it has in Libya, where a reluctant Obama Administration intervened on grounds of protecting human rights. In most cases, however, state interests prevail.

Turkish foreign policy has historically been amoral, pursuing human rights only in instances where it serves its self-interest. For instance, in 1989 Turkey raised the issue of human rights violations in international fora when the Bulgarian regime was forcefully trying to change the names of its Turkish citizens and implementing discriminatory laws against them. At about the same time, Saddam Hussein killed 5,000 Kurds in Halabja and Soviet armies invaded Baku, but Turkey remained silent, even though both instances were more egregious than the violations in Bulgaria.

While Turkey would prefer to work with fellow democracies, its foreign policy is driven by strategic and economic interests and integration with its neighbors. Given that until ten years ago Turkey was in active confrontation with two thirds of its neighbors, it currently pursues a policy of "zero problems with all neighbors" and wants to be seen as an "order builder." This is a major theme of Turkey's return to global power. It defines itself as a regional power with global aspirations, occupying the Afro-Eurasian geopolitical space, where it aims to increase its influence. Ozel explained that Turkey's psychology as a legatee of an empire is a major part of its identity and influences its global aspirations. Given these aspirations, Turkey will pursue the democratization of global institutions in an effort to increase its own

influence. In an effort to maintain peace and stability in its neighborhood, however, it will not promote democracy in a state that doesn't want it.

Ozel provided several tangible examples of Turkey's efforts and failures in the realm of democracy and human rights. In a rare move that remains a reference point for Turkey's efforts to promote human rights, Abdullah Gül, then Foreign Minister, delivered a speech in 2003 that focused on human rights deficiencies in the Muslim world. At the annual Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) in Tehran, he stressed the inadequacies of Muslim countries in relation to educating women, women's rights, human rights, democracy, and respect for citizenship rights. Ozel noted that this speech, delivered during the height of EU accession talks, was an exception to the rule in Turkish foreign policy.

Steve Stedman, Co-Director of the Managing Global Order Project, and Soli Ozel listen to conference proceedings.

Bilaterally, Turkey's realpolitik approach prevails. In Iraq, for instance, Turkey's position is ecumenical. Since sectarian strife is a reality and the divide between Sunni and Shia will only deepen, Turkey presents itself as a Muslim country, not a Sunni one. Erdogan recently became the first Sunni head of state to visit Najaf, where he met with the Shia spiritual leader, Ali Sistani. This certainly sent a sign to the Iranian regime that it is not going to have unchallenged influence in Iraq. Erdogan also visited Arbil, the capital of Iraqi Kurdistan, thereby recognizing the territorial integrity of Iraq and the rights and freedoms of the constituent elements in Iraq.

Successive Turkish governments have made it a point to protect Syria from internal strife, in an effort to avoid instability on its southern border. Today, Turkey finds itself in a very acute dilemma. Ideologically, the AKP government is much closer to the Muslim Brotherhood than to the Assad regime. On the other hand, it has invested heavily in maintaining close economic and political relations between the two countries. In Ozel's view, concern for Syria's stability will continue to trump any ideological proclivities.

Turkey's approach to Sudan, according to Ozel, has been its most embarrassing foreign policy position. For Turkey, Sudan represents the entry point for its ambitious Africa policy,which has been manifested through private business development and through the missionary activities of Fethullah Gülen, a Turkish religious leader and educational activist. Inviting Omar al-Bashir, wanted for trial by the International Criminal Court, to Turkey twice, however, was a misstep and triggered so much discontent within Turkish civil society that a third visit was cancelled. Erdogan went too far when he asserted that he did not observe genocide in Darfur and that Muslims, as a peaceful people, could not commit genocide.

On Hamas, Turkey's position is not guided by the defense of Palestinian rights. It is the defense of Hamas' rights that guide this policy. Turkey supported the 2006 elections and was left in an awkward place when the democracy promoters, who had championed those elections, abandoned the results. In Israel, Turkey consistently invokes human rights to condemn the treatment of Palestinians. This policy largely reflects societal moods in Turkey and the ideology of government officials.

Whereas government officials have been consistently critical of Israel, they have been noticeably silent on Iran. Erdogan had the dubious honor of being the first to congratulate President Ahmedinejad for his reelection in 2009—even preempting Ali Khamenei. Unlike other observers, Ozel characterizes the Turkey-Iran relationship as one driven by competition, rather than by cooperation. Turkey does not want a nuclear Iran, but it does not want war with Iran either. In terms of Turkey's nuclear deal with Iran, it anticipated that its negotiation would be seen as an achievement that the United States failed to garner; instead the transaction was

largely seen in the West as Turkey assisting a dangerous regime.

As the region rapidly changes and citizens actively demand their rights, Turkey will inevitably review its policy of prioritizing economic and security interests over human rights and democracy. In Ozel's view, Turkey is a status quo power that favors stability over change. The only possible exception to this is his observation that Turkey aims to replace Israel as a regional power with a privileged association with the West, without denying Israel its affiliation with the United States. Finally, he emphasized that the absence of moral discourse from foreign policy is not an accurate reflection of Turkish society. Ethnic groups have long pushed the government to pursue human rights in its dealings with other countries. Increasingly, Muslim civil society groups are taking on human rights agendas, defined generally as helping the downtrodden rather than protecting individual rights. The looming, unanswered questions are whether or not a different government will be supportive of these groups and whether or not these organizations are adequately independent from the state.

Omer Taspinar, Nonresident Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy at Brookings, discussed the recent emphasis on Turkey as a model of democratic transition, frequently invoked in the West, and the implications of imminent regional change for Turkey's foreign policy. Even though Turkey considers itself a success story, it is hesitant to embrace its role as a model since many in the region consider this label a U.S. concoction that attempts to differentiate between good Muslims and bad Muslims. Ozel reminded that the notion of a Turkish model was similarly raised in 1991 when the Central Asian states broke away from the Soviet Union. Turkey subsequently represented some of these countries at the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). In his view, Turkey is taking on this same role in the context of change in the Arab world. Taspinar suggested that it is paradoxical that a country so often cited as a model in actuality operates according to realpolitik tendencies.

According to Taspinar, the inconsistency between Turkey's example and its unwillingness to export democracy can be largely explained by its Kurdish problem. Kurds, often cited as the world's largest ethnic minority without a state, are potentially the biggest beneficiaries of major advances in freedom in the Middle East. If changes in the region were to empower Kurds and threaten Turkey's sacrosanct borders, this would represent an existential danger to Turkey. Favoring the status quo and protecting borders are very much the legacy of Kemal Ataturk—a revolutionary at home but not a proponent of an adventurous foreign policy.

Taspinar agreed that Turkey is a status quo power but he observed that this tendency is at odds with an evolving approach of "neo-Ottomanism," which is more activist and looks beyond its borders. Neo-Ottomanism began under Turgut Ozal in the late 1980s when Turkey began opening itself up to new markets. This mercantilism remains a major driving force in Turkey's foreign policy. Turkey is still discovering new markets that were prohibited during the Cold War when it followed an exclusively pro-Western path. Though Turkey may still be a status quo power, Taspinar contended that it is becoming an agent of change in the region because of what it has achieved under an Islamic party, not thanks to what it preaches or promotes. In this sense, Turkey is passively leading by example as people look to its democratization story to derive lessons. Taspinar asserted, however, that Turkey is still very much an experiment and an illiberal democracy. Some scholars even wonder if Turkey has replaced one type of authoritarianism with another.

Despite Turkey's realpolitik approach, it has engaged in some activities that benefit the democracy and human rights agenda. Taspinar pointed to a recent discussion between Turkish Foreign Minister Davutoglu and Syrian President Assad. Davutoglu revealed to the media that he shared with Assad lessons learned from Turkey's transition to democracy in the 1940s and 1950s and relayed the importance of allowing dissent and creating strong democratic institutions. Taspinar urged observers to remember, however, that the notion of a Turkish "model" can have vastly different connotations: one of largely successful democratization, but also one of a strong military that stages coups, limits Islamists, and enforces secularism.

Session IV: South Africa

Moeletski Mbeki, Deputy Chairperson of the South African Institute for International Affairs, expressed broad skepticism about democracy promotion in his overview of South Africa's foreign policy priorities. In his view, democracy promotion is a type of proselytizing that has victimized the African continent and is largely conducted as a guise for other policy objectives. Democracy should not be a matter for international relations; it is a domestic phenomenon that should be dealt with accordingly. States should prioritize hard issues like security and economic interests in their foreign policies. Civil society and multilateral organizations, on the other hand, are suitable agents for soft issues of democracy and human rights promotion.

Akwe Amosu poses a question.

In terms of South Africa's foreign policy, the government has largely taken a pragmatic approach. It does not perceive major threats in its neighborhood or abroad and consequently has largely neglected border security and arms purchases. Similarly, as the strongest economy in the region, it does not perceive major economic threats in its neighborhood. It has made no efforts to defend the seizure of South African economic assets by Zimbabwe, which the Mugabe regime has been guilty of for the last decade.

In fact, the South African government, largely seen as supporting Mugabe, has even gone as far as rewarding his regime. As evidence, Mbeki pointed out that the South African government recently gave 300 million rand to Harare for agricultural development, an example in his view of how regimes invoke democracy and development as a guise for ulterior motives. South Africa's patronage of Mugabe's ZANU-PF is explained by the effort of the African National Congress (ANC) to restrain trade unions from ascending to power in South Africa. The Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), the opposition party that has defeated Mugabe—in elections that ZANU-PF continuously rigs in its favor—is composed of various trade unions. Thus South Africa supports the non-democratic regime next door because it serves its pragmatic political interests at home.

In other cases, as in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, and Cote d'Ivoire, South Africa has played a positive, constructive role as mediator and in helping the democratic process. Several patterns have emerged from South African intervention in these conflicts. First, interventions have been sanctioned by the African Union, and South Africa's role has been that of mediator. Even when sending troops, the aim has been to stabilize conflicts to create an environment amenable to negotiations, not to support one side of the conflict. Related to this, South Africa insists on its intervention being accepted by at least the major belligerents in a conflict. This is largely the consequence of its 1998 experience in Lesotho, when it experienced much resentment for intervening on behalf of a party in the conflict. Finally, South Africa has also displayed a willingness to promote democracy through financial support. It covered the full costs of the Inter-Congolese Dialogue (ICD), for example, which provided a space for warring factions to negotiate in 2002.

Pauline Baker, President Emeritus of the Fund for Peace, provided a historical overview of South Africa's foreign policy and described its major drivers. In a sense, South Africa is a tougher case because it is one of the newest democracies in the

group. In many respects, its foreign policy is more a product of its past, or a reaction to its past, than it is about the present. Mandela had set the bar high in 1993 when he declared that the country's future foreign policy would be based on its belief in human rights. Though it has failed to live up to that promise, South Africa has prioritized human rights in certain instances.

From the onset of his presidency, Mandela made an effort to incorporate human rights into South African foreign policy. In 1994, alongside his inauguration, he hosted talks with the UN and the Organization of African Unity about genocide in Rwanda. Shortly thereafter in Burundi, South Africa provided security forces to help stabilize the conflicted nation. Famously, Mandela played a leading role in condemning the Abacha regime in Nigeria for executing a group of human rights defenders. In Angola, Mandela intervened at the end of the civil war to help mediate, and in Lesotho he intervened with military troops to avert the threat of an overthrow of a democratic regime. In response, Mbeki pointed out that this prioritization of human rights was very much Mandela's policy and should not necessarily be seen as an objective of the government, especially since Mandela's efforts did not enjoy consensus within the ANC.

While this activist foreign policy may have enjoyed at least partial support in South Africa, it was entirely unpopular on the rest of the continent. South Africa's actions created a great deal of resentment in the region, as it raised flags of a potential hegemonic influence by the emerging regional power. For South Africa, the lesson learned from these experiences was that it should not insert itself unless presented with really extenuating circumstances.

Despite the policy's unpopularity on the continent, Mandela's successor did not walk away from the agenda altogether. Under Thabo Mbeki's leadership, South Africa hosted peace talks and trained former rebel combatants to join the national army in the DRC. Thabo Mbeki was also the primary force behind the New Economic Policy for African Development (NEPAD), which called upon African states to adopt principles of good governance, reduce corruption, and respect human rights to effectively partner with foreign donors to promote development. In essence, it was an attempt, led by South Africa, to change the image and conduct of African governments and present a new face to donors.

On a largely ad hoc basis, Baker concluded, South Africa has positively contributed to the advancement of democracy and human rights in its neighborhood. Nonetheless, it has also been frequently criticized for supporting non-democratic regimes. In her view, this inconsistency can largely be explained by the fou, major driving forces behind South Africa's foreign policy. First is its loyalty to those states that supported it during its struggle to end apartheid. This helps explain why it has supported Suharto's Indonesia, Libya, and Cuba—all of which were at the forefront of supporting the ANC's fight. Even Mandela, the stalwart human rights defender, spoke out in defense of this decision. Second, South Africa makes decisions based on its economic interests. This explains, for instance, why it decided to sell arms to Rwanda. Third is South Africa's desire to be a major player in the world. It consistently speaks out for the redistribution of power in world institutions, particularly at the UN. In Baker's view, Thabo Mbeki's engagement in Cote d'Ivoire was largely driven by its quest to supplant the interest of France, the former colonial power. Finally, South Africa sees itself as the spokesperson for the global South. It consistently raises the South's interests in international fora and seeks leadership of this group.

This combination of driving forces helps explain South Africa's inconsistent approach to democracy and human rights promotion. Another force behind its foreign policy, which is bound to grow in strength and will likely support the human rights agenda, is civil society. It has already showcased its influence. During the controversy over South Africa's policy towards Zimbabwe, South African trade unions refused to unload arms that were being sent by China to Mugabe via South African ports. South African civil society successfully rose up against its government's policy in Zimbabwe and blocked the government-sanctioned transit of weapons. South African democracy promotion may be more the

product of civil society than of government. This phenomenon, she pointed out, is not unique to South Africa. U.S. civil society was a major force against its government's "constructive engagement" with the apartheid government in South Africa, for instance. Thus, resentment against U.S. policy towards apartheid South Africa is not sufficiently balanced if it only takes into consideration government policy.

> "South African civil society successfully rose up against its government's policy in Zimbabwe and blocked the government sanctioned transit of weapons. South African democracy promotion may be more the product of civil society than government."
>
> —Pauline Baker

Looking ahead, Baker concluded that South African foreign policy will remain pragmatic but didn't agree with Mbeki that democracy promotion should not be incorporated. When it comes to democracy and human rights, South Africa will follow the do-no-harm principle and will weigh the benefits of intervention carefully against the potential harmful effects. It has displayed its pragmatism by taking the position that it will not interfere in conflicts unless there is regional approval for intervention. Mbeki and Baker agreed that observers should expect an ambivalent and unpredictable foreign policy from South Africa, as leaders are currently in the habit of considering each scenario individually on an ad hoc basis. As a recent case in point, Mbeki noted that South Africa supported the Libya nofly zone at the UN Security Council, yet President Zuma publicly condemned it just a few days later.

Session V: Indonesia

Rizal Sukma, Executive Director of the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Jakarta, Indonesia, explained the context in which Indonesian foreign policy addresses democracy and human rights and provided several examples of Indonesia's efforts in these areas. Indonesia's own transition to democracy in 1998 was a difficult one. Aside from revealing many problems that had remained concealed under authoritarian rule, the transition to democracy altered Indonesia's international identity. Previously referred to as a large, secular country, post-Suharto Indonesia began to be referred to as the world's largest Muslim democracy. Also as a result of the transition, civil society groups that benefited from democratization began to pressure the government to reflect its new democratic image in its foreign policy.

By the end of 2000, the restoration of Indonesia's international image was underway and Indonesia became part of the effort to advance democracy. Signs of Indonesia incorporating democracy promotion emerged in 2001 when the foreign minister declared at a UN General Assembly meeting that the conduct of Indonesia's foreign policy will reflect its democratic system of government. It began to loosen its definition and understanding of non-intervention, as various foreign ministers alluded to the notion that human rights are not merely a domestic issue and that states that have overcome human rights violations have a responsibility to take up these issues internationally.

The Indonesian elite, largely influenced by their Western educations, also began to articulate a "democratic peace theory" for their region, i.e., that states functioning as democracies would be less likely to engage in conflict. In 2003, Indonesia proposed that the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), a group of ten states composed mostly of non-democracies, be transformed into a security community with democracy and respect for human rights as its foundation. Later in 2006 and 2007, Indonesia pushed for the inclusion of democracy and human rights language in the ASEAN charter. Most recently, Indonesia led the effort to establish the ASEAN Commission for Human Rights, insisting that it subscribe to international human rights standards, and fought (unsuccessfully) to include both a promotion and protection mandate.

In Sukma's view, Indonesia also has projected democratic values in its bilateral relationships. In Myanmar, Indonesia has put pressure on the regime to move towards democracy and enact reforms. It also has avoided using ASEAN to shield the military junta from international condemnation. In convening the Bali Democracy Forum, launched in 2008, Indonesia has placed democracy on the wider Asian agenda. Though critics point out that China and Myanmar were invited to the Forum, Sukma explained that incorporating the word democracy in a regional gathering is in itself a victory for the democracy agenda. Finally, Indonesia has displayed its commitment to democracy through its associations. It is an active participant in the Community of Democracies and a donor to the UN Democracy Fund (UNDEF).

Despite Indonesia's efforts to promote human rights, there remains a gap between its regional efforts and its actions on the global stage. At the UN, for instance, Indonesia performs poorly on human rights issues. It consistently opposes "naming and shaming" tactics, including country-specific scrutiny of Myanmar, Iran, and North Korea, and has a voting record below Qatar and Saudi Arabia, according to independent monitors. Its poor performance is largely explained by its fear of harming bilateral relationships, as it preferrs to raise political reform issues quietly at the bilateral level. Moreover, there is virtually no domestic pressure for Indonesia to improve its record, as there is very little public awareness of its activities on the international stage. Indonesian constituents, by and large, are focused on Indonesia's actions at home and in its neighborhood.

Sukma recognized several other major shortcomings of Indonesia's democracy promotion approach. First, it has failed to produce any tangible results. Myanmar is still Myanmar, though it now includes an irrelevant parliament. Second, Indonesia remains narrowly focused on Asia. Despite massive changes in the Middle East, Indonesia has not actually articulated any interest in getting involved beyond expressing willingness to share its experience if asked.

> "Domestic support for democracy support activities, especially from NGOs, parliamentarians and the foreign policy community, is quite high and increases the likelihood that Indonesia will continue to engage in these sorts of activities."
>
> —Rizal Sukma

Indonesia has engaged in "democracy projection" more than democracy promotion. Given its inherent limitations as an emerging power with a host of domestic problems and its geopolitical realities, classic democracy promotion is unlikely. Domestic backing for democracy support, especially from NGOs, parliamentarians and the foreign policy community, is quite high and increases the likelihood that Indonesia will continue to engage in these sorts of activities. Indonesia's major challenge is to bolster its own credibility as a democracy in the region. Its neighbors are reluctant to regard Indonesia as a democratic example while it continues to struggle with terrorism, corruption, and governance challenges. As Indonesia addresses and manages these problems through the democratic process, democracy will become more attractive to its neighbors.

Donald Emmerson, Senior Fellow at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University, agreed with Sukma that Indonesia is engaging in democracy projection rather than democracy promotion. He argued that democracy imposition, as laid out by Moeletsi Mbeki in the South Africa discussion, is in fact a recipe for disaster. To better understand the overall topic, he explored some basic questions. The first is the rationale behind supporting democracy in the first place. There are two very different rationales for supporting democracy. On one end of the spectrum, democracy is considered a self-evident truth in a rather religious manner; on the other end of the spectrum, democracy is considered only the best option of those available.

Another question concerns the profile of the emerging-market democracies and how proactive they may be in their support for democracy. Their level of activity may range on a scale from passivity, to projection, to promotion, and finally to imposition. The dichotomy between doing nothing and imposition is a false one. An emerging-market democracy's level of activity, in Emmerson's view, is probably based on its own democratic performance, not only as an institutional arrangement but as an economic arrangement as well. Its ability to deliver the goods in its domestic democratic context will largely affect how proactive it is in supporting democracy elsewhere. Finally, the diagnosis of a specific country and its susceptibility to democracy support is critical. He challenged Sukma's conclusion that Indonesia will continue to focus its democracy support efforts in its own neighborhood. After all, the Indonesian foreign minister traveled to Cairo during Egypt's transition. From the standpoint of Indonesia's brand as the largest Muslim majority democracy, one can imagine it has the ability and authority to support democracy in Muslim countries outside of its neighborhood.

Session VI: Republic of Korea

Youngshik Bong, Senior Researcher at the Asan Institute for Policy Studies, explained that the Republic of Korea is still very much focused on its domestic conditions and that its security priorities dominate its foreign policy. Until recently, democracy and human rights have been narrowly understood as domestic matters in South Korea and any promotion of these values has been considered the duty of hegemonic powers with the weight to institutionalize and legitimize liberal values.

In a working paper co-authored with Chaibong Hahm, Director of the Asan Institute for Policy Studies, Bong pointed to two notable examples of Korea's support for promoting democracy and human rights at the international level. First was its demand for due compensation and an apology from the Japanese government for forced labor and trafficking of women during the colonial period. And second was the successful effort in the 1990s to secure U.S. accountability for illegal dumping of toxic waste in the Han River. Admittedly, the target beneficiaries of these efforts were Koreans themselves, not people of foreign states.

To fully appreciate Korea's potential as a democracy promoter one must look to its peculiar case of democratization, as a subject of democratic imposition by the United States at the end of the Second World War. Part of the reason the imposition was successful is because South Korean leaders chose a capitalist path towards their overarching goal of economic development. Continued economic development nurtured the growth of a middle class that helped sustain and consolidate democracy. Since the transition to democracy, there have been three presidential election turnovers, and victims of the former authoritarian period have become government leaders. Democracy in South Korea is at its strongest and broadest point yet.

This democratic maturation, however, has not translated into capacity or willingness to promote democracy elsewhere. In major part, this can be explained by the state's security considerations. South Korea is hesitant to provide Official Development Assistance (ODA) to countries other than North Korea since economic aid to its neighbor to the North remains the top priority. South Korea has also frequently abstained from condemnatory resolutions against North Korea at the UN and other multilateral organizations in an attempt to protect its bilateral space to influence its neighbor. In fact, the Republic of Korea Human Rights Commission, which was created in 2001, stipulated that the rights situation inside North Korea would not be in its purview out of respect for North Korean sovereignty, even though this clashes with Article III of the South Korean Constitution, which defines the entire population of both Koreas as Korean nationals, entitled to due protection of law.

> "...one peculiar aspect of South Korea gaining more internal capacity as a mature democracy is that [it] doesn't necessarily completely translate into its capacity to contribute to external promotion of democracy"
>
> —Youngshik Bong

Though security considerations regarding North Korea may be the biggest constraint on South Korea's capacity to promote democracy and human rights, Bong observed two recent developments that may give the government more room to maneuver on these issues. First, South Koreans have begun to withdraw support for the Sunshine Policy, the strategy of unilateral engagement of North Korea aimed at maintaining the peace and deterring military conflict. Recent aggression by North Korea on the Cheonan battleship and in Yeonpyeong Island has left many in the South less willing to support this cautious approach. Second, many South Koreans

were dismayed when China refused to join the international community's condemnation of this North Korean aggression. As disillusionment with North Korea and China grows, South Korea may be less concerned about displeasing its neighbors and more willing to promote democracy and human rights.

Scott Snyder, Director of the Center for U.S.-Korea Policy at the Asia Foundation, generally agreed that security considerations inhibit South Korea's willingness and capability to be an active agent of democracy and human rights promotion. For a variety of reasons, including its regional position, its relationship with the United States, and its security concerns, South Korea hasn't been able to look past its own situation to be engaged with the world in a proactive way.

Of all the countries studied, however, South Korea is the country that has the closest foreign policy orientation to the United States and is the most well-suited to be an effective promoter of democracy and human rights. It is an open question, though, if pursuing these goals alongside the United States is the best approach or not. In addition, the Korean experience is one that inextricably links democracy and development, so Korea is likely to promote democracy through the lens of its development experience, not necessarily through a classic, values-oriented approach.

In Snyder's view, there is a paradox to South Korea's regional dynamics. Because of its security concerns related to North Korea, Japan, and China, South Korea is perhaps more constrained in its own neighborhood than elsewhere in the world. The human rights situation in North Korea, for instance, has been terribly polarizing in the South. Conservative South Koreans invoke human rights promotion as a vehicle by which to achieve regime change in the North, whereas liberals in South Korea have been relatively silent on human rights. This polarization has had a negative effect on the larger discussion around South Korea's potential for democracy and human rights promotion abroad.

In China, South Korea does not actively engage in democracy and human rights promotion, but it has successfully exported its pop culture to China. Part of its popularity and attraction is that Korea's art and dramas are made in a free atmosphere, as opposed to those produced in China. This dynamic makes China fear the prospect of bordering a democratic, reunified Korea. Katy Oh, Nonresident Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy at Brookings, added that South Korea does effectively promote democracy if one considers its cultural influence. People around the world, rich and poor alike, are influenced by Korean culture and achievements in technology. In this sense, Korea is quietly promoting itself as a successful model.

To be an effective promoter of democracy in the world, Snyder suggested that South Korea improve its image. On the one hand, Korea represents a success story of democracy and development. On the other hand, Korean companies are largely perceived as exploitive in terms of labor practices. To share its experiences and serve as an effective model for democracy and development, Korea ought to remake its approach to official development assistance and focus more on promoting good governance than on infrastructure and capacity building alone. Oh pointed out that the Korea International Cooperation Agency (KoICA) has recently increased its donations and has made contributions to Japanese tsunami relief. This alone sends a powerful statement to countries like China that have a lot of cash but choose not to use it for international aid.

Samantha Power keynote address focused on how the United States partners with emerging democracies.

Keynote Address: U.S. Efforts to Build Coalitions with Emerging Democratic Powers

As Delivered by Samantha Power, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director of the Office of Multilateral Affairs and Human Rights at the National Security Council

Thanks so much. I'm very sorry not to have been able to attend the proceedings before me, because I'm sure I would have learned a tremendous amount, and I really do look forward to just sitting back and taking notes after you hear from me here.

I will talk today about emerging-market democracies and their role in democracy and human rights promotion, focusing specifically on those countries around which you have built this conference, and with the obligatory caveat here recognizing that many of the so called emerging democracies have democratic traditions and human rights traditions of different kinds that date back generations, if not centuries. That said, when President Obama took office, the number of democracies in the world had grown in the previous two decades from 69 in 1989 to 119 in 2009. However, the number of countries actively supporting democracy and human rights bilaterally and in international fora has remained quite static in that same period.

Over the last two years, this administration has made a conscious effort to work with emerging democracies to enlist their support in standing up for human rights around the world. In his UN General Assembly Address, which Carl [Gershman] alluded to, in 2010, President Obama addressed this issue head on, saying "I appeal to those nations who emerge from tyranny and inspired the world in the second half of the last century, from South Africa to South Asia, from Eastern Europe to South America, don't stand idly by, don't be silent. When dissidents elsewhere are imprisoned and protesters are beaten, recall your own history, because part of the price of our own freedom is standing up for the freedom of others."

In pursuing a partnership with emerging democracies on democracy and human rights, this administration I think has brought several premises to bear. First, an obvious one, in a world this interconnected, none of us can afford to allow gross violations of human rights to go unaddressed. Given the spillover and the destabilizing effects of allowing repression to fester, it long ago ceased to be viable to treat human rights conditions as merely the internal affairs of a sovereign state. Over 60 years ago, the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration recognized that protecting human dignity at home is critical to preserving peace and security abroad. President Obama has pressed this pragmatic case to other peoples and governments, stressing, "Governments that protect these rights are ultimately more stable, more successful and more secure." In short, the more true democracies there are in the world, the better off we are and the better off our fellow democracies are.

The second premise is that precisely because emerging democracies are democratic, the governments will face growing pressure from within to align their foreign policy with their domestic values and to integrate human rights concerns. This pressure will come, in part, from young people who haven't carried with them the sovereignty versus human rights baggage, if you will, from the 20th century. The evolution of the human rights debate in the United States in a sense is instructive. Our Congress, our free press and our human rights and other advocacy organizations empowered with modern technologies have highlighted inconsistencies in U.S. policy, exposed human rights abuses abroad, and generally created what I call foreign policy accountability, holding us accountable for

the extent to which human rights is injected into our foreign policy. In emerging democracies, we have seen countless campaigns by NGOs, investigative journalists, bloggers, Facebook users and others pressing human rights concerns at home, and it's only a matter of time, we believe, before these agents of change apply their tools to their own country's foreign policy, and I'll give a few examples of that later in my remarks.

The third premise that we bring to bear is that new democracies can make the difference. We believe that the future of democracy and human rights around the world, in places like Libya, Burma, Zimbabwe, Venezuela, will, in the end, turn not only on the strength of the democratic movements in those countries, which it will turn on primarily, and not only on the willingness of traditional democracies to stand with these movements, but also on the determination of emerging-market democracies to tip the scales. When they take a stand, it disrupts the old alignments and paves the way for fresh coalitions to press for change. Simply put, people who are suffering under repressive rule need emerging-market democracies to stand up for them.

Now, here I think we are seeing some quite encouraging trends that I'd like to try to highlight. First, emerging democracies are exerting growing leadership in other venues that may well pave the way for more assertive political leadership on the issues central to this conference. For example, the most famous example is that emerging democracies have helped ensure that the G-20 has replaced the G-8 as the premier global venue for management of economic affairs. And in taking up their economic responsibilities, many emerging democracies are showing signs of recognizing and embracing the unavoidable link with political developments around the world.

A second trend is that, and this one has been in play for some years, emerging democracies are playing an ever more important role in strengthening international peacekeeping, which is a critical ingredient to promoting freedom from fear in some of the world's most dangerous places. Indonesia has shown particularly striking growth on this front. They had 27 individuals serving in UN peacekeeping operations in 2003, and they now have nearly 1,800. Indonesia has also established a training center for peacekeepers, and the U.S. and Indonesia have pledged to work together to turn the center into a network hub for regional training centers. Brazil's and South Africa's contributions have also grown rapidly. Both had deployed around 100 personnel to UN peacekeeping operations at the beginning of the last decade, and each now contributes more than 2,000 today. Brazil has led, as many of you know, and provided the backbone for the UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti, and this is dating back to 2004. And it is notable that at the time of the earthquake, when the Brazilian contingent itself had suffered such substantial casualties, the Brazilian government decided to double the Brazilian contribution. This is not something I think that a lot of countries would have done in the wake of such a tragedy. And, of course, one cannot talk about peacekeeping without talking about India, one of the world's very oldest democracies for which the phrase emerging democracy is a serious misnomer. In addition to long being one of the world's leading peacekeeping contributors, India has nearly tripled its contribution over the past ten years with its 8,500 blue helmets, making it the third largest contributor in the world today.

We're also seeing emerging democracies stand up and reach out to the poor, becoming players on the global development stage in a number of important ways. These new actors are less inclined to interact with less developed countries in a donor-donee relationship, but they typically engage as equals in developing collaborative solutions to development

Marc F. Plattner and Ted Piccone chat with Samantha Power after her keynote address.

challenges. Brazil, for example, has helped partners in Africa improve the crop yields of subsistence farmers by identifying and promoting the rapid acceptance of new crop varieties suited to grow in the local environment. Similarly, India, in partnership with the United States and other governments, is leveraging its scientific and technical expertise to develop, test and replicate transformative technologies to extend food security both in India and then beyond its borders. And India has just increased its contribution to the UN Democracy Fund, making it the second largest donor to that fund in the world.

Third, emerging democracies seem increasingly comfortable strengthening international norms on cross cutting human rights issues. If given fresh points of entry into a human rights conversation that had grown stale in certain quarters in recent years, these emerging democracies seem increasingly inclined to partner with traditional democracies. At the [UN] Human Rights Council, countries affiliated with the group of 77 or the so called Non-Aligned Movement have long been averse to singling out specific countries for criticism, which they call, or have called finger pointing. However, countries like Brazil and Indonesia have recently demonstrated a new willingness to press general global human rights concerns, taking a leadership role, for instance, in creating the position that Carl [Gershman] mentioned, the new Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Association and Assembly, the first international mechanism ever created to monitor the growing crack down on civil society. Here I would note that Indonesia was a critical co-sponsor of that resolution from a very early stage, which, in turn, made it possible to bring other emerging democracies along, such that we were eventually able to get this Special Rapporteur created through a consensus measure rather than a vote. That's how overwhelming the majority was and how many emerging democracies stepped up. Brazil also played a leadership role in pursuing in this last Human Rights Council session a groundbreaking cross regional statement signed by 85 countries calling for greater respect for the rights of LGBT persons and agreeing to seek the establishment of a Special Rapporteur on LGBT rights in the inter American system, the first ever Rapporteur on this issues.

On the UN Security Council, we see other examples. Brazil has generally been a bridge builder on the Council on human rights and thematic issues such as women, peace and security, which links the exclusion of women from conflict related decision-making to the maintenance of international security and the protection of civilians.

Our shared commitment to open government, fighting corruption and promoting transparency has proven an important common bond with many emerging-market democracies. We are working with Indonesia, Brazil, Mexico and others within the UN, the G-20, the OECD and international financial institutions to promote the recognition that corruption is a violation of basic human rights and a severe impediment to development and security. Indonesia has been a key partner in our efforts to advance the anti-corruption agenda in the G-20, serving as co-chair of the process that produced the sole action plan on anti-corruption.

We are partnering with a diverse group of governments and civil society and emerging democracies to launch an effort to bring greater transparency to government budgets, expenditures and the assets of public officials, and to find ways of leveraging new technologies to harness citizen engagement in governance. This is also a theme that President Obama laid out in his UN address last fall. Brazil is a co-chair of this open government effort with the United States, and the two presidents highlighted our shared commitment on open government during the recent Brazil visit. President Obama also highlighted the launch of an open government dialogue with India on his visit last year, and the two countries jointly organized the first ever democracy and open government expo, which President Obama toured while in India. In this effort, countries are sharing best practices on the ways in which they have institutionalized transparent practices on spending procurement, international aid flows and natural resources to make it harder for officials to steal and to strengthen the efforts of citizens to hold their governments accountable. Emerging democracies are often at the cutting edge of these efforts, and they are helping to contribute to a global community of knowledge and experience, a community that includes not only governments, but civil society and the private sector.

Fourth, despite their traditional reluctance, which I've already alluded to, to hold particular countries accountable, emerging democracies have, in fact, shown a growing willingness to speak out in the face of human rights abuses. And here I would offer three recent examples: Iran, Ivory Coast and Libya.

On Iran, Brazil voted in Geneva last month to create a Special Rapporteur for human rights, having abstained on the annual UN General Assembly resolution on Iran since 2004. This, as many of you know, was the first country specific mandate adopted since the creation of the Human Rights Council. In part, because of this leadership and the willingness of other countries to follow the lead of dominant regional players, the resolution reinstating the Iran Human Rights Rapporteur also passed by the widest margin of any of the Council or Commission's resolutions on Iran since 1997. I will grant that Iran's actions on the ground had a lot to do with that lopsided vote, as well. India, too, abstained on Iran for the first time in the General Assembly vote, having always voted no in the past, and South Africa abstained on the Iran resolution the last two years, as well, having voted no since 2003. So we're seeing moves from nos to abstentions, from abstentions to yes on a range of country specific issues.

On Ivory Coast, which, of course, has come to a head this week, when it came to UN Security Council action in response to the contested election there and the intent by the former president to retain power, two important ideas were in tension with one another—non-intervention, on the one hand, and the importance of regional problem solving on the other.

However, ultimately all Council members, including Brazil, India and South Africa, joined consensus on repeated press statements and resolutions. This included imposing sanctions on [former President] Gbagbo and four others, a notable shift from the Non-Aligned Movement's traditional distaste for sanctioning regimes and their leaders. Over time, the Council's products also called more forcefully for enforcement of the mandate to protect civilians. While South Africa was initially skeptical of the UN's endorsement of the election's outcome,

Moises Naim, Soli Ozel, and Carl Gershman chat with Samantha Power after her keynote address.

their position evolved, and their support for the findings of the African Union (AU) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) may have been a turning point in the resolution of the electoral crisis.

Ultimately, all emerging democracies on the Council voted in favor of UN Security Council Resolution 1975, which carried with it a very forceful mandate accelerating the defeat of Gbagbo. And this support for these resolutions was despite misgivings by many countries over whether the political track had yet run its course. They still were prepared to support robust enforcement on the ground. This regional solidarity is responsible for President Outtara now being able to consolidate control over the country having won the election. This regional solidarity will prove especially important in the remainder of this year, a year in which 17 of Africa's 47 countries will hold national elections, either presidential or parliamentary. It will be essential to maintain regional solidarity behind democratic principles.

On Libya, the third example I'd like to discuss, South Africa joined Gabon and Nigeria in support of UN Security Council Resolution 1973, which took the unusual step of authorizing all necessary measures to protect civilians without the consent of a sovereign government. While Brazil and India abstained on this resolution, they did not vote no, and they joined the consensus resolution several weeks earlier, Resolution 1970, that imposed stiff sanctions and an arms embargo on the Gaddafi regime, and that referred Libya and any crimes

committed there, crimes against humanity and war crimes, to the International Criminal Court.

Now, obviously the doubts about robust enforcement action run deep. Yesterday's first expanded BRICS Summit, which includes, along with China and Russia, three emerging democracies—Brazil, India and South Africa—saw the BRICS express severe misgivings about the use of force in Libya. So we are going to need to enhance consultation and continue the dialogue, obviously, over the need for enforcement of 1973, lest we fail to protect civilians.

It is worth pointing out also just how contested country specific criticisms and actions are for the individuals within these emerging-market democracies who are trying to shift their national narratives. Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff, herself a former political prisoner who experienced torture at the hands of the Brazilian military, has been more outspoken than her predecessor on international human rights concerns. For example, she distanced herself last year publicly from President Lula's comments, comparing political dissidents in Cuba to common criminals. And upon taking office, she pledged to criticize Cuba for its human rights shortcomings. Such policy pronouncements spark critiques even within the halls of power in Brasilia. And tensions such as these are likely to surface more and more in the months and years ahead.

The fifth trend I think that is worth flagging here today is that we are seeing a growing number of examples of bottom-up pressure from within emerging democracies to see greater attention to human rights and democracy beyond their borders. We in the U.S. government recognize that we are not the only ones who have domestic politics with which to contend. As I alluded to earlier, in the United States, several decades ago, it was the Congress that pushed the Executive Branch to formally report on human rights around the world, and it was the Congress that began restricting funding streams on human rights grounds.

Today it remains U.S. civil society, Carl [Gershman] and a lot of you in this room, and U.S. constituents who hold us and the government accountable not only for our policies at home, but also for our actions abroad.

Similarly, in the new democracies, it will take time for parliament, civil society and the media to turn outward, as well. There are very encouraging signs, though. We have seen the Burma Caucus in Indonesia's Parliament play an important role, putting the fate of the Burmese on the political map, and Indonesia, in turn, play a leading role injecting human rights into the ASEAN Charter. We have seen growing Indonesian citizen pride over the country's role in launching the Bali Democracy Forum as Indonesia's self-identity increasingly takes pride in being a leading democracy in the region and in the world. We've seen thousands of Brazilian citizens join a letter writing campaign to press the previous Brazilian President Lulu to offer asylum to Sakina, the Iranian woman sentenced to be stoned to death for alleged adultery. In Indonesia, which has 13,000 non-governmental organizations, the United States has recently launched a new initiative pledging to fund those non-governmental groups that would like to partner with other human rights organizations in the region to try to incentivize work beyond their borders, since they have such a huge amount to offer, having undergone the transition they have. And since Egypt's recent revolution, it is noteworthy that Egyptian civil society has found ways virtually and on the ground to connect with Indonesians, Chileans, Poles and others in order to learn from their experience in moving from dictatorship to democracy.

So those are the trends and I think those are quite encouraging. Needless to say, however, there's always more to be done at home and abroad by all of us to consolidate democratic gains and to promote and protect human rights. And we should not underplay genuine disagreements even as we seek to forge more cooperation across borders.

There are several reasons our policies are unlikely to fully align in the very near term. We have different histories, that's obvious. Some emerging democracies view the sovereignty shields as having protected them from external interference during the Cold War and at other times in their history. We see the lessons of history slightly differently. Some emerging democracies believe that they threw off

the yoke of colonialism or the repression of dictatorship on their own, relying not at all on external help, and they, therefore, discount the notion that such external help can play a positive role in fostering democratization. We believe outside actors cannot dictate events and democratic progress, but that we all do have a constructive role to play. And moreover, we've come to see how difficult it is to be neutral in our dealings with repressive states. We are either factoring human rights into our foreign policy or we can be sending a signal to a repressive regime that the rights of citizens are not important to us.

We are at different stages, as well, of democratic and economic development. Many emerging-market democracies are still consolidating their own gains at home, they are attempting to close extreme inequality gaps, and in so doing, would not be able to convince their own democratic voters that it would be, for example, a good use of taxpayer money to provide large amounts of democracy assistance to countries not as far along the democratic development spectrum. We also, in truth, have different interests. While many emerging democracies have powerful economies, they may still be seeking markets. While many of them may believe that democracy is a stabilizing force in the long term, they may see the process of democratization as destabilizing in the near term, especially if it is a process that occurs in their region.

And even if our interests are similar, we may prioritize those interests in different ways or seek very different means to the same ends. Notwithstanding these different vantage points, we feel we are making progress together. And President Obama has invited more assertive leadership by emerging democracies. Indeed, one way to track the President's commitment to progress in these countries is just to check his travel schedule. Most of the trips that he has chosen to take in his first two years highlight the importance he places on the embrace of emerging democracies and regional democratic anchors. He has visited Ghana, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Mexico, Brazil and Chile, among other countries. The trips to India and Brazil in particular, which National Security Advisor, Tom Donilon, and Deputy National Security Advisor, Denis McDonough, spent months and months planning, highlight the full on embrace of the rise of emerging powers. And this administration has signaled a desire to engage them even on contentious issues in the spirit of mutual interest and mutual respect.

When it comes to coalition building in Geneva and New York, we have approached emerging democracies early and often in the process rather than coming to them when a human rights action or resolution is already fully cooked. And we've engaged not only in New York or Geneva, but at a high level in capitals recognizing the challenge of overcoming ingrained resistance on some of these issues. Building these relationships with new democracies does not come at a cost, I should note, to the U.S.'s traditional democratic alliances, they remain critically important to our efforts to foster democracy, promote human rights and accountability. But in a world of over 190 UN member states, we must also build bridges to these critical powers.

Perhaps our most effective tool for depolarizing the traditional debate over human rights and democracy promotion are speaking more openly about our efforts to address our own shortcomings, and also bridging some of the ideological divides in the human rights and democracy debate. President Obama's success in reinvigorating U.S. human rights commitments has made it easier for other governments to stand with us on these and other issues in international fora. The President has made it very clear that he believes human rights begin at home and that one of our most powerful tools is our example and our ongoing struggle to perfect our union.

This included reaffirming the ban on torture, and, of course, the effort that he has made to close Guantanamo. It continues along multiple fronts, preparing a ratification package for the UN Disabilities Convention, committing the U.S. government to producing its own action plan to mainstream gender considerations into national security policy, ending Don't Ask, Don't Tell, including the United States, and our record in our own global trafficking report, et cetera. But it also entailed spelling out what this administration will not do.

Back in his Cairo address in 2009, President Obama renounced the imposition of democracy by military force, saying, "No system of government can or should be imposed by one nation on any other." And he pledged to respect all democratically elected movements that reject violence and govern with respect for all their people. He said his administration would listen to the voices of "all peaceful and law abiding voices, even if we disagree with them." And he has also challenged the false divisions around the very definition of human rights and democracy. Here the President has emphasized an inclusive conception of human rights and democracy in speeches that have resonated greatly I think in Africa, Asia, the Middle East and beyond. The President keeps coming back to the centrality of human dignity. He's spoken of the dignity of work, the dignity of peaceful protest, the dignity of being able to choose one's leaders, the dignity of being able to speak freely and pray freely. He has spoken not only in terms of individual dignity, but also of the dignity of nations deserving of our respect.

> "A broader coalition that includes these emerging democracies testifies powerfully to the universality of the principles promoted and denies the abusive regimes refuge in regional blocs."
>
> —Samantha Power

The President and his foreign policy team have consistently made clear that elections alone, of course, do not democracy make. It's also rule of law, independent media, independent judiciary, vibrant private sector, and civil society that drive democratic progress.

In Ghana, he said memorably, "Africa doesn't need strong men, it needs strong institutions." In his Nobel speech, he returned to one of President Kennedy's most memorable ideas when Kennedy said, "let us focus on a more practical, more attainable peace based not on a sudden revolution in human nature, but in a gradual evolution in human institutions."

As part of his challenge to false divisions, the President has emphasized the link between freedom from fear and freedom from wants, and given a greater emphasis to economic development in foreign policy that we have seen in generations. We have seen recently in a revolution sparked by the frustrations of a fruit vendor just how important these issues are and just how central the linkage is. President Obama highlighted these connections with the release of the first ever Presidential Policy Directive on Global Development. And Secretary Clinton spearheaded the introduction of a new tool to ensure that development gets the attention it deserves. We had a long set priorities, as many of you know, in the Defense Department's Quadrennial Defense Review, or QDR, but it was Secretary Clinton who introduced the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, or QDDR.

This administration's policies are rooted in the President's idea expressed in his Nobel speech that, "a just peace includes not only civil and political rights, it must encompass economic security and opportunity." Beginning with his 2006 speech before the Kenyan Parliament while still a senator, President Obama has also emphasized that corruption is a profound assault on human dignity and human rights. And Secretary Clinton has taken the step of highlighting corruption in the annual Human Rights Reports, the country reports that the State Department does.

And finally, the President has stressed that lasting change must come from the bottom up, and be indigenous, an approach that resonates greatly with those emerging democracies that pride themselves on their own histories and the histories of their national movements, emerging democracies that are suspicious of outside interventions. The President has repeatedly stressed that change is not something that the United States or any other country can force, nor is there one model for change. He says each nation gives life to this principle, a democracy, in its own way, grounded in the traditions of its own people, and America does not presume to know what is best for everyone, each country

will pursue a path rooted in the culture of its people and in its past traditions. However, this vision is not a recipe for America standing on the sidelines. The President has coupled his respect for other traditions with a challenge to developing countries to take responsibility to fix homegrown problems. And he has expressed confidence in the universality of human rights, that all people yearn for certain things. It is not western values that causes the people of Libya to risk their lives on behalf of democracy. As the President said in Moscow in a meeting with civil society groups, these ideals are not the monopoly of one country. Wherever possible, he's invoked the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the international instruments that the very governments abusing human rights long ago joined. This humility has helped us build these cross regional coalitions with what seem to be increasingly willing partners.

In conclusion, the Obama Administration has engaged in a short and long game when it comes to human rights and democracy promotion. We are vastly more effective in both when we are accompanied by regional powerhouses and emerging-market democracies that have undergone such inspiring change of their own in recent years. A broader coalition that includes emerging democracies testifies powerfully to the universality of the principles we are promoting, it denies abusive regimes the refuge they have long sought in regional blocks, and the comfort they have found in the diversion of polarization. And finally, the leadership of emerging democracies is noticed by the people in repressed societies. Emerging democracies offer a validation of bottom up change, a testament to how quickly a country's fortunes can be transformed, and a model for the social vibrancy, the economic growth and the unbounded political horizons that come with democratic change. So let me leave it there and just hear from you. Thank you.

Session VII: The Multilateral Dimension

Ted Piccone, Senior Fellow and Deputy Director of Foreign Policy at Brookings, outlined the performance of the emerging-market democracies at multilateral organizations on issues related to democracy and human rights. Evaluation of a government's support for democracy and human rights at the UN and regional organizations serves as one indicator of its willingness and capacity to support the international democracy and human rights agenda. Overall, the conduct of the six countries ranges from principled pragmatism to strict adherence to non-interference.

Piccone evaluated 55 votes specific to democracy and human rights at the UN General Assembly (GA) and Human Rights Council (HRC), from 2005 to 2010, and assigned a score to a state's position. States received one point for supporting the pro-democracy and/or human rights position, zero points for abstaining, and a negative point for opposition. Peggy Hicks, Global Advocacy Director of Human Rights Watch, pointed out that while voting records are an important indicator of a country's stand on these issues, they do not capture positions taken during debates and informal discussions, data that would be admittedly very difficult to collect.

Taken as a whole, the voting records show that South Korea and Turkey are sympathetic adherents to multilateral action to support political reforms, with some notable exceptions particular to their geographic location in less hospitable neighborhoods. Brazil positions itself as a fence-sitter, as it seeks political autonomy and flexible leadership on both regional and global stages. India, South Africa and Indonesia's track records are squarely in the non-interventionist camp, though all three have taken some positive steps when these align with other core national interests.

Piccone pointed out several notable developments and trends at the GA and HRC. Brazil has abstained on the majority of country-specific resolutions but voted in favor of establishing a Special Rapporteur on human rights in Iran during the March 2011 session of the HRC. This may signal an important shift in Brazilian foreign policy since the inauguration of President Dilma Rousseff. The Republic of Korea, the state with the best voting performance of the group, has never voted against a pro-human rights position at the GA, though it has chosen to abstain in certain instances. Turkey, which has never served on the HRC, has been absent from the room for every GA vote on Iran since 2005. And, though India, Indonesia, and South Africa frequently align with the principle of non-intervention, they recently moved from negative to neutral on several country resolutions, including Belarus, North Korea, and Iran.

At the UN Security Council, it is difficult to make general observations regarding the behavior of the six emerging-market democracies, as not all have served on the body during the period under review. Nonetheless, examination of the four governments that have sat on the Council in the last five years—Brazil (2005, 2010), Indonesia (2007, 2008), South Africa (2007, 2008), and Turkey (2009, 2010)—reveals interesting patterns. Typically, Security Council resolutions pass by consensus. In the period under review, 39 resolutions contained operative human rights language, and in most of these cases, the emerging democracies supported the consensus. Contrary positions, however, were taken by South Africa and Indonesia on resolutions regarding Myanmar, Lebanon, and Zimbabwe.

In 2007, South Africa opposed and Indonesia abstained from a defeated resolution that would have condemned human rights violations in Myanmar and called on the military junta to begin a genuine democratic transition. Also in 2007, South Africa and Indonesia joined China, Russia, and Qatar in abstaining from the resolution that authorized the international tribunal on the Rafiq Hariri assassination in Lebanon. In 2008, Indonesia abstained and South Africa opposed a failed resolution that

favored international action against human rights abuses in Zimbabwe. In all three cases, these governments indicated a strong concern for non-intervention in internal affairs and for the value of giving space to national and regional solutions to national and regional problems.

A review of the financial contributions of the emerging-market democracies to the UN Democracy Fund (UNDEF) and to the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) reveals a similar pattern of inconsistent support for these efforts, but with recent trends pointing upwards. India, South Korea, and Turkey are the most active donors of the group. India, a founding member of UNDEF, is the Fund's second largest contributor, having donated $25 million since 2005. Korea and Turkey have also contributed, though at much lower levels. These three states have been reliable donors to OHCHR as well, and South Korea and Turkey have even increased their donations in recent years. South Africa had been a reliable donor to OHCHR until 2010 when it failed to renew its commitment, while Brazil and Indonesia are the most sporadic donors. Brazil failed to contribute for several years until 2010, when it made a large contribution of $1 million. Indonesia has reliably contributed modest amounts since 2008 after a three-year hiatus from funding.

At the regional level, states participate in diverse organizations with varying robustness. A review of how they operate in these domains suggests both a more aggressive and more nuanced approach than observed in bilateral or UN relations.

- **Brazil** has displayed an unpredictable ambivalence when it comes to democracy promotion through regional organizations. Under President Cardoso, Brazil swiftly responded to crises in Paraguay, Guatemala, Venezuela, and Ecuador using the Organization of American States (OAS), the Rio Group, and Mercosur. President Lula was more pragmatic and even leveraged the OAS and the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR) to maintain good relations with non-democratic Cuba and Venezuela. To his credit, Lula ensured that Brazil led peacekeeping in Haiti and conflict resolution in Bolivia. Though it is too soon to assess her policy approach, President Rousseff has shown early signs of enhanced human rights cooperation.

- **India** has proven to be a passive promoter. It has supported democracy promotion activities when requested by transitional governments. In 2005, it leveraged the South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) to protest a coup in Nepal, and it has supported the Commonwealth's condemnations of human rights violations. India's most direct example of democracy promotion is its financial support for parliament and elections in Afghanistan.

- **Indonesia** has evolved into a regional leader on issues of democracy and human rights. Its profound change at home has been reflected in its foreign policy rhetoric. It fought to create the Asean Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AIHCR) and launched the Bali Democracy Forum as a space for inclusive dialogue on democracy.

- **The Republic of Korea** does not belong to a regional organization but has proven to be supportive of democracy in international forums. Along with its strong voting record at the UN, it has supported the Community of Democracies, the Bali Democracy Forum, the Asia Pacific Democracy Forum, and the Partnership for Democratic Governance within the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

- **South Africa** has been rhetorically committed to human rights and democracy, though it has largely disappointed in practice. To its credit, it has promoted incorporating progressive standards of good governance and human rights in regional instruments such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the African Peer Review Mechanism, the African Union (AU) and

the Southern African Development Community (SADC). Its condemnation of human rights violations in Lesotho and Nigeria during the Mandela administration isolated the country from its neighbors, and South Africa has since operated with pragmatic reticence, as it is wary of gaining a reputation as a regional hegemon. It has insisted on mediating conflicts in Zimbabwe and Cote d'Ivoire instead of condemning human rights violations.

- **Turkey**, frequently invoked as a model of democracy for the Middle East, is leading by example. Its stated priority is to maintain "zero problems" with its neighbors, and therefore it does not engage in loud democracy promotion bilaterally. It has provided low-key, reliable support for democratic development in Afghanistan and Iraq and has been a stalwart supporter of democracy and human rights at the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). As the Arab world continues to change, Turkey will likely play an important modeling role.

In sum, the emerging democracies are reluctant supporters of the democracy and human rights agenda, both at the international and regional level. Their performance in recent years, however, has been improving. Future performance will largely rest upon local civil society to make the case that their governments should advance the agenda. Hicks agreed that civil society has the potential to play a crucial role but pointed out that nongovernmental organizations in these states are heavily focused on domestic issues. Conectas Human Rights in Brazil is really the exception to this rule. In fact, when HRC membership made it impossible for the Western group to dominate votes, NGOs from the United States and Western Europe sought out fellow civil society organizations from other regions to build strategic partnerships. But they found virtually no local groups focused on foreign policy.

Hicks observed a gap between the rhetoric and performance of these states. In her experience, part of this can be explained by the personality of diplomats at the multilateral organizations. Some states engage proactively and others engage defensively, and this largely depends on the personality of the ambassador. It is critical that these emerging democracies send serious, high-quality representatives to international organizations.

Some of the inconsistencies between these states' rhetoric and reality are purposeful. Strategic and other interests often force states to be inconsistent on democracy and human rights issues. For instance, states that virulently fight against country-specific scrutiny consistently vote in favor of resolutions that condemn Israel. This is a purposeful inconsistency. The aim should be to eliminate the inconsistencies that are not purposeful. This will take a concerted effort and require states to formulate long-term policy goals instead of taking it vote-by-vote. Domestic stakeholders must also remain informed about their states' voting records and performance at multilateral institutions—something that goes largely ignored.

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>
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In addition to focusing on these emerging democratic powers, Hicks urged observers to study the role of other powers at multilateral organizations. Egypt, Pakistan, and Nigeria all play important roles in influencing their regions and need to be taken seriously. In the upcoming Human Rights Council session, she noted, the role of emerging democracies will really be put to the test. Syria is running for a currently uncontested seat in the Asia bloc, and she and Piccone urged fellow Asian candidates, India and Indonesia, to support a competitive election.

Session VIII: Implications for the Future of Democracy and International Politics

Thomas Carothers, Vice President for Studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, observed that the premise of the conference rests on the notion that these rising democracies should engage in democracy and human rights promotion and that the United States should encourage them to be more active. The latter assumption is a reasonable one since it largely corresponds with the Obama Administration's renewed commitment to multilateralism and its efforts to recast the image of democracy in U.S. foreign policy as less U.S.-centric. As to whether or not these rising democracies should be engaging in promotion activities, he wondered if they actually want to be involved.

The conference revealed, in his view, that Brazil, India, South Africa and Turkey are not interested in engaging in democracy promotion while Indonesia and South Korea are still gauging their interest. This significant hesitation can be explained by several factors. First, these states maintain a strong attachment to the principle of sovereignty. Second, in many cases they prefer stability because of the fear of change and disruption that democracy brings. Turkey's relations with Syria reflect this concern for stability. Third, there remains a deep, abiding suspicion of U.S. foreign policy and the association of democracy promotion with the U.S. geostrategic agenda. Many around President Obama believed, or at least hoped, that his arrival to power would reverse the tremendous skepticism about the U.S. agenda. They have instead discovered that this skepticism, though focused on President Bush during his presidency, is something much deeper than previously understood.

These powers may not altogether lack any impulse to support democracy, however. What they lack is the U.S.-style impulse to spread democracy. The U.S. national identity and political community are defined largely by democracy. In addition, the United States has a very powerful transformative instinct by which it seeks to remake the world in its own image. Finally, the U.S. global reach has socialized it to think that its interests are so far-flung that it should be concerned with internal developments around the globe. If these are the beliefs that undergird the U.S. impulse to promote democracy, it should be no surprise that the rising democracies do not feel the same way. They do not share a national identity based on a historic ideal of democracy; many feel victimized by the transformative instinct of other powers rather than having a transformative instinct themselves. They do not necessarily see why the internal political life of states far from their borders should affect them.

While these historic and transformative impulses are unique to the United States, democracy promotion is not. Canada, Germany, Australia, Spain, Denmark, Slovakia, and many other countries are all actively engaged in democracy promotion activities though they are not transformative powers and do not maintain expansive conceptions of national security and national interest. These countries support democracy promotion not because it is in their self-interest but because they think they have something worth sharing with others. They feel that democracy is the best answer to how humans can govern themselves and respect the dignity of their own citizens, and they conclude that they would like to help others build it in their own contexts. Most democracy supporters closely tie their democracy work with development work, as it grows out of the same basic instinct to share their beliefs in what works for them.

To effectively encourage rising democracies to support a pro-democracy agenda, U.S. policymakers ought to focus on the examples of Canada, Australia, Germany, and others instead of invoking the U.S. model. The U.S. case is perhaps the least relevant for rising democracies since it is motivated by uniquely American impulses. As these emerging

democracies become more confident in their own democratic identity, they will feel that their democracy is worth sharing with others, just as other democracy supporters have. As a consequence, as these rising powers make the larger transition to being wealthier countries, they will move from being recipients of assistance to donors in various fields.

Carothers urged observers to temper their expectations of these rising democracies. After all, even the United States talks a lot more about democracy promotion than it practices it. There may be countless activities that serve the goal of democracy in U.S. foreign policy but democracy is not the central policy concern in any of the main areas where the United States is engaged—China, Russia, Pakistan, Afghanistan, or Iran. Democracy and human rights are just one element of many in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy, and this will be no different for the emerging democracies. Similarly, just as mature democracies are inconsistent in their support of democracy and human rights, observers should fully expect that the rising democracies will be similarly inconsistent as they weigh their various interests.

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In terms of the role of civil society, Carothers was skeptical that civil society in these states will inevitably develop into national advocates for democracy and human rights-oriented foreign policies. This has not transpired in other advanced democracies like France and Japan, which are reasonably good at addressing human rights concerns domestically but do not prioritize them in foreign policy. He further urged against generalizing about civil society groups, as they are massive, complex structures with diverse interests that do not necessarily align with democracy and human rights interests.

Robert Kagan, Senior Fellow in Foreign Policy at Brookings, focused primarily on U.S. efforts to promote democracy. The inclination to set up like-minded regimes dates back to ancient Greece, and there is nothing new in the notion that democracies generally support fellow democracies. The key to understanding these emerging democracies' willingness to engage in promotion activities lies in determining whether or not these states primarily identify themselves as democracies. It seems that in many of these cases the post-colonial narrative dominates the democracy narrative in terms of national identity.

In the case of the United States, Kagan agreed with Carothers that its uniqueness precludes it from being a model for other nations. Washington, of course, has made its share of mistakes and committed hypocrisies along the way. After all, there are periods in U.S. history in which non-white authoritarian regimes were tolerated because conventional wisdom dictated that non-whites were not capable of democracy. Thomas Jefferson and John Adams actually agreed that democracy could not take hold in Latin America because democratic values were inconsistent with Catholicism. Perhaps the biggest hypocrisy of all is that the same Founding Fathers who preached the importance of democracy were themselves slave owners.

Despite these inconsistencies, U.S. identity is intrinsically linked with democracy. The United States has no national identity apart from the Declaration of Independence, and the only thing that makes someone American is a belief in fidelity to those principles. In a sense, democracy is kind of a burden that Americans would unload if given the chance, because they are constantly being measured against their own principles. Nonetheless, it is not a coincidence that the period of American ascendancy since 1945 coincides with an increase in the number of democracies in the world. States around the world have emulated the most powerful country, and the United States has actively supported democratic transitions.

To spread democracy, the United States has used several approaches. As part of its understanding of

how the world works, it deals with conflict with other nations as if they need to be cured of their non-democratic ailment. Americans define aggressors as non-democratic even when the conflict has nothing to do with democracy. Germany and Japan are the prime examples of democracy promotion through war. The United States also has the tendency to intervene in other states for reasons that having nothing do with democracy, but it doesn't feel quite right about leaving anything behind but a democracy. Invasions in Nicaragua and Iraq illustrate this post-invasion democracy promotion approach. The United States has also engaged in democracy promotion when movements within countries challenge American support for dictators or non-democratic regimes. For instance, the recent U.S. crisis of conscience occurred when democracy activists in Egypt publicly challenged U.S. support for Mubarak, though the United States had been supporting him for decades. It suddenly shifted its bilateral priorities to support universal rights and democracy in Egypt.

Through these various approaches, the United States does a great deal to promote democracy without having a centralized democracy promotion policy. In this sense, the rising democracies should not look to the U.S. model, as it would be extremely difficult for them to follow. It is important, however, to convince these emerging powers that they do have an interest in the survivability of democracies confronted with autocratic challenges. This will prove pragmatically important since democracy is retreating and autocracy is spreading. Not only are autocracies growing stronger, but they are actively engaging in "autocracy promotion." If autocracies are even a little bit more active than democracies in defending their counterparts abroad, the net result will undermine democracy.

Moises Naim, Senior Associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, observed that this conference may be asking questions about emerging democracies prematurely, as clear trends have yet to emerge. So far, there are only anecdotes, sentiments, and aspirations to discuss, and this discussion lacks strong intellectual anchors. In addition, he expressed skepticism about the case studies examined and wondered what united them as a group apart from economic growth and resilience during the financial crisis, both characteristics that China and other countries also possess. Other conference participants pointed out that these states are united as a group not just by their economic performance but also by ongoing democratic consolidation. It is precisely the fact that these states have continued to develop *both* economically and democratically that make them potential models for other states.

In addition to urging further development and refinement of this area of study, Naim called for more discussion about consistency in foreign policy. In his view, it is not only unrealistic but unproductive to call for perfect consistency in foreign policy. Reality requires states to consider both interests and values in decision-making, leading often to different reactions to similar scenarios and giving rise to what are seen as double standards or hypocrisies. The emerging democracies should be prepared for this inevitability. Furthermore, a rigid, values-driven foreign policy would be limiting and inflexible.

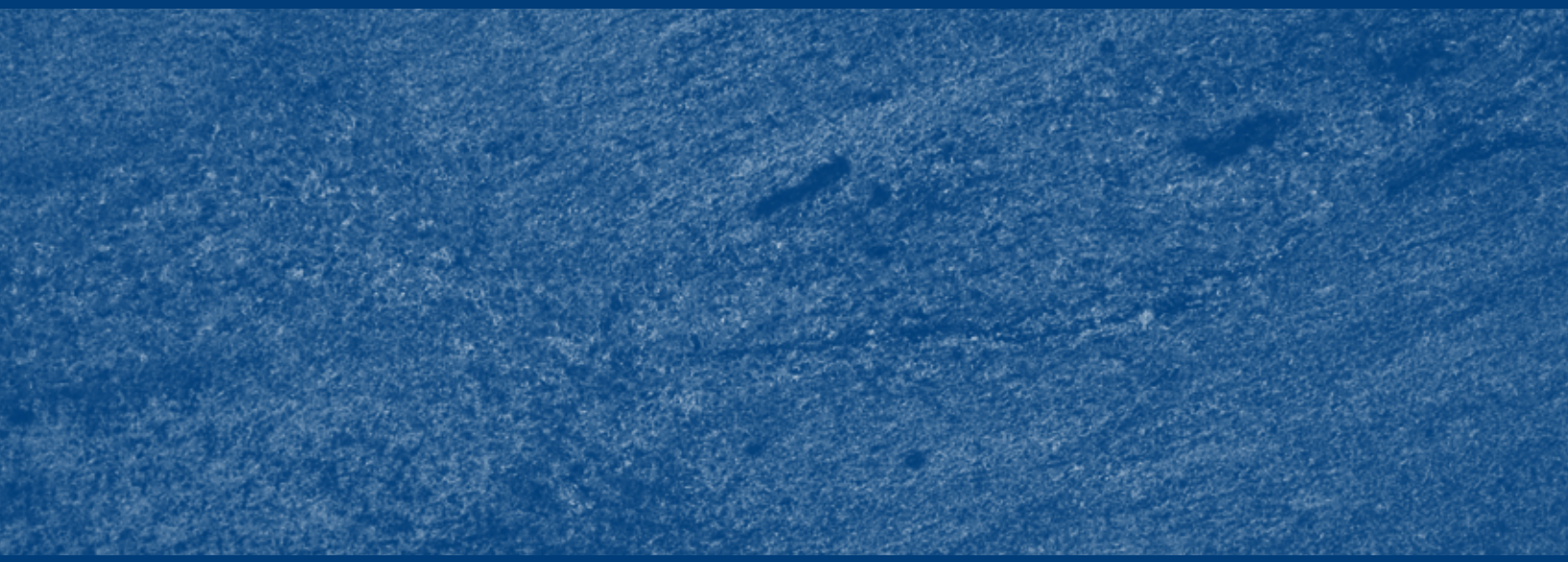
The case of Brazil showcases some of the potential problems in connecting these emerging democracies to the democracy and human rights agenda. In its constitution, Brazil explicitly references the defense of human rights. Brazil's left-of-center former President Lula headed a progressive government and surrounded himself with like-minded collaborators who had fought for human rights against a military dictatorship. Under his leadership and with its vibrant domestic democracy, Brazil seemed well-positioned to support democracy efforts abroad. Yet President Lula's policies seemed to run counter to the democracy and human rights agenda. While visiting Cuba he referred to political prisoners as common criminals, and in Venezuela he congratulated and praised President Chavez. Put simply, inconsistencies are not the exclusive domain of the United States, and observers should continue to expect them from the rising powers.

Naim further pointed out that economic and commercial interests trump democracy and human rights impulses. The private sector has had tremendous influence on the foreign ministry in Brazil, for instance, and its interests run largely against

the democracy and human rights agenda. Naim expressed overall skepticism that the private sector and civil society will play a positive role in encouraging these states to take up democracy and human rights.

Larry Diamond, Senior Fellow at the Hoover Institution, focused on the determinants of whether a country emphasizes democracy in its foreign policy. In certain circumstances, stable liberal democracies may feel the impulse to share their experiences. South Korea, the only stable liberal democracy of the group, is not quite proud enough of its democratic credentials to be in the business of sharing its experience. In fact, South Koreans have very big doubts and severe disappointments about their democracy. A second determinant is a state's level of economic development and education. A country that has reached a mature and comfortable stage of national development, like Sweden, may be less likely to pursue power and dominance on the world stage, facilitating its ability to promote democracy.

Third, and perhaps the most obvious determinant is the presence of a foreign aid program. A foreign aid program acts as a sort of gravitating force that also encourages democratic assistance and support. Fourth, secure borders and reasonable national security allow states to raise democracy and human rights more easily in their neighborhoods. India, Turkey, and South Korea remain too preoccupied with regional security to raise these issues with neighbors. Fifth, national identity could play a key role in a state's willingness to promote democracy and human rights. Diamond suggested that this might not be unique to the United States since democracy has played such a profound role in the expansion of the European Union. Finally, the personality of a leader makes a tangible difference. In his view, it would have been hard to imagine President Cardoso engaging in the same policies as President Lula had in Brazil and much of that has to do with personality.



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