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# LD Topic Analysis

# (Mini-Files Aggregated)

## T Interps

### Democracy promotion

#### Broad, general interps:

*(Sandra Lavenex [Institute of Political Science at the University of Lucerne] and Frank Schimmelfennig [Centre for Comparative and International Studies at Eidgenossische Technische Hochschule], Democracy Promotion in the EU’s Neighbourhood: From Leverage to Governance?, Google Books, published by Routledge, Sept 13 2013)*

**We propose three** ideal-typical **models of democracy promotion**: **linkge, leverage, and governance**. These models can be distinguished on four main dimensions: the target system of democracy promotion, the envisaged outcome, the main channels, and the typical instruments. • Target systems of democracy promotion. **Democracy promotion can be targeted at the polity as such, including the electoral regime, the division of powers between state organs, and respect for individual rights and civil liberties**. On the other hand, **it may** operate at the level of society and **target the socio-economic preconditions for democratization, including economic growth, education, the spread of liberal values, and the organization of civil society and the public sphere.** Finally, **democracy promotion may also target sectors: the policy-specific governance regimes** — **such as environmental policy, market regulation, welfare regimes, or internal security.** • Envisaged outcome of democracy promotion Depending on the target, the outcome of successful democracy promotion differs. If it is targeted at the polity level, the typical outcome should be democratic institutions guaran- teeing vertical (electoral) and horizontal accountability as well as the rule of law. When the target is society, the envisaged result is a democratic, 'civic' culture and meso-level institutions such as civic associations, parties, and a democratic public sphere. In the case of sectoral democracy promotion, the goal should be 'democratic governance', i.e. procedural prin- ciples of democratically legitimate political-administrative behaviour, including sectoral transparency, accountability, and societal participation. Channels of democracy promotion. The actors primarily addressed by inter-administrations/agencies. Correspondingly, we speak of an intergovernmental, transnational, and transgovernmental channel of democracy promotion and of a top-down, a bottom-up, and a horizontal direction of external democracy promotion. Instruments of democracy promotion **The** most **basic distinction regarding the instruments** or mechanisms **of** international **democracy promotion is** , 12 **'conditionality vs. socialization. Conditionality implies** a **bargaining** process **in which** an international actor uses selective **incentives** in order to **change** the **behaviour of actors in the target country.** These target actors are assumed to weigh the benefits they derive from democratic change against the costs and to comply with international conditions if the benefits exceed the costs. By contrast, **socialization is a learning process in which an** international **actor teaches** domestic actors **democratic norms and practices in order to persuade** them of their superiority. Democratic change then results from a change in normative and causal beliefs.

*(A. Wetzel [postdoctoral fellow at the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research at the University of Mannheim] and J. Orbie [assoc. prof at the dept of poli sci and director of the centre for EU studies at Ghent Univ], The Substance of EU Democracy Promotion: Concepts and Cases, Google Books, Published by Springer, Feb 17 2015)*

We have modified Merkel's original model in that we have explicitly added the element of stateness and have included state bureaucracy from Linz and Stepan's conceptualization. **In the following** paragraphs, **we** briefly **summarize the five partial regimes and four context conditions along which we** will **structure** our **analysis** **of** the substance of EU **democracy promotion** (for the next paragraphs, see Merkel 2004: 38-9). **The electoral regime has the central position of the five partial regimes** since it is necessary, but not sufficient, for democratic governing. Following Dahl, Merkel outlines **four supporting elements of this regime: universal, active suffrage; universal, passive right to vote; free and fair elections; and elected representatives. The** most **closely connected partial regime is** constituted by **the political liberties that go beyond the right to vote.** Most basically, **they include the right to political communication and organization**, that is, **press freedom and the right to association**. These define how meaningful the process of preference formation is in the public arena. **The third partial regime consists of civil rights that are central to the rule of law, that is, the 'containment and limitation of the exercise of state power'** (Merkel 2004: 39). Most fundamentally, **this includes that individual liberties are not violated by the state, and equality before the law. Related to this is the existence of independent courts. The fourth** connected **partial regime consists of divisions of power and horizontal accountability. This implies that 'elected authorities are surveyed by** a network of **relatively autonomous institutions and may be pinned down to constitutionally defined lawful action'** (Merkel 2004: 40; see also Morlino 2004: 18). The horizontal separation of powers thus amends the vertical control mechanisms of elections and the public sphere. Particular emphasis is put on the limitations to executive power. Central to this partial regime is the existence of an independent and functional judiciary to review executive and legislative acts. **The last partial regime is the effective power to govern. This means that it is the elected representatives that actually govern and that actors not subject to democratic accountability should not hold decision-making power**. In particular, there should be no tutelary powers or reserved policy domains (Merkel 2004: 41—2; see also Valenzuela 1992: 62—6). **While these five partial regimes are understood to be the defining components of a democracy, there are some more conditions that,** while not part of the definition itself, shape the 'environment that encompasses, **enable**s, **and stabilize**s **the democratic regime'** (Merkel 2004: 44). **Damage to these conditions might lead to** defects in, or the **destabilization of, democracy**. However, it is important to add that the promotion of the external conditions alone does not necessarily further democratization. On the contrary, a sole focus on the context conditions can even be to the detriment of democratization (for example, Fukuyama 2005: 87—8). **The first of the external supporting conditions is stateness, understood as the ability of the state to pursue the monopoly of legitimate physical force.** Where the monopoly of authority and physical force is not institutionalized, it cannot be democratized (Merkel et al. 2003: 58). Following Linz and Stepan, a state is indispensable for democracy: 'No state, no democracy' (1996b: 14). Although this strict connection between state and democracy can be disputed (Beetham 1999: 4—5), it is consistent with the traditional liberal democratic definitions of democracy that focus on 'governmental activity and institutions' at the state level (Held 2006 77). Stateness is seen to be problematic when the territorial boundaries and the eligibility for citizenship are disputed (Linz and Stepan 1996: ch. 2). **It also 'implies that** the organs of the state uphold monopolistic control in a basic military, legal, and fiscal sense' and that **there are no competing power centres exercising control** in these areas (Bäck and Hadenius 2008: 3). **The second external context condition**, which, in contrast to Merkel's original framework and our own earlier work, we have separated from stateness, **is state administrative capacity. It refers to a capable administration.** As Linz and Stepan put it, democracy relies on 'the effective capacity to command, regulate, and extract'. **The bureaucracy must be usable** by the democratic government (Linz and Stepan 1996: 11). In a broader sense, **this condition refers to good governance**, in particular to the output-related understanding. It includes in particular the effective government component of good governance promotion, which deals with the 'administrative core of good governance' and implies 'improving governance through strengthening the government and its administration' (Börzel et al. 2008: 10). **The third external context condition is** the presence of **civil society. This is the 'arena of the polity where self-organizing groups, movements, and individuals, relatively autonomously from the state,** attempt to **articulate values, create associations** and solidarities, **and advance their interests'** (Linz and Stepan 1996: 7). The importance of this context condition stems from the assumption that a well-developed **civil society strengthens democracy by generating** and enabling **'checks of power**, responsibility, **societal inclusion**, tolerance, fairness, trust, cooperation, **and** often also the **efficient implementation of** accepted political **programs'** (Merkel 2004: 47). The promotion of civil society is often seen as a part of good governance promotion and can be both input and output-oriented. While the former orientation stresses the empowerment of non-state actors in policy-making 'in order to improve the democratic quality of decision-making processes' the latter refers to the strengthening and/or inclusion of non-state actors in the policy implementation process with the aim of either producing better policies or better implementing policies. The case studies will, as far as possible, indicate which orientation EU civil society promotion follows in each specific instance (Börzel et al. 2008: 10). **The fourth external condition** that has an influence on the state of democracy **is the socio-economic context**. On the one hand, **this condition accounts for the link between economic development and** the capability to sustain **democracy**, which has proven to be very stable (Ingelhart and Welzel 2009). On the other hand, it reminds us that a certain level of socio-economic equality is necessary for meaningful political equality: 'Only when citizens are secured and educated by means of a sufficiently developed social and economic status will they be able to form independent opinions as citizens and participate in the political process (Merkel 2004: 45; see also O'Donnell 2001: 27-9). **On this basis**, and with regard to the above-mentioned puzzle, **we distinguish five possible types of democracy promotion** that differ with regard to the substance that is being promoted **1-** **Externally embedded liberal democracy promotion**: **besides the five partial regimes**, the EU also significantly **supports the advancement of the external conditions. 2- Liberal democracy promotion**: the EU mainly **promotes the five partial regimes of liberal democracy**. **3- Partial liberal democracy promotion**: the EU mainly **promotes some partial regimes while it neglects others, for example 'electoralism'** 4**- External conditions democracy promotion**: the EU mainly **supports the advancement of the external conditions**. **5- No liberal democracy promotion:** there are **no activities related to the support of any partial regime or context condition (even though** the EU **may refer to some actions as democracy promotion**).

*(Susan B. Epstein, Nina M. Serafino, and Francis T. Miko, Specialists in Foreign Policy Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, Congressional Research Service, “Democracy Promotion: Cornerstone of U.S. Foreign Policy?,” https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34296.pdf, Dec 26 2007)*

**The U**nited **S**tates **provides democracy assistance to many countries in a variety of circumstances** and with mixed degrees of success. Analysts categorize country circumstances and affects of assistance in different ways. **Generally**, **analysts have viewed U.S. democracy aid as facilitating transitions either from authoritarian or communist rule,** as in Latin America and Central Europe, **or from conflict**, as in Bosnia and African nations such as Sierra Leone and Liberia.38 **The range of U.S. democracy promotion activities and programs also varies greatly, from assistance for elections to aid in developing institutions and to funding of civil society groups.** (These types of assistance are discussed below.) Thus far, **there is little agreement among experts and practitioners on** the circumstances in which democracy promotion success may be achieved; the appropriate **emphasis, sequencing, and mix of programs** to achieve it; and the time frame necessary for an enduring democracy to take hold.

*(Danile Smadja, “The European Union: Key actor in worldwide democracy promotion,” Proceedings of a conference organised by the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftunghttp://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\_11856-1522-2-30.pdf?110504154444, June 5-6 2007)*

**Three elements can be considered** **as characterising** the EU approach to **democracy promotion** or democracy building: **1).** **The** EU **approach** relates to a wide variety of possible situations. It **may** be **target**ed towards **regimes with very limited freedoms and** little **political pluralism**; **it may be combined with peace-building in post-conflict situations; it may support new institutions and democratic practice in emerging democracies; it may be** well **integrated in development cooperation, strengthening participation and accountability** within sector programmes for achieving Millennium Development Goals; i**t may also be offered to more established democracies to assist in dealing with new threats, such as terrorism. 2). The** EU **approach uses many different instruments or tools. The focus may be on financial and technical assistance and grant aid**, but several other tools may be of particular relevance such as **political dialogues and other diplomatic instruments, financial incentives, conditionalities and sanctions, trade and investment instruments - for example** EU support for **WTO membership - mobilisation of civilian and military capabilities, humanitarian assistance, multilateral initiatives, public information and advocacy and monitoring. The wide range of possible instruments, that may be used individually or in combination, means that there is a** major **challenge** for the EU to achieve a joinedup approach between instruments, **to ensure coherence and** a **common narrative between different democracy actors and donors**. This is not always easy. The value that democracy can add, for example in helping achieving the MDGs, attracting investment, avoiding social unrest and political instability, linked with ‘local ownership’ of the democratisation and development process, is a standard justification for democracy assistance, whereas universal values and commitments under international conventions are often used as a frame of reference for political conditionalities and invoked in cases of specific abuse. **3). The** EU **approach** involves many different types of assistance. It **may be long term and highly structured, as in an accession partnership agreement – combining a road map, financial and technical assistance, benchmarks, monitoring – or very short term and highly specific, such as election observation. It may involve very indirect action to assist in creating a conducive environment for democracy** to flourish **for example through peace building initiatives, educational reform, action to combat drug trafficking, or direct technical support for a specific political process for example security sector reform. Any action to facilitate, advocate, inform, educate, or bring pressure to secure particular policy changes, for example quotas for women in parliament or abolition of torture, may be considered** a form of **democracy promotion.**

*(Julia Leininger, “Democracy promotion in fragile states: challenges and opportunities for the EU,” Worldwide promotion of democracy: challenges, role and strategy of the European Union, Proceedings of a conference organised by the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftunghttp://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\_11856-1522-2-30.pdf?110504154444, June 5-6 2007)*

The industry of **democracy promotion** has flourished in recent years. It **is exercised by a multitude of actors in very heterogeneous contexts** – some of them extremely difficult. This presentation focuses on fragile states, a specific type of difficult environment, and on **the** specific actor that is the European Union. Against the background of the current debate on international democracy promotion with specific regard to the EU, I argue that, firstly, the EU should play a major role as a promoter of democracy. Secondly, the paradigm of sequencing in democracy promotion is not valid under certain circumstances and, thirdly, the EU could strengthen its role as a democracy promoter within its existing framework by pursuing a complementary approach of state-building and democracy promotion. My presentation is structured in three parts. First, I introduce my **concept of democracy promotion** and state-building in the context of fragile states. Second, short empirical findings from the EU´s cooperation with Haiti and Mali will be discussed. Third, I will conclude my presentation with general remarks on how the EU´s role as a promoter of democracy can be strengthened. I use the term democracy promotion in a rather narrow sense; that **is** I am talking of **assistance to democracy in terms of direct technical, and maybe also financial support**. I further assume **that democracy cannot be enforced or exported.**

*(Dr. Karsten Grabow, “Internal actors, external actors: country categories, country approaches – conclusions,” Proceedings of a conference organised by the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftunghttp://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\_11856-1522-2-30.pdf?110504154444, June 5-6 2007)*

**In** summarising the main issues relating to **defining democracy promotion**, and developing appropriate policy approaches, **three main points can be identified**: The concept of democracy promotion **First, there is consensus that a detailed definition of democracy promotion** or democracy assistance **is necessary**, not only from European countries or organisations, but also from the EU itself. **This definition should emphasise that democracy means much more than regime change and free elections.** Democracy is a demanding political concept that is important for people’s lives. Therefore, democratic values should be placed at the centre of all activities – political education and **democracy promotion** – since democracy **begins** not at the institutional level, but **in hearts, minds and behaviour**. Once a detailed definition of democracy promotion exists, democracy promotion must become an integral part of the foreign policy of both EU member states and the EU itself. The role of foundations and other democracy promoters **Second, it is crucial to focus on institutions (such as parliaments) and individual and collective actors. Focusing on political parties is especially important, because parties are key actors of political integration and decision-making, which serve a special purpose in democracy promotion. Without political parties, democracy cannot be organised**. There are reliable and experienced organisations at European level, such as political foundations and party institutions, that can work with political parties in order to promote democratic party systems. These organisations combine experience of global democracy promotion and promotion of democratic parties, with country expertise and access to democratic and political decision-makers. Crucially, they are also based on general democratic values. These values, combined with experience of global democracy promotion and long established contacts with democratic partners in the host countries, make these organisations an efficient instrument of democracy promotion abroad. A multilevel approach **Third, the range and diversity of organisations, such as foundations and** European **political party organisations, are decisive assets for** European **democracy promotion. It seems logical that the work of promoting multiparty systems should be done through a decentralised framework, based on** and committed to **universal values of democracy.** For this purpose, political foundations, party organisations and similar institutions can serve as a model.

#### Precise interp:

*(Philippe C. Schmitter and Imco Brouwer, EUI Dept of political and social sciences, “Conceptualizing, Researching and Evaluating Democracy Promotion and Protection,” European University Institute, EUI Working Paper No 99/9, http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/id/995/, 1999)*

1. Defining Democracy Promotion & Protection   
 Democracy promotion & protection is a subset of activities in what has been labeled as the international context or international dimensions of democratization, i.e. all external actors and factors that affect the political regime situation in a specific country. **Democracy promotion** & protection **can be defined as follows: Democracy promotion** & protection **consists of all overt and voluntary activities adopted, supported, and (directly or indirectly) implemented by (public or private) foreign actors explicitly designed to contribute to the political liberalization of autocratic regimes, democratization of autocratic regimes, or consolidation of democracy in specific recipient countries.** **This definition excludes**, among other things, c**overt activities by external actors (e.g. "quiet" diplomatic efforts or activities of secret services) as well as indirect activities (e.g. literacy campaigns, improving a population's health, generic forms of propaganda, or promoting economic development).** Their exclusion from the definition of DPP should not be interpreted as implying that they have no impact on political liberalization, democratization, or consolidation of democracy, but just that **they are qualitatively different in intent and origin**. Moreover**, the effects of these activities upon regime change are** generally very hard or i**mpossible to observe and analyze. The definition also** excludes activities adopted, supported and implemented exclusively by domestic actors. In addition, it **excludes** a number of **factors** of the international context "**without agency**" **that could positively influence democratization, i.e. all forms of imitation, contagion, learning that emerge from the "normal" transactions between persons and countries. Our definition** of DPP **does include** a large variety of activities, such as **sanctions, diplomatic protests, threats of military intervention when they are used conditionally upon the democratic behavior of recipients, activities to promote the observance of human rights, to educate to civic norms, and the transfer of institutional models - such as supreme courts, legislatures, and electoral and party systems.**

#### Middle East specific:

*(Thomas Carothers [Carnegie Endowment], “Choosing a Strategy,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

To date, the soft line lacks definition. As U.S. State Department and U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) **officials have searched for ways to step up U.S. efforts to promote democracy in the Middle East, they have** tended to **put forward many ideas**. All of these various ideas are appealing to one group or another in the U.S. policy community but do not necessarily add up to a coherent strategy— **promoting women's rights, bolstering civil society, revitalizing education, fostering good governance, strengthening the rule of law, supporting decentralization**, and so forth.

#### U.S. Senate definitions:

*(Susan B. Epstein, Nina M. Serafino, and Francis T. Miko, Specialists in Foreign Policy Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, Congressional Research Service, “Democracy Promotion: Cornerstone of U.S. Foreign Policy?,” https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34296.pdf, Dec 26 2007)*

The following year, **the Senate Appropriations Committee** Report for FY2007 (S.Rept. 109-277/H.R. 5522) **asserted**, “to ensure a common understanding of democracy programs among United States Government agencies, **the Committee defines** in the act ‘**the promotion of democracy’ to include programs that support good governance, human rights, independent media, and the rule of law, and otherwise strengthen the capacity of democratic political parties, NGOs, and citizens to support the development of democratic states, institutions and practices that are responsible and accountable to citizens**.”15

*(Susan B. Epstein, Nina M. Serafino, and Francis T. Miko, Specialists in Foreign Policy Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, Congressional Research Service, “Democracy Promotion: Cornerstone of U.S. Foreign Policy?,” https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34296.pdf, Dec 26 2007)*

**Congress has demonstrated its concern for the** lack of **a consistent definition for democracy. The Senate Foreign Operations Appropriation Committee** Report for FY2006 (S.Rept. 109-96/H.R. 3057) stated, “The Committee remains concerned that the State Department and USAID do not share a common definition of a democracy program. For the purposes of this Act, ‘**a democracy program’ means technical assistance and other support to strengthen the capacity of democratic political parties, governments, non-governmental institutions, and/or citizens, in order to support the development of democratic states, institutions and practices that are responsive and accountable to citizens.”**14

#### Types of USFG demo promo:

*(Susan B. Epstein, Nina M. Serafino, and Francis T. Miko, Specialists in Foreign Policy Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, Congressional Research Service, “Democracy Promotion: Cornerstone of U.S. Foreign Policy?,” https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34296.pdf, Dec 26 2007)*

For years, **the U.S. government has supported numerous** bilateral and multilateral **activities that promote democracy around the world. Both the executive and congressional branches** of government **are involved.** Executive Branch Activities The Bush Administration has been heavily invested in promoting democracy to other countries. A theme in Secretary Rice’s Transformational Diplomacy, announced in January 2006, is her plan to reform U.S. diplomacy and foreign assistance activities with a key objective of promoting democracy in other countries.67 Bilateral Programs. Specific executive branch **bilateral government activities that support democracy** reform **include providing aid to support election procedures and good governance practices, assisting in building the legal system, assisting in military and police training, and teaching the importance of a free press. Public diplomacy programs such as U.S. international broadcasting, exchanges, and international information programs promote democracies overseas by showcasing American democracy and culture. Some exchanges provide foreign participants with training and experience in broadcast or print media techniques**. **The Millennium Challenge Account (MCA), a foreign assistance program** proposed by President Bush in 2002 and authorized by Congress in 2004, **was designed to provide foreign aid to countries that make progress toward democratic** and economic **reform**. **The Department of State is** considered to be **the lead agency for democracy promotion** activities; **others involved** with democracy promotion **include** the U.S. Agency for International Development (**USAID**), the **D**epartments **o**f **Defense** **and** **Justice**, **and the Broadcasting Board of Governors**. **In addition, numerous NGOs, including the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and The Asia Foundation, are** fully **involved** in democracy promotion abroad. **They receive congressionally appropriated funds** that are passed to them through the Department of State’s budget. U.S. government funding for democracy programs is primarily within the State Department/Foreign Operations budget. Referred to as the Governing Justly and Democratically strategic objective, **this funding is allocated by** account and by region. (See Table 1 below.) Governing Justly and Democratically includes **four elements: 1- Rule of Law and Human Rights. Funding** under this heading **supports constitutions, laws and legal systems, justice systems, judicial independence, and human rights. 2- Good Governance.** Funding under **this supports legislative** functions and **processes, public sector executive functions, security sector governance, anti-corruption reforms, local governance, and decentralization. 3- Political Competition and Consensus-Building.** This category **supports elections and political processes, political parties, and consensus-building processes. 4- Civil Society. Funding focuses on media freedom, freedom of information, and civic participation.** In addition to funds for Governing Justly and Democratically, the Department of State budget contains funds that are transferred to the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and The Asia Foundation. NED’s FY2008 total request is $80 million, of which about $70 million will go for democracy program support. The Asia Foundation’s FY2008 total budget request is $10 million, of which about $8.8 million will support democracy promotion. Therefore, the total estimated funding request for democracy promotion activities in FY2008 is over $1.5 billion. Multilateral Programs. **The U.S. government also contributes to a number of multilateral efforts to promote** or monitor **democratic reform around the world. Included are the United Nations Development Program, the U.N. Democracy Fund, the Community of Democracies, and Freedom House, as well as the World Bank and the Organization of American States** (OAS). An indication of the level of importance Secretary Rice places on democracy promotion is her announcement to establish the Advisory Commission on Democracy Promotion to “help us think about the issues of democracy promotion, to from time to time give us constructive criticism on what it is that we’re doing, as well as constructive suggestions about what more we might do.” What the Commission will not do, however, which many foreign policy observers say is needed, is coordinate all the many facets of democracy promotion activities in which the U.S. government is involved. A coordination mechanism, experts say, would contribute to improving the effectiveness and efficiency of ongoing programs and would help to minimize the possibility of democracy promotion programs and U.S. tax dollars working at cross purposes. Furthermore, some observers note, there is a lack of global coordination among developed countries supporting democracy promotion throughout the world. From their perspective, improved communication among developed democracies and letting each specialize in its area of comparative advantage, whether economic, cultural, or geographical, could further democracy promotion effectiveness worldwide while keeping costs down. Congressional Involvement **Congress also plays a role in democracy promotion**. **Setting funding levels and providing oversight** of Administration democracy promotion programs are typically how Congress influences U.S. democracy promotion programs. **The House** of Representatives **also created the House Democracy Assistance Commission** (**HDAC**) **to help other governments’ legislative branches evolve**. (See below and Appendix B for a history of congressional democracy promotion activities.) From the 101st Congress through the first session of the 110th Congress, numerous pieces of legislation were introduced and passed to authorize and appropriate funds for democracy promotion in specific countries and regions, and to press governments of non-democratic countries to begin a process of democratization. Significant sums were appropriated for democracy programs through the annual State Department and Foreign Operations Appropriations. In FY2006, Congress created the Democracy Fund in the Foreign Operations Appropriations for Fiscal Year 2006 (P.L. 109-102, Title III), which provided $94.1 million for various democracy promotion activities in FY2006 and the same amount for FY2007.68 In addition, Congress passed the Implementation of the 9/11 Commission Act (P.L. 110-53/H.R. 1), which includes Title XXI, Advancing Democratic Values, Subtitle A — Activities to Enhance the Promotion of Democracy. n the first session of the 110th Congress, several bills involving democracy promotion were introduced. The ADVANCE Democracy Act of 2007 (H.R. 982), introduced on February 12, 2007, by Representative Tom Lantos (D-CA) and others, contains provisions to promote democracy in foreign countries, calls for specific State Department actions and reports with regard to non-democracies, aims to strengthen the “Community of Democracies,” and authorizes funding for democracy assistance for FY2008 and FY2009. Other bills introduced in the 110th Congress address democracy in individual countries, including the Ukraine, Venezuela, Afghanistan, Vietnam, and Serbia. Building on a long tradition of supporting the development of democracies and democratic institutions around the world in many ways,69 Congress currently carries out its own program to support legislatures in new democracies. The House Democracy Assistance Commission (**HDAC**) was created in March 2005, in effect the successor effort to previous congressional legislative assistance programs in the 1990s. HDAC was established to enable Members, officers, and staff of the House of Representatives and congressional support agencies to **provide** expert **advice to fledgling legislatures on subjects such as committee operations, oversight, constituent relations, parliamentary procedures, and the establishment of support services**. To date, the HDAC has assisted legislatures of 12 countries throughout the world.70

#### Requires 3 prongs:

*(Michael Singh, Visiting fellow at The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, "The U.S. Approach to Promoting Democracy in the Middle East", Paper presented at a conference organized by the Euro-Mediterranean Foundation of Support to Human Rights Defenders (EMHRF): Democratic Change in the Arab Region: State Policy and the Dynamics of the Civil Society, Brussels, http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/html/pdf/Singh20110403Brussels.pdf, April 2011)*

A Three-Pronged Approach to Democracy Promotion **Debates over democracy promotion are often muddled by the fact that promoting democracy can mean different things to different people. In fact**, a comprehensive approach to **democracy promotion requires three prongs**: **top-down work with governments, bottom-up work with civil society, and institutionbuilding efforts to** provide a **connect**ion between **the two**.17 **It is tempting**, and sometimes politically expedient, **to focus on just one or two of these prongs** and dispense with the others. **However, doing so seems likely to** fail and perhaps to **backfire**. **For example**, exclusively top-down or bottom-up efforts risk appearing hypocritical or unreasonably raising expectations for change; **focusing exclusively on institutionbuilding may** simply **increase the competence of an autocratic system**. Top-down democracy promotion involves working with or pressuring governments to open space for popular participation in politics. While this likely includes pressing for free, fair, and competitive elections and a pluralistic party system, it is not limited to calling for elections. Indeed, while the United States has been criticized in the past for a supposed overemphasis on elections in democracy promotion, Tom Carothers of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace asserts that “U.S. democracy promotion, programs, and policies for the most part do not reflect an exclusive or even an overweening emphasis on elections.”18 Other aspects of opening political space—the object of top-down efforts—include, but are not limited to, increasing participation (for example, by women and minorities) in politics; ensuring civil liberties such as freedom of expression, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, and—an apt addition made by Secretary Clinton—“freedom to connect”; and ensuring the independence of the judiciaries and legislatures. Top-down efforts should also focus on economic reform and corruption, which often are intimately connected to the structural underpinnings of autocratic regimes. While top-down pressure on governments for political and economic reform can strain relations, so can many other diplomatic issues of interest to the United States—pressure for reform is hardly unique in this regard. The impression, however, that democracy promotion is not a core interest of the United States, but rather a luxury vaguely connected to our values, can lead senior and working-level officials alike to shy away from top-down pressure and instead focus on saving our diplomatic capital for more “strategic” issues. But this is a mistake—it is in the day-to-day work of diplomats and in the content of meetings and press conferences, not in one-off speeches, that democracy promotion policy truly resides. Bottom-up democracy promotion, to put it simply, involves the provision of assistance to individuals and civil society organizations aimed at enhancing their political or, in some cases, economic participation. Bottom-up efforts raise issues which are perhaps more complicated than those implicated by top-down efforts—for example, whether to deal with certain parties (such as Islamists), the possibility that direct association with the United States or other Western governments may undermine civil society actors, and difficult decisions about whether to work with or around governments. For these and other reasons, the U.S. government frequently conducts its bottom-up democracy promotion efforts at arm’s length, through NGOs or multilateral bodies. Institution-building efforts are the intermediary between top-down and bottom-up democracy promotion; if top-down efforts open political space and bottom-up efforts train individuals and organizations to fill that space, then institution-building efforts seek to provide that political space with structure. In a sense, institution-building is the most important of the three prongs, in that decisions by leaders can be reversed, and individual members of civil society come and go, but effective and deeply rooted institutions—such as functioning courts and prisons, accountable legislatures, professional media, political parties, internet connectivity, and professional security services—can provide stability and sustainability to a process of democratization. But institution-building is also the most difficult and most slowly unfolding of the three prongs. Diplomacy and development must come together for successful institution-building, as maintaining its momentum and progress over time often requires working with a succession of governmental and civil society leaders. Across these three prongs of democracy promotion, many tools are available to the United States. These include bilateral diplomacy, such as meetings between high-ranking officials which provide a venue to stress the importance of political reform to the United States; multilateral diplomacy, such as that conducted through the Broader Middle East and North Africa (BMENA) initiative through the G-8; cultural and public diplomacy, such as people-to-people and legislative exchanges; technological tools; public statements, such as the speeches noted earlier; public-private partnerships, such as the “Partners for a New Beginning” initiative launched in April 2010; financial and other forms of assistance; and tools such as sanctions, incentives, and occasionally coercion.

#### Includes political & developmental:

*(A. Wetzel [postdoctoral fellow at the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research at the University of Mannheim] and J. Orbie [assoc. prof at the dept of poli sci and director of the centre for EU studies at Ghent Univ], The Substance of EU Democracy Promotion: Concepts and Cases, Google Books, Published by Springer, Feb 17 2015)*

In order **to map** the substance of EU **democracy promotion, we take into account not only activities that are explicitly labelled as such, but all activities that are** potentially **conducive to the development of** any of the partial regimes or context conditions. Thus, for instance, while cooperation on social matters is sometimes separated from **democracy**, **for example** in the Commission's progress reports in the enlargement framework (see the respective chapters), **we treat** it **as** a **democracy promotion** **activity** because it contributes to **advancing** **the socio-economic** context **condition**. Yet we are aware that a sole focus on social issues may not lead to democratization. We have elaborated on this tension elsewhere (Wetzel and Orbie 2011b, Wetzel and Orbie 2012). Conversely, **activities labelled as democracy promotion are** only **counted as such when they are designed to develop any of the partial regimes or context conditions (regardless of their actual effectiveness**). For instance, the 'Democracy, Good Governance and Stability' Platform established under the EU's Eastern Partnership actually comprises a range of activities that would not be considered as democracy promotion, such as police cooperation on drug trafficking, migration, fight against cybercrime, and coping with natural and man-made disasters (Eastern Partnership 2012). The terms 'narrow' and 'shallow' are not meant to refer to a 'worse' form of EU democracy promotion. The EU might have good reasons not to pursue a broad democracy promotion strategy in a certain country. In some instances, such as in Brazil or Israel, the state of democracy is already rather advanced. In other cases, such as Eritrea, the third country government's willingness to cooperate on democracy promotion is low.

*(A. Wetzel [postdoctoral fellow at the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research at the University of Mannheim] and J. Orbie [assoc. prof at the dept of poli sci and director of the centre for EU studies at Ghent Univ], The Substance of EU Democracy Promotion: Concepts and Cases, Google Books, Published by Springer, Feb 17 2015)*

Against the background of the above-mentioned dual finding regarding the content of EU **democracy promotion activities**, we take the democracy models developed by Linz and Stepan (1996a) and Merkel (2004) as a point of departure for the mapping exercise.2 These works are particularly suitable because they offer a broad conceptualization of liberal democracy.3 They **encompass** interlocking **core institutions of democracy and supporting external conditions,** both of which have been found to be important elements of EU democracy promotion. At the same time, these models allow us to keep core conditions and enhancing external conditions conceptually separate.

#### Includes institutions & civil society:

*(Susan B. Epstein, Nina M. Serafino, and Francis T. Miko, Specialists in Foreign Policy Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, Congressional Research Service, “Democracy Promotion: Cornerstone of U.S. Foreign Policy?,” https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34296.pdf, Dec 26 2007)*

The view that democracy would be achieved if political leaders could be persuaded to govern democratically, or when reasonably free and fair elections are held, has given way to a range of other conditions that must be met for a country to be considered a sustainable democracy. **The idea that elections are a sufficient measure of success was discarded as analysts realized that this measure “ignores the degree to which** multiparty **elections** (even if they are competitive and uncertain in outcome) **may exclude significant portions of the population** from contesting for power or advancing and defending their interests, **or** may **leave** significant **arenas of decision making beyond the control of elected officials**.”40 **Subsequently, two other means to establish a democracy have become recognized** as essential, although opinion is divided as to which is the more important. **One is the promotion of strong democratic institutions.** Diamond argues that the political institutionalization — **the establishment of “capable, complex, coherent and responsive” formal institutions of democracy** is the “single most important and urgent factor in the consolidation of democracy....”41 “If it is a liberal democracy that we have in mind, then **the political system must** also **provide for a rule of law**, and rigorously **protect the right of individuals and groups to speak, publish, assemble, demonstrate, lobby, and organize**.” He lists **a full range of institutions** (**i.e, “political parties, legislatures, judicial systems, local government, and** the **bureaucratic structures** of the state more generally”).42 Carothers **point**s **to** “troubled political parties” as an “ubiquitous institutional deficiency” in “the global landscape of attempted **democratization**,” examines their problems, and suggests new approaches to political party **assistance**.43 Democracy assistance efforts may well face a wide range of impediments to the establishment of viable institutions, however. According to Carothers, those promoting transitions may often encounter “entrenched concentrations of political power ... deeply rooted habits of patronage and corruption ... mutually hostile socioeconomic or ethnic groups ...” (i.e., the underlying interests and power relationships that are most often resistant to change).44 He suggests that democracy assistance programs will be more effective by “building the underlying interests and power relationships into [them],” but warns that effective programs “require much deeper knowledge about the recipient society than most aid providers have or want to take the trouble to acquire.”45 **The other means to promoting democracy is the creation of** a vibrant **civil society,** which many argue is the sine qua non for a functioning democracy. Karatnycky views “an active and dynamic civil society” as “the crucial agent in ensuring a durable, democratic outcome.... [T]he evidence from dozens of postconflict and post-authoritarian transitions shows that the best way for advanced democracies to increase the chances for successful support of democratic openings is by maximizing the resources devoted to the development of civic nonviolent forces.”46 In a study published in 2002, he cited East Timor as a “case of international intervention where it appears that things are going right” with major credit because of the international community’s “major investment ... for independent civil life, which bodes well for the future.” Reinforcing his judgment on the importance of civil society is his view that “civic empowerment appears to be more significant in determining democratic outcomes than whether or not a society suffered wrenching violence.” Although some experts, such as Carothers and Diamond, believe that political institutionalization is more critical, Diamond points to civil society as promoting not only a transition to democracy, but also its “deepening” and consolidation once democracy is established.47 While in Diamond’s view, civil society does not play the central role initially, “the more active, pluralistic, resourceful, institutionalized, and internally democratic civil society is ... the more likely democracy will be to emerge and endure.”48 **A lack of funding is often** viewed as **the most significant obstacle for the creation of civil society non-governmental organizations** in developing and even middle-income countries. Many of these countries, including the upper-middleincome countries such as Chile and Argentina where international donors are likely to withdraw support, are “weak in the social capital and public-spiritedness which enable civil society organizations to raise substantial funds from the private sectors of their own countries,” according to Diamond.49 **Without help from abroad, the only recourse for such organizations is to turn to the state for funding, which creates** its own **problems**. **The importance of any one of these three means to democracy is a subjective judgment,** as analysts’ opinions can differ and may well vary by type and even over time. In a comparative study, Karatnycky views two countries torn by conflict in the 1980s (i.e., Nicaragua and El Salvador) as two success stories, which are “now relatively stable democracies with competitive multiparty systems.”50 Although he attributes success to strengthening of democratic civil society in Nicaragua and to centrist and reform movements in El Salvador that helped build “vibrant civic sectors,” Karatnycky also judges another factor as important (i.e., that both countries had multiparty electoral structures during the periods of conflict that were c

*(Frank Spengler, “Internal actors, external actors: country categories, country approaches (I),” Worldwide promotion of democracy: challenges, role and strategy of the European Union, Proceedings of a conference organised by the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftunghttp://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\_11856-1522-2-30.pdf?110504154444, June 5-6 2007)*

**In designing** tailor-made country strategies for **democracy promotion, three categories** of countries **can be considered:** **In the first** category, political and government forces openly promote the establishment or strengthening of democracy. These are countries where **democracy promotion can include government-organised projects as well as projects organised by civil society. External actors take the role of dialogue partners, providing technical expertise, best practice examples, and assistance in implementing jointly-drafted solutions**, which can be done both by internal and external actors. **The second category includes** countries with formal democratic structures where the government and political forces maintain authoritarian attitudes, and are reluctant to translate the constitutional democratic order into real democratic life. In such countries, government forces do not support the strengthening of the democratic culture. **Strengthening and capacity-building involving civil society organisations and other non-state actors** is primarily the task of so-called non-governmental actors**. In the third category**, government and ruling political forces openly oppose multiparty democracy and functioning democratic processes. In most of these cases, there is still nevertheless room for **projects by foreign, non-state actors, especially by political foundations and NGOs**. The objective is to **build up civil society’s democratic awareness and capacity.**

#### Excludes economic development/democracy must be primary goal:

*(Susan Stewart, Lecturer at the Chair for Political Science and Contemporary History at Mannheim University & Senior Associate for Researcg at German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Democracy Promotion and the 'Colour Revolutions', German Institute for International and Security Affairs, Google Books, published by Routledge, Sept 13 2013)*

**Democracy promotion is distinguished** in this article **as one form of international** donor **assistance, different from all other forms of aid, be they macro-economic, developmental, military, or technical in nature.** With the end of the Cold War, the overseas development assistance community witnessed a relative decline of aid for security (anti-communist) purposes, and an increase in attempts to export democratic practices and values for their own sake.2 **This is not to minimize the importance of stabilizing currencies, reducing poverty, building infrastructure, encouraging business development, or transferring technology as efforts to secure justice and political and social stability as preconditions for a more democratic** and peaceful **order**. **However**, despite the far greater monetary flows captured in **these** forms of international aid, this article does **[are] not** treat such macro-economic, developmental, military, or technical aid as **democracy promotion** assistance efforts **per se**. In this article, **democracy promotion assistance refers only to assistance that is primarily and directly designed to inculcate or enhance liberal democratic values, institutions, and practices. This generally takes the form of assistance squarely targeted by donors to build or strengthen civil society organizations, mass media, election systems, political parties, minority and women's rights, the rule of law, or state institutional capacity for the purpose of producing institutions and processes that are more transparent and responsive to** the needs of ordinary **citizens**. There are of course real world **exceptions** that blur this distinction, **such as the transfer of heating oil** and other infrastructure projects by international donors **to Serbian municipalities** intended **to bolster parties in opposition to the** Milosevié **regime**, where they had taken power after hard-fought elections and demon- strations in 1996—1997. But such exceptions act**ually underline the rule: rather than to fight poverty or improve development outcomes per se, such aid was given explicitly and primarily** as a lifeline **to preserve** independent **political opposition** to MiloSevié. It provided the means for local government leaders, and there- fore the parties holding local power, to demonstrate tangible results for the votes of their constituents, despite the attempt of the central government in Belgrade to deny local government funds to the opposition and thereby weaken the latter's social support.

*(Dr. Hauke Hartmann, “Democracy promotion: definition, priorities, preconditions,” Worldwide promotion of democracy: challenges, role and strategy of the European Union, Proceedings of a conference organised by the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftunghttp://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\_11856-1522-2-30.pdf?110504154444, June 5-6 2007)*

**This distinction has a very real and practical significance when the goals of democracy promotion are defined. Questions must be addressed**, such as whether poverty, hunger and sickness make it harder to introduce democratic governance (in the sense that there seems to be a correlation **between** the standard of living and the quality of democracy), and if the protection of at least the most basic social and **economic rights** are not part **and**-parcel of **democratic development.** According to KAS “the opportunity for the citizens to participate actively in solving problems and in decision-making – the most basic element of democracy – is even indispensable for people’s survival and for socioeconomic development in the medium term. The Millennium Development Goals cannot be reached and sustained without existence of democratic life.” I readily subscribe to this. **This is not to say that democracy promotion is** really **about economic development**. But it means that an increase in **social justice** is likely to improve the quality of democracy. The Bertelsmann Transformation Index takes into account both the political and the economic aspects of transformation. This **does not mean adding to the** already long **catalogue of measures for democracy promotion** by simply adding redistributive or welfare elements. **However, a pro-poor policy**, as pursued, for example, by the British government, **can** and should **be linked to a policy of democracy promotion.**

*(Eva Bellin [Hunter College], “The Political-Economic Conundrum,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

Conventional wisdom in the development community has long held that economic and political reforms are directly linked. With regard to sequencing, **the debate has been dominated by two schools: one prioritizing economic reform, the other political reform. Yet neither approach is useful as policy guidance. Although** linkage between economic and political reform indeed exists (and **in the Middle East resistance to both kinds of reform is** intrinsically **interwoven in** the logic of **many regimes**), **the relationship between the two is not deterministic, nor is any fixed sequencing warranted.** The permissive linkage between economic and political reform suggests **that neither is a precondition of the other.** Further, **if either democratization or economic reform is the** stated policy **goal, each must be pursued not as a means to the other but rather for its own sake and on its own terms.**

#### Not just elections:

*(Dr. Cor Van Beuningen, “Democracy: features and fundamentals,” Worldwide promotion of democracy: challenges, role and strategy of the European Union, Proceedings of a conference organised by the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftunghttp://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\_11856-1522-2-30.pdf?110504154444, June 5-6 2007)*

**Free elections are essential but not sufficient for the make up** and well-functioning **of democracy**. **In order to avoid** malfunctioning and even **perversion, respect for human rights** – especially for the minority, and for minorities - **and for the rule of law is indispensable, as are effective institutions and checks and balances**. In **democratic politics**, different proposals for the directionality to be given to the development of society compete for electoral support. This **presupposes both voice and choice**, **which** in turn **implies** the following: **an electorate composed of citizens**; a number of different proposals for public or collective action, embodied by **competing political parties** (multiparty democracy); **and free elections**. Ideally, **then**, democratic politics involves a number of political parties with different proposals for development, competing for the electoral support of engaged citizens. However, **it will be clear** to anyone slightly familiar with reality in developing countries, **that** the factual functioning of politics here does not comply with this ideal description. This is also true for most democracies (and even, for that matter, for most democracies in the first world). What can be observed in reality, is – **for example** - that **political bosses** compete for electoral support, however not in order to get access to state power and to serve development and the common good, but **aiming** **to** get **access** to the loot constituted by **public resources**, in order **to administer them as** their own **patrimony** and distribute them **amongst** themselves and **their clienteles** (state capture, patronage and clientelism, corruption). 30 **And** conversely, the **electorate** is **constituted** not by engaged citizens that choose the best proposal for the development of society, but **by persons that act as clients** looking for compensation by their patrons through the redistribution of the public loot. In fact, what is involved here **is** **a** more or less institutionalised **perversion of** the logic of **democratic politics**; a perversion which to some extent is observable in many if not most of the developing countries (and elsewhere). **Forms and procedures may be perfectly ‘democratic’, while they are being** used and **made to function for purposes that are against everything that democracy was meant for.**

#### Excludes physical force/military:

*(Sandra Lavenex [Institute of Political Science at the University of Lucerne] and Frank Schimmelfennig [Centre for Comparative and International Studies at Eidgenossische Technische Hochschule], Democracy Promotion in the EU’s Neighbourhood: From Leverage to Governance?, Google Books, published by Routledge, Sept 13 2013)*

**Democracy promotion comprises all direct, non-violent activities by a state or international organization that are intended to bring about, strengthen, and support democracy in a third country. This definition excludes the use of physical coercion as well as indirect and unintended effects such as the international demonstration effects of successful democratic transitions or the** potentially **positive effects of** general **international interconnections** on democracy. **'Democracy' is** understood in a very general and simple way as the **accountability of public authorities to the people.** **Accountability mechanisms comprise**, inter alia, the accountability of officials to the electorate through **free and fair elections,** the accountability of governments to parliaments, **or** the accountability of agencies **to public scrutiny. Any activities designed to strengthen accountability, and hence also responsiveness** **to** the **citizens**, **qualify as democracy promotion.** **The concrete contents of democracy promotion activities vary across targets, envisaged outcomes, channels and instruments**. For the purpose of this special issue, they are a matter of empirical analysis, not definition. We focus on democracy-promoting activities of the EU as an international organization rather than on the activities of its member states. Moreover, we further focus on strategies and behaviours rather than on the motivations of the EU. In other words, we are not interested in explaining why the EU promotes democracy and whether it is normatively desirable.

#### Distinct from “democracy protection”:

*(Nelli Babayan [Post-doctoral Researcher within Transworld project at the Freie Universität Berlin] and Daniela Huber [Researcher at the Istituto Affari Internazionali], “Motioned, Debated, Agreed? Human Rights and Democracy Promotion in International Affairs,” Transworld, Working Paper 6, http://www.transworld-fp7.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/TW\_WP\_06.pdf, December 2012)*

But also the **concepts of** major **democracy** and human rights **promoters** such as the US and the EU **are** **slightly** **diverse**. While there seems to be a broad global ‘script’ on the substantive content of **democracy** and human rights **promotion** (Magen, Risse, and McFaul 2009) which leans towards the liberal definitions of both concepts, the European script also includes a social-democratic dimension. Carothers who **differentiates between the “political type”** of democracy promotion **and the developmental one**, argues that the US tends more to the former and Europe to the latter (Carothers 2009a). **Political type of democracy promotion focuses on elections, parties, the judiciary, media, civil society, and political rights, while the developmental one involves socio-economic measures.** The challenge of democracy being a contested concept also translates into the literature on democracy promotion, which is – it should be noted and similar to the practice it analyses – Western dominated. Firstly, there is no agreement on what democracy is and diverse models exist (Held 2006). Secondly, even if spanning over two decades, **the literature has produced only vague definitions of democracy promotion itself, concentrating more on its sectors and strategies**. Arguably one of **the clearest understanding**s **of democracy promotion defines it as “overt and voluntary activities adopted, supported, and (directly or indirectly) implemented by (public or private) foreign actors explicitly designed to contribute to the political liberalization of autocratic regimes and the subsequent democratization of autocratic regimes in specific recipient countries”** (Schmitter and Brouwer 1999: 14). Partly to distance itself from the Bush agenda of democracy promotion, **an academic discourse has** recently **emerged to rename the promotion of democracy to democracy assistance** (Burnell 2010, 17). **However, the two concepts remain very similar without** wielding **substantial differences** to the strategies or targets. Schmitter and Brouwer also **differentiate between democracy promotion and democracy protection, with the latter defined as “overt and voluntary activities adopted, supported, and (directly or indirectly) implemented by (public or private) foreign actors explicitly designed to contribute to the consolidation of democracy in specific recipient countries”** (Schmitter and Brouwer 1999, 14). **Democracy protection does not intend to change the current political regime,** especially if it is democratic, but acts to make it more effective and efficient. **Likewise, organisation of police training for enforcement of human rights** and support for trade unions are **activities directed at consolidation of democracy**. While democracy promotion activities are likely to be more effective on the state and political establishment, democracy protection activities can be more influential when targeting civil society and individuals. However it may be, the boundary between democracy promotion and protection is often blurred in the actual activities of promoters who do not strictly differentiate between the two. A more helpful way to conceptualize the phenomenon might be to distinguish between the targets of democracy promotion, visualized in table 1. This template indicates that **democracy can be promoted through bottom-up and topdown approaches**. **Though** **these approaches should be used simultaneously** in order to achieve better results (Babayan 2012), **strategies** usually **differ from promoter to promoter**. **The US** and the EU **use[s] both** approaches, even though the EU focuses on a top-down approach, while the US has **a** rather **balanced approach** (Huber 2008). **Encouragement of multiparty systems and increasing both the supply (state institutions) and demand (civil society) sides are equally important for** successful **democracy promotion** (Carothers 1999) in order to avoid resistance to democratization from the authorities and reluctance to advocate democratization from the civil society.

*(Philippe C. Schmitter and Imco Brouwer, EUI Dept of political and social sciences, “Conceptualizing, Researching and Evaluating Democracy Promotion and Protection,” European University Institute, EUI Working Paper No 99/9, http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/id/995/, 1999)*

2. Distinguishing Democracy Promotion from Democracy Protection

In the studies of political regime changes from autocratic to democratic regimes, three qualitatively different processes have been distinguished: (l) political liberalization; (2) democratization; and (3) the consolidation of democracy The process of political liberalization is made up of two core elements: (l) increasing quantity and quality of political liberties; and (2) encouraging the de- stabilization or eventual collapse of autocratic regimes. The process of democratization is a process in which a minimally democratic regime is established. The process of consolidation of democracy is qualitatively different from the former two processes because It ums at sheer survival of a (newly) established democracy by introducing elements of predictability in an effort to avoid, first of all, a relapse into autocracy. Measures that are considered to be useful to consolidate newly democratized regimes can have a negative impact on the collapse of autocratic regimes and the establishment of democratic regimes. For example, reinforcement of the rule of law might stabilize not only a neo-democracy, it might also stabilize an autocracy. **It is** therefore **of** strategic **importance to distinguish between the promotion of**, on the one hand, political liberalization and democratization **and**, on the other hand, **the protection** (consolidation) **of democracy**. Thus, the overarching concept of DPP is made up of two qualitatively different elements, **which can be defined as follows. Democracy Promotion consists of** all overt and voluntary **activities adopted, supported, and (directly or indirectly) implemented by (public or private) foreign actors explicitly designed to contribute to the political liberalization** of autocratic regimes **and** the subsequent **democratization of autocratic regimes** in specific recipient countries. **Democracy Protection consists of** all overt and voluntary **activities** adopted, supported, and (directly or indirectly) implemented by (public or private) foreign actors explicitly **designed to contribute to consolidation of democracy** in specific recipient countries.

#### Distinct from “liberalization”:

*(Thomas Carothers [Carnegie Endowment], “Choosing a Strategy,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

As Daniel Brumberg argues in chapter two of this volume, the **political liberalization** that these regimes have pursued **is** quite **different from democratization, and it would be a mistake to assume any** easy or **natural path from liberalization to democratization.** The **regimes have engaged in limited**, often sporadic political **liberalization to relieve accumulated domestic political pressure and gain some reformist legitimacy. The reforms are a means of preserving their hold on power, not of creating democracy**. The reforms are not aimed at creating a process that would lead to the leaders eventually having to risk giving up power to some elected alternative. As Brumberg notes, liberalization in the Arab world tends to go a certain distance and then get stuck, resulting in the widespread regional syndrome of political blockage, or what he calls the trap of liberalized autocracy.

#### Defined by goals, not mechanism/implementation:

*(Nelli Babayan [Post-doctoral Researcher within Transworld project at the Freie Universität Berlin] and Daniela Huber [Researcher at the Istituto Affari Internazionali], “Motioned, Debated, Agreed? Human Rights and Democracy Promotion in International Affairs,” Transworld, Working Paper 6, http://www.transworld-fp7.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/TW\_WP\_06.pdf, December 2012)*

**Democracy promotion has been on the** American and European foreign policy **agenda**s **for** two **decades**, **but a “onesize fits all” approach** (Börzel and Risse 2009) **and set “toolboxes”** (Carothers 2004) **have not resulted in a “success recipe.”** So, in this section we come back again to the two central players in the field, since it is them who have invested extensively in this area and it is their policies which are analysed in the literature. The issue of the impact of democracy promotion on democratizations has by now become a central field in Comparative Political Science. **For several decades**, scholars of comparative politics assumed that international factors and processes are of marginal, if any, importance to democratization. **Advocates of** the **endogenous** genesis and development **democratization** processes **claimed that regime change was** encouraged, **initiated** and carried out **exclusively by domestic actors**. In this context, **endogenous** **factors** such as the strength of the national economy, the institutional design (Linz 1990), the openness of political culture (Diamond, Linz, and Lipset 1989), and elite behaviour (Higley and Burton 1989) **were identified as the** main **catalysts of democratic change** without initially acknowledging that even endogenous factors can be influence from the outside. **These studies** have either **overlooked** **the significance of international factors** or have simply denied any possibility of their influence on domestic change (Schraeder 2002). **This narrow** and exclusive **approach** of comparative politics **resulted in disagreement from** various **scholars who considered international factors** to play a **significant** role **in** the process of regime change and subsequent **democratization** (Pridham, Herring and Sandford 1994). At the beginning of the 1990s **scholars of democratization supposed** that **external governments** and institutions may **have a determinative impact on democratization** of a given country (Huntington 1991) **Others** argued that in the coming decades the significance of international institutions might prove pivotal for domestic political change (Vachudova 2005). In a revisit of his well-known “requisites of democracy” article, Lipset **concluded** that **domestic conditions “do shape the probabilities for democracy, but they do not determine their outcomes**” (1994: 17, 16). **Democracy is an “international cause” and democracy promotion has become the link between the international and domestic dimensions of democratization** (Babayan 2012). Some scholars argue that **there are four international dimensions of democratization, in which** targeted **democracy promotion is intertwined** with general spread of democracy: **1) coercion**, seen as **military intervention**; **2) contagion**, seen as intended or unintended **emulation of** the **democratic** regime of a **neighbouring country**; **3) conditionality**, seen as imposition of **sanctions or rewards**; **and** **4) consent**, seen as **activities by an external actor** in a target country **requiring** the **consent** **of** **the** **domestic** **government** (Whitehead 2001).4 Within these international dimensions of democratization, **there are three methods of democracy promotion** (Whitehead 2001: 88) –**incorporation, invasion, and intimidation**. While contagion does not involve specific actions of external actors, coercion does not require the consent of the domestic actors. **Conditionality is** not a separate dimension but **a strategy** used **in the framework of a consent-dominated democratization process**. While international factors have received thorough examination in the literature on democracy promotion (Whitehead 2001; Schraeder 2002; Carothers 1999 and 2004), domestic factors and their connection to the international ones have usually been neglected (Schmitz 2004), even though they are now receiving comparatively more attention in some recent works (Schimmelfennig, Engert and Knobel 2006; Babayan 2012). The analyses of democracy promotion strategies of the most influential international actors, the EU and the US (Carothers 1999 and 2004; Gillespie and Youngs 2002; Youngs 2002; Burnell and Youngs 2010) and the effort at comparing the two (Magen and McFaul 2009: 11) have shed light on the genesis, rationale and nature of the democracy promotion phenomenon. However, there are still open questions among democracy promotion scholars on the specific types of transformations that democracy promotion can lead to. Some acknowledge the value of studies on demonstration effects, contagion, emulation, and diffusion, but point to their failure in identifying causal mechanisms that lead to specific outcomes (Magen and Morlino 2009). Others mention that they do “not venture to evaluate their [strategies’] impact” (Magen and McFaul 2009: 20) and that “this task has to wait for another book” (Risse 2009: 268). The theoretical framework guiding their analysis is derived, as the authors also acknowledge, from the theoretical traditions in international relations, international law, and Europeanization studies. Indeed, the “logics of influence” (Magen and McFaul 2009: 11) adopted as an umbrella concept for the strategies of control, material incentives, normative suasion, and capacity-building are largely based on the logics of action – appropriateness and consequentialism – and works of other scholars of democratization and norms diffusion. As a result of analysing EU and **US democracy promotion strategies** **in the Middle East**, the Mediterranean, the Newly Independent States, the South Caucasus, Latin America and Indonesia, Risse (2009: 250) argues that strategies of both promoters are “remarkably comparable”, as they both **use the whole set of strategies** diverging only in the case of Latin America. In addition, Magen and Morlino provide “cycles and layers of democratic anchoring” as a framework of studying EU democracy promotion (Magen and Morlino 2008). Cycles identify periods when EU incentives can be most effective, while levels entail rule adoption, implementation, and internalization. Another view on strategies of democracy promotion has been suggested through the international socialization framework applied to norm promotion by European community organizations (Schimmelfennig, Engert, and Knobel 2006), and later directly applied to EU democracy promotion (Babayan 2009). The framework developed by Schimmelfennig and his collaborators is based on an amalgamation of rationalist and constructivist perspectives and demonstrates that norm promotion happens through two types of reinforcements: social and material. Based on the observation of six domestic and international variables and abovementioned strategies within nine country-cases, they argue that the EU membership incentive is necessary for norm promotion to be effective. Notwithstanding its empirical validity, this argument has left out a variety of cases where an EU membership perspective is not possible per se. The introduced **frameworks allow grasping the concept of democracy promotion and differentiating between its types, sectors, and strategies. However, they do not elaborate on the mechanisms of development and implementation of democracy promotion policies** (Babayan 2012), which would assist in understanding how central players like the EU and the US adjust their policies to economic and political developments or their own interactions. Furthermore, they do not specify the conditions under which specific democracy promotion policy may have a certain outcome. Given these gaps, the structural and geographical scopes of the international socialization framework have been expanded, providing a more nuanced vision of democracy promotion strategies and their outcomes (Babayan 2012). However, also the newly developed framework requires further application to other cases.

*(Kristina Kausch, “Worldwide promotion of democracy: challenges, role, and strategy of the European Union,” Worldwide promotion of democracy: challenges, role and strategy of the European Union, Proceedings of a conference organised by the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftunghttp://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\_11856-1522-2-30.pdf?110504154444, June 5-6 2007)*

While there has been endless debate on the definition of democracy, **it is doubtful that** extensive theoretical **debate on a definition of democracy promotion will add** significant practical **value to this** **field** of work in policy terms. There is no universally accepted definition of democracy, despite the considerable attention that democracy support has received in recent years. Instead, many democracy promoters indirectly define democracy by listing the policy areas, measures and instruments that contribute to democratisation. Among EU member states **there is a wide range of headings under which measures that contribute directly or indirectly to promoting democracy are listed (for example, good governance, public administration reform, human rights, civil society support, rule of law, and decentralisation**). **Because of this** European democracy policies, **rather than operating with an overarching definition of democracy promotion**, rather **pragmatically aim to** influence the direction of the overall reform process by **work**ing **on the different components of democracy.** Obviously, focusing on the components of democracy narrows the perspective on the relationships these different elements have to one other, and how they are ultimately supposed to lead to the ‘big undefined whole’. Nevertheless, **the lack of a strict definition is not** necessarily **a weakness. It** also **has** certain **advantages**. **In democracy promotion, where interpretive concepts** often **prevail over firmly delimited policy categories, it might be preferable to work without an overly mechanistic framework.**

#### Defined by goals, not effectiveness:

*(Daniela Huber, senior fellow at the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) in the Mediterranean and Middle East programme, Gerda Henkel Guest Researcher at LUISS University & PhD in international relations from Hebrew Univ in Jerusalem, Promotion and Foreign Policy: Identity and Interests in US, EU and Non-Western Democracies, Google Books, Published by Springer, April 26 2015)*

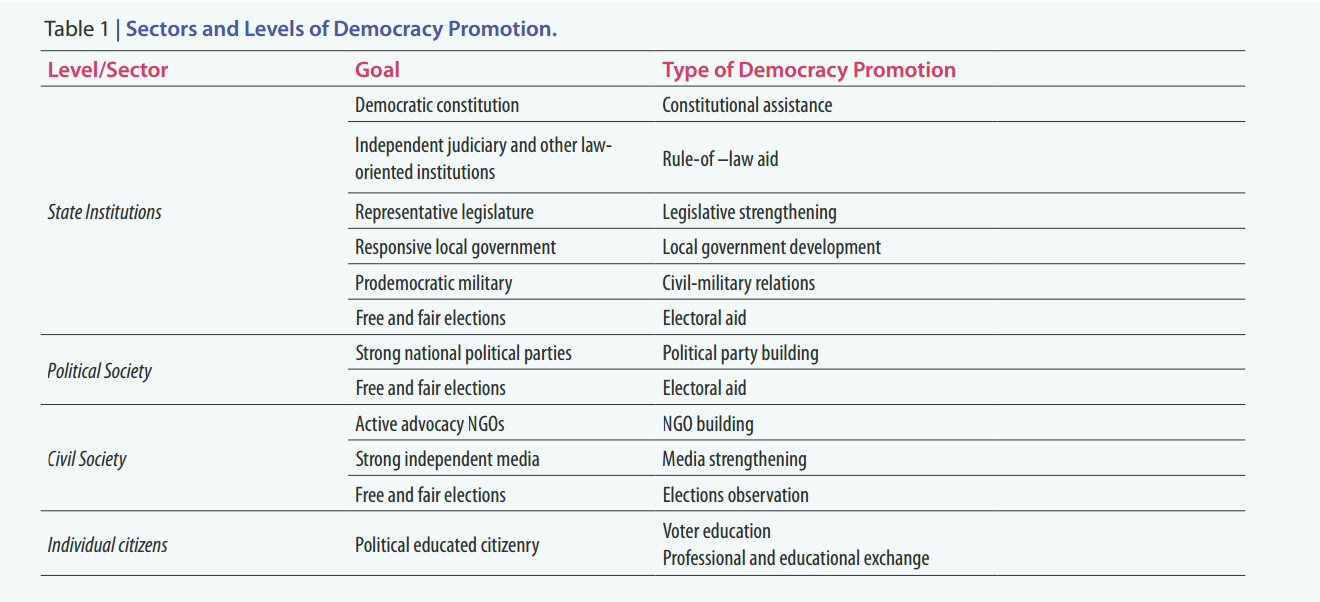
**Democracy promotion is** then **defined as all** those **foreign policy activities which aim at fostering the transition to, consolidation of, or improvement of democracy in other states and their societies.** Since this study examines the motivations of democracy promoters, **this definition focuses on the goals of the democracy promoter and not the effectiveness of this policy. It excludes cases where a foreign policy is not explicitly aimed at promoting democracy, even though it might** effectively **do so as a**n unintended **side effect**, I or where a foreign policy is propagated as democracy promotion, even though this just serves as window dressing.2

*(A. Wetzel [postdoctoral fellow at the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research at the University of Mannheim] and J. Orbie [assoc. prof at the dept of poli sci and director of the centre for EU studies at Ghent Univ], The Substance of EU Democracy Promotion: Concepts and Cases, Google Books, Published by Springer, Feb 17 2015)*

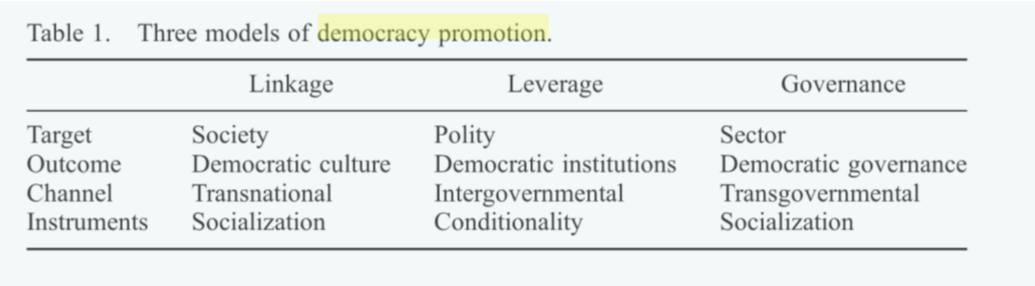
In order **to map** the substance of EU **democracy promotion, we take into account not only activities that are explicitly labelled as such, but all activities that are** potentially **conducive to the development of** any of the partial regimes or context conditions. Thus, for instance, while cooperation on social matters is sometimes separated from **democracy**, **for example** in the Commission's progress reports in the enlargement framework (see the respective chapters), **we treat** it **as** a **democracy promotion** **activity** because it contributes to **advancing** **the socio-economic** context **condition**. Yet we are aware that a sole focus on social issues may not lead to democratization. We have elaborated on this tension elsewhere (Wetzel and Orbie 2011b, Wetzel and Orbie 2012). Conversely, **activities labelled as democracy promotion are** only **counted as such when they are designed to develop any of the partial regimes or context conditions (regardless of their actual effectiveness**). For instance, the 'Democracy, Good Governance and Stability' Platform established under the EU's Eastern Partnership actually comprises a range of activities that would not be considered as democracy promotion, such as police cooperation on drug trafficking, migration, fight against cybercrime, and coping with natural and man-made disasters (Eastern Partnership 2012). The terms 'narrow' and 'shallow' are not meant to refer to a 'worse' form of EU democracy promotion. The EU might have good reasons not to pursue a broad democracy promotion strategy in a certain country. In some instances, such as in Brazil or Israel, the state of democracy is already rather advanced. In other cases, such as Eritrea, the third country government's willingness to cooperate on democracy promotion is low.

#### Charts:

*(Nelli Babayan [Post-doctoral Researcher within Transworld project at the Freie Universität Berlin] and Daniela Huber [Researcher at the Istituto Affari Internazionali], “Motioned, Debated, Agreed? Human Rights and Democracy Promotion in International Affairs,” Transworld, Working Paper 6, http://www.transworld-fp7.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/TW\_WP\_06.pdf, December 2012)*



*(Sandra Lavenex [Institute of Political Science at the University of Lucerne] and Frank Schimmelfennig [Centre for Comparative and International Studies at Eidgenossische Technische Hochschule], Democracy Promotion in the EU’s Neighbourhood: From Leverage to Governance?, Google Books, published by Routledge, Sept 13 2013)*

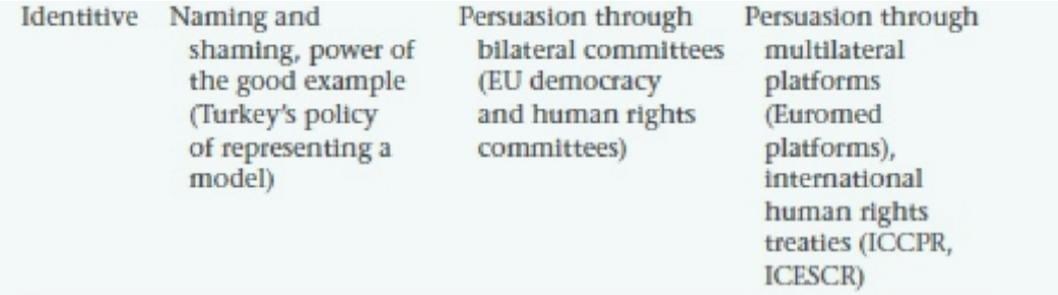


*(Daniela Huber, senior fellow at the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) in the Mediterranean and Middle East programme, Gerda Henkel Guest Researcher at LUISS University & PhD in international relations from Hebrew Univ in Jerusalem, Promotion and Foreign Policy: Identity and Interests in US, EU and Non-Western Democracies, Google Books, Published by Springer, April 26 2015)*

Table 2.2 Three types of action to promote democracy







#### Precise definitions are key:

*(Rouba Al-Fattal Eeckelaert, Prof at Centre for European Studies at Carleton Univ focusing on EU foreign policy in the Middle East and democratization & co-founder of the Central European Journal for International and Security Studies, Transatlantic Trends in Democracy Promotion: Electoral Assistance in the Palestinian Territories, Google Books, Published by Routledge, Feb 24 2016)*

**The** main **problem** of the EU's strategy **concerning democracy promotion** in the PT **is that it lacked a clear definition** of what democracy is and, more importantly, what type of democracy it envisages for the PT. Except for the idea of fostering participatory democracy anchored in political representation through regular and fair elections, the EU did not elaborate much on whether it wanted to foster **electoral democracy, liberal democracy or democratic governance**.293 **Each of these types would** have  **require**d **a different approach**. While **the first would** have **focus**ed **on elections; the second would focus on elections as well as** on **basic freedoms, rule of law, and human rights; and the last would focus on all of the above in addition to transparency, accountability and legitimacy**. It is hard to tell if the EU was aware of these differences when it embarked on democracy promotion in the PT. From looking at the policy development and the strategy mentioned earlier, it seems that the EU was 294 promoting a general, and to some extent vague, version of democracy. Indeed, until today a clear definition of what democracy means is still 295 missing in EU treaties and policy documents. However, **a clear definition and strategy of democracy is of utmost importance. Without that we** observe the EU wandering by first pushing for Palestinian elections, but when the results did not suite its interests or liberal stance we **see** it dismissing the results of the elections — which sent **a** really **confusing message** to everyone involved in the electoral assistance process. Another related issue is that the EU did not allow Palestinians to define their own democracy model. For instance, the EU first supported the presidential model of democracy in the P T, but when it was not satisfied with President Arafat's performance it pushed in 2003 for reforms to introduce a parliamentary model of democracy. This was merely done to give more power to Abbas who was then appointed the first Prime Minister (Chapter 2). It is obvious that Palestinians have not yet identified what model of democracy they want to adopt, which is normal as it took Western states centuries before defining their own unique models. So, the fact that the EU is **lacking clarity in** its **definition and vision of democracy is quite substantial to** the **success** of its policy in the PT.

*(Daniela Huber, senior fellow at the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) in the Mediterranean and Middle East programme, Gerda Henkel Guest Researcher at LUISS University & PhD in international relations from Hebrew Univ in Jerusalem, Promotion and Foreign Policy: Identity and Interests in US, EU and Non-Western Democracies, Google Books, Published by Springer, April 26 2015)*

**This goal-oriented definition**, however, also implies that democracy is a subjective, rather than objective, category: democracy is in the eye of the beholder; it is what the democracy promoter believes it to be. Such a definition **is a double-edged sword**: on the one hand it acknowledges that democracy is an essentially contested concept (Gallie 1955) and that there are diverse models of democracy (Held 2006). On the other hand, **the promotion of almost any form of governance — such as, for example, 'sovereign democracy' through Russia — can then be classified as democracy promotion, making the concept an empty category.** This is related to the parallel discussion in the democratization literature triggered by David Collier and Steven Levitsky (1997) who pointed out that **in the wake of the third wave of democratization democracy has lost its conceptual validity through adding adjectives to democracy such as 'authoritarian democracy' or 'military-dominated democracy'. Hence, to uphold conceptual validity** and to limit complexity, **it makes sense to define** democracy and therewith **the substance of democracy promotion**.

*(Susan B. Epstein, Nina M. Serafino, and Francis T. Miko, Specialists in Foreign Policy Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, Congressional Research Service, “Democracy Promotion: Cornerstone of U.S. Foreign Policy?,” https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34296.pdf, Dec 26 2007)*

**The lack of a clear definition of democracy** and a comprehensive understanding of its basic elements may have **created multiple problems for U.S. policy making,** according to some. Arguably, **the lack of a** clear **definition** of democracy and a comprehensive understanding of its basic elements may have **hampered the formulation of democracy promotion policy and effective prioritizing of democracy promotion activities over the years. Also, the lack of definition** may have **complicated coordination** of democracy programs **and** the **assessment** of U.S. government activities and funding. Further, **without a consensus on democracy definition and goals, what criteria will determine when, if ever, a country has attained an acceptable level of democratic reform and no longer needs American assistance?**

*(Susan B. Epstein, Nina M. Serafino, and Francis T. Miko, Specialists in Foreign Policy Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, Congressional Research Service, “Democracy Promotion: Cornerstone of U.S. Foreign Policy?,” https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34296.pdf, Dec 26 2007)*

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Further, **without a consensus on democracy definition and goals, what criteria will determine when, if ever, a country has attained an acceptable level of democratic reform and no longer needs American assistance?** According to Richard Haass, former State Department official and current President of the Council on Foreign Relations, **democracy is more than elections**; **it** is a diffusion of power where no group within a society is excluded from full participation in political life. Democracy **requires checks and balances** within the government, among various levels of government (national, state and local), and between government and society. **Elements such as independent media, unions, political parties**, schools, **and** democratic rights for women provide checks on government power over society. **Individual rights such as freedom of speech and worship** need to be protected. **Furthermore, a democratic government must face the check of electable opposition and leaders must hand over power peacefully**.6 One scholar, Laurence Whitehead, discusses the various academic attempts to define democracy, pointing out that **the definition has varied over time, and among cultures (with even subtle differences in British and American understandings** of key elements of democracy), and arguing that **the “outer boundaries” of the concept of democracy are “to a significant ... extent malleable and negotiable**....”7 “**Democracy has some indispensable components**, without which the concept would be vacuous, **but these** indispensable elements **are skeletal and can** in any case **be arranged in various possible configurations**,” Whitehead posits.8 He argues that **democracy requires the minimal procedural conditions (safeguarding free and fair elections, freedom of speech and association, and the integrity of elective office**) as described by other scholars.9 **Yet**, he cautions, **these minimal procedures only establish “contingently and for the present period** ... a rather coherent and broad-based **exposition of the predominant view.”** He notes that **the meaning of democracy “is likely to remain contested, and** even to some extent **unstable, as** current **processes of democratization unfold**.”10 “**Democratization**,” he thus writes, “**is best understood as a complex, long-term, dynamic, and open-ended process**. It consists of progress towards a more rule-based, more consensual and more participatory type of politics. Like ‘democracy’ it necessarily involves a combination of fact and value**, and so contains internal tensions.”**11 Lack of a generally accepted view of democracy is evident in multilateral organizations, such as Freedom House and the Community of Democracies, dedicated to the cause of good governance. Freedom House, an independent nongovernmental organization (NGO) founded in the 1940s, supports freedom worldwide, rating countries’ level of freedom rather than defining or measuring democracy. Freedom House rates countries as free, partly free, or not free via numerical assessments of a country’s political rights and civil liberties. Political rights enable people to participate freely in the political process, including the right to vote freely for distinct alternatives in legitimate elections, compete for public office, join political parties and organizations, and elect representatives who have a decisive impact on public policies and are accountable to the electorate. Civil liberties allow for the freedoms of expression and belief, associational and organizational rights, rule of law, and personal autonomy without interference from the state.12 Freedom House states that it is not enough that a country has elections to be considered free; it must have a competitive multi-party political system, universal adult suffrage for all citizens, regularly contested elections with secret ballots, and public access to major political parties. According to the Freedom House mission statement, “Freedom is possible only in democratic political systems in which the governments are accountable to their own people, the rule of law prevails; and freedoms of expression, association, belief and respect for the rights of minorities and women are guaranteed.”13 The Community of Democracies consists of over 100 nations that first met in 2000 to form a coalition of countries that are committed to promoting and strengthening democracies worldwide. This organization does not define democracy, but does provide criteria for participation in the Community. (See Appendix A for its stated criteria.) **Congress has demonstrated its concern for the lack of a consistent definition for democracy. The Senate Foreign Operations Appropriation Committee** Report for FY2006 (S.Rept. 109-96/H.R. 3057) **stated**, “**The Committee remains concerned that the State Department and USAID do not share a common definition of a democracy program.** For the purposes of this Act, ‘a democracy program’ means technical assistance and other support to strengthen the capacity of democratic political parties, governments, non-governmental institutions, and/or citizens, in order to support the development of democratic states, institutions and practices that are responsive and accountable to citizens.”14

#### Definition varies according to situation:

*(Dr. Eduard Westreicher, “Democracy promotion: the German approach,” Worldwide promotion of democracy: challenges, role and strategy of the European Union, Proceedings of a conference organised by the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftunghttp://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\_11856-1522-2-30.pdf?110504154444, June 5-6 2007)*

Approaches to democracy support and the German criteria catalogue **The specific situation in a given** partner **country** or region **can require very different approaches** and priorities **to assistance**. The German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (Bundesministerium für wirtschaftliche Zusammenarbeit und Entwicklung – BMZ) published in 2005 a position paper (BMZ 2005 ‘Promoting Democracy in German Development Policy: Supporting Political Reform Processes and Popular Participation’) that explains the German position on **democracy promotion** within the scope of development cooperation. Political foundations such as KAS participated extensively in preparing the paper. In this position paper, policy **options are formulated for** supporting processes of democratisation **in different political situations in partner countries, for example, in hybrid systems, in authoritarian states or in post-war societies.** As far as approaches and priorities are concerned, particular attention in our view has to be given to conditions of fragile statehood. BMZ recently published (May 2007) the strategy paper ‘Development-Oriented Transformation in Conditions of Fragile Statehood and Poor Government Performance’. The strategy stipulates that **there are different possible approaches**, and that it is important to strengthen a democratic culture through the political participation of the poor and disadvantaged, especially women, young people, and minorities. Germany has also updated its catalogue of criteria, first established in 1990. **Besides concrete analysis to examine the feasibility of projects** and programmes, **assessment of the** development **orientation** **of** Germany’s **partner countries** within the framework of this annually updated catalogue **is of great relevance**. Democracy is one of the five main criteria in the catalogue, as follows: • Pro-poor and sustainable policies; • Respect for, protection and fulfilment of all human rights; • Democracy and the rule of law; • Efficiency and transparency of the state; • Cooperative stance within the international community. Range of players The German approach to democracy support takes account of actors at different levels with specific performance profiles. **Democracy promotion through state players mainly depends on the partner governments’ willingness to reform. Political foundations and churches can be active in areas where official bilateral development cooperation cannot play a part.** A certain degree of **institutional variety is necessary for the promotion of democracy. NGOs** must **act** on their **own responsibility, and** must be able to work **without political constraints. Pluralism is one of the constituent features of democratic societies.**

#### No stable definition exists:

*(Karin Kortmann, “Keynote presentation: democracy promotion –key to peace, stability and development in a globalised world,” Worldwide promotion of democracy: challenges, role and strategy of the European Union, Proceedings of a conference organised by the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftunghttp://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\_11856-1522-2-30.pdf?110504154444, June 5-6 2007)*

**The rationale for democracy promotion would** seem to **be** self-evident: **supporting democracy and setting up funding programmes. However, it is not always clear what ‘democracy promotion’ actually means. It is important to** exchange examples of good practice and to **discuss** the contribution public policy instruments can make alongside the efforts of civil society, political parties and foundations. Discourses on **supporting** democracy usually refers to the term ‘**good governance’**, which can be summed up as support for **human rights**, reinforcing **the rule of law, and the fight against corruption. All this is a part of democracy, but an exact meaning remains to be defined.**

#### Includes demo “support”/“building”/“assistance”:

*(Danile Smadja, “The European Union: Key actor in worldwide democracy promotion,” Proceedings of a conference organised by the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftunghttp://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\_11856-1522-2-30.pdf?110504154444, June 5-6 2007)*

The first issue that becomes apparent **when looking at democracy promotion** is that **there is a confusing lexicon of terms ranging from democracy promotion, democracy support, democracy building, democracy assistance or support, to democratic governance.** **The** European **Commission favours taking ‘democracy promotion’ as a concept encompassing the full range of external relations and development cooperation activities, which contribute to the development and consolidation of democracy** in third countries. However, **the final objectives of democracy promotion are clear, even if different terminologies are used.** More relevant perhaps are the means, approaches, methods, instruments and tools of democracy promotion. But first, I would like to touch upon some common understandings and assumptions underlying the EU’s activities in this field. First, understandings of democracy may vary. Yet, **the concept of democracy, including the rule of law and the protection of human rights, constitutes a universal value, the principles of which are enshrined in numerous international texts and conventions.** Democracy and human rights are inseparable and interdependent. Democracy is thus a right for all and a goal in itself. Democracy has an intrinsic value. Second, democracy is a process. In this context, I would like to refer to Recital 9 of the new European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights Regulation: “**democracy has** also **to be seen as a process**, developing from within, **involving all sections of society and a range of institutions** (…) that should ensure participation, representation, responsiveness and accountability. The task of building and sustaining a culture of human rights and making democracy work for its citizens, though especially urgent and difficult in emerging democracies, is essentially a continuous challenge, belonging first and foremost to the people of the country concerned but without diminishing the commitment of the international community.” In other words, **democracy “promotion” must not impose ideas, but support the relevant local actors in their efforts to steer change and the democratic reform process.** Third, the democratic process has an important value in creating the conditions for effective poverty alleviation and economic development. It is a prerequisite for government accountability, including civilian control of security. It is required to sustain an independent judiciary, a free media and a framework for protecting human rights. It is a tool to fight corruption and impunity. It is the most basic form of crisis management and conflict prevention. Fourth, to accomplish its aspirations as a responsible global player, pursuing peace, stability, and prosperity through effective multilateralism, the EU also needs likeminded democratic third countries as partners. The European Security Strategy (‘A secure Europe in a better world’) of December 2003 underlines that “the quality of international society depends on the quality of the governments that are its foundation. The best protection for [the EU’s] … security is a world of well-governed democratic states. Spreading good governance, supporting social and political reform, dealing with corruption and abuse of power, establishing the rule of law and protecting human rights are the best means of strengthening the international order.”

### Middle East

#### Broad interps (maximum inclusion):

*(Encyclopaedia Britannica, “Middle East,” http://www.britannica.com/place/Middle-East, August 20 2014)*

The change in usage began to evolve prior to World War II and tended to be confirmed during that war, when the term Middle East was given to the British military command in Egypt. By the mid-20th century **a common definition of the Middle East encompassed** the states or territories of **Turkey, Cyprus, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Iran, Israel, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, Jordan, Egypt, Sudan, Libya,** and the various states and territories of Arabia proper (**Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Yemen, Oman, Bahrain, Qatar, and the** Trucial States, or Trucial Oman [now **U**nited **A**rab **E**mirates]). Subsequent events have tended, in loose usage, to enlarge the number of lands included in the definition. **The** three **North African countries of Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco are closely connected in sentiment and foreign policy** with the Arab states. **In addition, geographic factors often require** statesmen and others to **tak[ing]**e **account of Afghanistan and Pakistan in connection with the** affairs of the **Middle East.**

*(Geoffrey Kemp and Robert Harkavy, Strategic Geography and the Changing Middle East: Concepts, Definitions, and Parameters, Brookings Press, http://acc.teachmideast.org/texts.php?module\_id=4&reading\_id=120&sequence=6, 1997)*

Which then should be included in our grouping? First **the** traditional **U.S. State Department list for the Near East must be included (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Israel, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Iran, Iraq, the GCC states, and Yemen).** We believe **Sudan, Ethiopia, and Somalia have to be discussed**, albeit briefly, **because of their strategic and political importance**, though we refer to them mainly in the context of military geography. Given the strategic developments in the eastern Mediterranean, the Caucasus and Central Asia, Greece, Russia, and China are all important players but to include them within a definition of the Middle East is inappropriate. However, **Afghanistan, India, Pakistan, Sudan, and Turkey must be included as should** the energy-producing countries of the Caspian Basin (**Azerbaijan, Kazakstan, and Turkmenistan**). **Given their location Georgia and Armenia must also be included** but we have not gone into any detailed discussion of the other Central Asian states (Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan) even though they are shown **on our map of the** new **Middle East** and we occasionally refer to them. Our inclusion of India and Pakistan raises a question about the definition of South Asia. **We have not included Bangladesh, Nepal, and Sri Lanka** in the analysis and some South Asians would argue that Burma (Myanmar) and even Tibet should be included in a comprehensive definition of South Asia.

We believe **the most accurate way to describe the region** covered by this study **would be the Middle East** (including **North Africa**, Turkey, Sudan, and the Horn of Africa), **the Transcaucasus, west Central Asia, and South Asia. Yet this is too clumsy. We have therefore decided to include all the above countries** and groupings **under the phrase** greater **Middle East region**. We realize this will not sit well with some analysts but **short of convening a quorum of geographers to iron out an agreed definition this is our best** alternative, and we hope our **usage** is acceptable **for the purposes of** this **study** (see map 1).

*(Steven A. Camarota, Director of Research at the Center for Immigration Studies, “Immigrants from the Middle East,” http://cis.org/MiddleEasternImmigrantsProfile, August 2002)*

Based on an analysis by the Center for Immigration Studies of just-released data from the Census Bureau, this Backgrounder is one of the first to examine the socio-demographic characteristics of Middle Eastern immigrants in a systematic way. For the purposes of this study, **the Middle East is defined as** Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan, Turkey, the Levant, the Arabian peninsula, and Arab North Africa.

We include Bangladesh in our estimates because in 1970 it was part of Pakistan, and thus it is unavoidably included in our Mideast estimates for that year. The entire list of Middle Eastern countries included in the study are: **Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Oman, Qatar, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Yemen, Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia, West Sahara, and Mauritania.**

*(Carbon Disclosure Project, “Technical Note: Country Regions,” https://www.cdp.net/Documents/Guidance/Country-Regions.pdf, 2013)*

**Middle East: Bahrain Cyprus Egypt Iran Iraq Israel Jordan Kuwait Lebanon Oman Palestinian territories Qatar Saudi Arabia Syria**n Arab Republic **Turkey U**nited **A**rab **E**mirates **Yemen**

*(GlobalSecurity.org, “Near East/Middle East,” http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/middle-east.htm, Sept 23 2012)*

Core **Mid-East:**

**Egypt Israel Lebanon Syria Jordan Iraq Iran Kuwait Saudi Arabia Bahrain Qatar UAE Oman Yemen**

*(Duhaime’s Law Dictionary, “Middle East Definition,” http://www.duhaime.org/LegalDictionary/M/MiddleEast.aspx, 6/11/14)*

The Middle East Journal proposed, in the foreward of their inaugural issue (January 1947), that the area known as **the Middle East includes:**

**"Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Transjordan, the Arabian Peninsula, and Egypt**; but **not without** due **reference to closely related** peripheral **areas, such as the Mediterranean** approaches, **North and Northeast Africa, Transcaucasia, Afghanistan, India and Turkestan.** With a few notable exceptions, these are Moslem lands."

*(International Monetary Fund, “Regional economic outlook : Middle East and Central Asia,” https://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/reo/2010/mcd/eng/10/mreo1024.pdf, 2010)*

The October 2010 Regional Economic Outlook: Middle East and Central Asia (REO), covering countries in the Middle East and Central Asia Department (MCD) of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), provides a broad overview of recent economic developments in 2009 and prospects and policy issues for the remainder of 2010 and 2011. To facilitate the analysis, the 30 MCD **countries** covered in this report **are divided into two groups**: (1) countries of **the Middle East**, North Africa, Afghanistan, and Pakistan (**MENAP**)—which are further subdivided into oil exporters and oil importers; **and** (2) countries of **the Caucasus and Central Asia** (**CCA**). The country acronyms used in some figures are included in parentheses. **MENAP** oil exporters **comprise Algeria** (ALG), **Bahrain** (BHR), **Iran** (IRN), **Iraq** (IRQ), **Kuwait** (KWT), **Libya** (LBY), **Oman** (OMN), **Qatar** (QAT), **Saudi** **Arabia** (SAU), **Sudan** (SDN), **the** United Arab Emirates (**UAE**), and **Yemen** (YMN). MENAP oil importers comprise **Afghanistan** (AFG), **Djibouti** (DJI), **Egypt** (EGY), **Jordan** (JOR), **Lebanon** (LBN), **Mauritania** (MRT), **Morocco** (MAR), **Pakistan** (PAK), **Syria** (SYR), **and Tunisia** (TUN). **CCA countries comprise Armenia** (ARM), **Azerbaijan** (AZE), **Georgia** (GEO), **Kazakhstan** (KAZ), **the Kyrgyz Republic** (KGZ), **Tajikistan** (TJK), **Turkmenistan** (TKM), **and Uzbekistan** (UZB). In addition, the following geographical groupings are used: The CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) comprises Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, Moldova, Mongolia, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. Georgia and Mongolia, which are not members of the CIS, are included in this group for reasons of geography and similarities in economic structure. The GCC (Gulf Cooperation Council) comprises Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates. The Maghreb comprises Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia. The Mashreq comprises Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria.

*(Middle East Institute, “Countries and Organizations,” http://www.unc.edu/mideast/where/mei-2005.shtml, 2005)*

**"Middle East"**

**Afghanistan Algeria Armenia Azerbaijan Bahrain Djibouti Egypt Georgia Iran Iraq Israel Jordan Kazakhstan Kuwait Kyrgyzstan Lebanon Libya Mauritania Morocco Oman Pakistan Palestine Qatar Saudi Arabia Sudan Syria Tajikistan Tunisia Turkey Turkmenistan U**nited **A**rab **E**mirates **Uzbekistan Yemen**

*(Middle East Studies Association, “About MESA,” http://mesana.org/about/index.html, 2011)*

**The Middle East Studies Association (MESA) is** a private, non-profit, non-political learned society that brings together scholars, educators and those **interested in** the study of the region from all over the world. MESA is primarily concerned with **the area encompassing Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan, Israel, Pakistan, and the countries of the Arab World** from the seventh century to modern times. **Other regions**, including Spain, Southeastern Europe, China and the former Soviet Union, **also are included for the periods in which their territories were parts of the Middle Eastern empires or were under the influence of Middle Eastern civilization**. From its inception in 1966 with 50 founding members, MESA has increased its membership to more than 2,700 and now serves as an umbrella organization for more than sixty institutional members and thirty-nine affiliated organizations. The association is a constituent society of the American Council of Learned Societies, the National Council of Area Studies Associations, and a member of the National Humanities Alliance.

As part of its goal to advance learning, facilitate communication and promote cooperation, **MESA** sponsors an annual meeting that is a leading international forum for scholarship, intellectual exchange and pedagogical innovation. It **is responsible for the International Journal of Middle East Studies, the premiere journal on the region**, the MESA Review of Middle East Studies and a biannual newsletter. An awards program recognizes scholarly achievement, service to the profession and exemplary student mentoring. MESA is governed by an eight-member Board of Directors elected by the membership.

*(World Atlas, “What Is The Middle East And What Countries Are Part Of It?,” http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/me.htm, March 10 2016)*

**The Middle East is a geographical and cultural region located primarily in western Asia, but also in parts of northern Africa and southeastern Europe.** The western border of the Middle East is defined by the Mediterranean Sea, where Israel, Lebanon, and Syria rest opposite from Greece and Italy in Europe. **Egypt in Africa** also borders the Mediterranean and **is sometimes considered as part of the Middle East**, while **Turkey and Cyprus** literally **connect Europe to Asia and oscillate between being called European and Middle Eastern**. **Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia**, all located just northeast of Turkey, **are at times associated with the Middle East, Europe, Asia, or as their own separate region**. South of the Mediterranean Sea, the Red and Arabian Seas surround the southern part of the Middle East. **Saudi Arabia, Yemen**, and **Oman** border these waters, with **Iraq and Jordan connect**ing them **to the western part of the region**. **At the center of the Middle East rests** the Persian Gulf, cutting into the region and giving it its hook-like shape. Countries along the Persian Gulf include **the U**nited **A**rab **E**mirates, **Qatar, Bahrain, Kuwait, and Iran**. **The eastern and northern borders of the Middle East are somewhat difficult to define. Both Afghanistan and Pakistan border Iran to the east, but Pakistan’s shared history with India causes it to sometimes be seen as part of South Asia instead of the Middle East. Some of the countries bordering Iran and Afghanistan’s north, such as Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan, are sometimes included within the** northern borders of the **Middle East, but are other times seen as their own Central Asian region alongside Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan**. **There are also several unrecognized or partially recognized states within the Middle East. Palestine**, which is made up of the Gaza Strip and West Bank regions in and around Israel, declared its independence in 1988 and is currently recognized as independent by 134 countries, though it is not an official member of the United Nations and is not considered to be its own countries by every G-8 nation except Russia. **Abkhazia, Nagorno-Karabakh, and South Ossetia** are all located within the Caucasus region around Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, **and** Russia and all declared their independence during the 1990s, with limited recognition internationally. **Northern Cyprus** declared its independence in 1983 but is only recognized as a sovereign state within the UN by Turkey, with every other member considering it as simply part of Cyprus. **Some borders within the Middle East are similarly difficult to define as a result of territorial disputes** between countries within the region. Some examples include the island of Abu Musa in the Persian Gulf, which is administered by Iran by claimed by the United Arab Emirates, the Golan Heights plateau, which was part of Syria until it was occupied and annexed by Israel during the Six-Day War, and the region of Kurdistan, which is officially a part of northern Iraq but also has an autonomous status.

#### U.S. State Dept. definition:

*(US Dept of State, FY 2007-2012 Department of State and USAID Strategic Plan: Near East, http://www.state.gov/s/d/rm/rls/dosstrat/2007/html/82969.htm, May 2007)*

**The following countries are in the Near East region**:

Western Sahara **Morocco Algeria Tunisia Libya Egypt Israel Lebanon Syria Jordan Iraq Iran Kuwait Saudi Arabia Bahrain Qatar U**nited **A**rab **E**mirates **Oman Yemen**

#### Excludes Egypt:

*(World Atlas, “What Is The Middle East And What Countries Are Part Of It?,” http://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/me.htm, March 10 2016)*

**Countries Of The Middle East**

**Afghanistan, Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Oman, Pakistan, Palestinian Territories, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tajikistan, Turkey, Turkmenistan, U**nited **A**rab **E**mirates, **Uzbekistan, Yemen, West Bank**

#### Excludes Egypt, Afghanistan, Pakistan:

*(U.S. Department of Energy Office of Science, “Countries Comprising the Middle East,” http://cdiac.ornl.gov/trends/emis/mdelist.html, Sept 26 2012)*

**Countries Comprising the Middle East Bahrain Cyprus** Former Democratic **Yemen** Former Yemen Islamic Republic of **Iran Iraq Israel Jordan Kuwait** and Part of the Neutral Zone Kuwait Oil Fires **Lebanon Oman Qatar Saudi Arabia** and Part of the Neutral Zone **Syria**n Arab Republic **Turkey** **U**nited **A**rab **E**mirates Yemen ﻿

*(Joshua Landis, head of the Center for Middle East Studies at the University of Oklahoma, Middle East and Islam, “Middle East,” http://www.ou.edu/mideast/region/middle-east.htm, 2002)*

**Bahrain Iran Iraq Israel Israeli Controlled Territory Jordan Kuwait Lebanon Oman Qatar Saudi Arabia Syria Turkey U**nited **A**rab **E**mirates **Yemen**

#### Excludes Afghanistan, Pakistan:

*(American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, “Facts about Arabs and the Arab World,” http://www.adc.org/2009/11/facts-about-arabs-and-the-arab-world/, Nov 29 2009)*

What is the Middle East?

**The Middle East** is a loose term, not always used to describe the same territory. It usually **includes the Arab countries from Egypt east to the Persian Gulf, plus Israel and Iran. Turkey is sometimes considered part of the Middle East,** sometimes part of Europe. **Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh are** usually described as **South Asia.**

#### Distinct from “Near East” & “Levant”:

*(Guido Sabatinelli, World Health Organization MD stationed in the Middle East, “Near East and Levant- Definitions,” http://www.glaphyridae.com/Biogeografia/NEL.html, 2008)*

**Different terms are used to encompass the territory** comprises **between Mesopotamia and Mediterranean Sea**, all these terms include geographical or political areas nested one in the other or adjoining.

**Particularly important** for the entomologists **is** the geographical **interpretation of** the Syria labels in old pinned specimens since, as explained in the following paragraphs, the geographical extension of Syria greatly changed between the end of XIX century and the Syria and Lebanon independence, in 1943.

In the present website I will use **the** following **Geographical terms: Middle East, Near East and Levant. It is useful to provide an explanations of their geographical meaning:**

**The Middle East** is the geographic region bordering Europe, former USSR, Tropical Asia and Africa and **comprises the following countries: Afghanistan, Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, U**nited **A**rab **E**mirates **and Yemen**.

**The Near East refers to the region encompassing** Anatolia (**the Asian portion of** modern **Turkey**), the Levant (**Syria, Jordan, Israel, Lebanon, and Palestine), Georgia, Armenia, and** Mesopotamia (**Iraq**).

The Levant is an imprecise term referring to an area of cultural habitation rather than to a specific geographic region. It denotes a large area in the Middle East, roughly bounded on the north by the Taurus Mountains, on the south by the Arabian Desert, and on the west by the Mediterranean Sea, while on the east it extends into Upper Mesopotamia; however, some definitions include nearly all of Mesopotamia. The Levant does not include the Caucasus Mountains, or any part of the Arabian Peninsula. The term Levant is somewhat synonymous with the term Mashriq, relating to "the east" or "the sunrise". **The Levant** in its geographical sense **comprises** the following political entities: West part of **Syria, Lebanon, West part of Jordan, Palestine (West Bank and Gaza Strip), Israel,** Sinai (**Egypt**). From 1920 to 1946 the French Mandates of Syria and Lebanon were called the Levant states. A specific chapter on Levant will describe its peculiarity and zoogeographical meaning.

#### Distinct from “Arab world” & “Islamic world”:

*(Portland State University, Middle East Teaching Tools, “Geography of the Modern Middle East and North Africa,” http://www.middleeastpdx.org/resources/original/geography-of-the-modern-middle-east-and-north-africa/, 2012)*

**Many different terms have been used to describe this area of the world**, and **although various geographic and cultural descriptions have** major **overlaps, each may** **significantly** **exclude different regions**. The region can be referred to most neutrally by continental terms, such as “West Asia” or “Southwest Asia and North Africa.”

Linguistically, **the “Arab world” includes the Arabic-speaking countries from North Africa, Southwest Asia, and the Arabian Peninsula, but excludes Iran, Turkey, and Israel.**

**The “Islamic world” includes all of the Arabic countries, as well as** neighboring **Turkey and Iran**. Other nations that are predominantly Muslim, like **Indonesia, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and many sub-Saharan African countries, should be considered** as integral parts of the **Islamic** world, **but terminology for the region** often **omits them.** In addition, there are significant populations of Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians, and other religious groups that live in these same nations that make up the so-called Islamic world.

#### Distinguishing between “Middle East,” “North Africa,” and “Gulf Region”:

*(Portland State University, Middle East Teaching Tools, “Geography of the Modern Middle East and North Africa,” http://www.middleeastpdx.org/resources/original/geography-of-the-modern-middle-east-and-north-africa/, 2012)*

Countries of the Middle East and North Africa

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| English Name | Arabic Name | Capital | Location |
| Algeria | al Jaza’ir | Algiers | North Africa |
| Bahrain | Bahrayn | Manama | Gulf |
| Egypt | Misr | Cairo | North Africa |
| Iran | Iran | Tehran | Gulf |
| Iraq | Al’Iraq | Baghdad | Middle East |
| Israel | Isra’il | Jerusalem | Middle East |
| Jordan | Al’Ordun | Amman | Middle East |
| Kuwait | Kuwait | Kuwait City | Gulf |
| Lebanon | Lubnan | Beirut | Middle East |
| Libya | Leebya | Tripoli | North Africa |
| Morocco | Al Maghrib | Rabat | North Africa |
| Occupied Palestinian Territories | Filasteen |  | Middle East |
| Oman | ‘Oman | Muscat | Gulf |
| Qatar | Qatar | Doha | Gulf |
| Saudi Arabia | Al mamlaka al Arabia al Sa’udeeya | Riyad | Gulf |
| Syria | Sūriyya | Damascus | Middle East |
| Tunisia | Toonis | Tunis | North Africa |
| Turkey | Toorkia | Ankara | Middle East/Asia |
| United Arab Emirates | Al Imārāt al ‘Arabīyah al Muttaḥidah | Abu Dhabi | Gulf |
| Yemen | Al Yaman | Sana’a | Gulf |

#### Same as “Near East”:

*(U.S. Department of State, “Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs,” http://www.state.gov/p/nea/index.htm, ND, accessed 3/16/2016)*

**The Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs** (**NEA**), headed by Assistant Secretary Anne Patterson, **deals with U.S. foreign policy and** U.S. diplomatic **relations** **with Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Palestinian Territories, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia, U**nited **A**rab **E**mirates, **and Yemen.** Regional policy issues that **NEA handles** include Iraq, **Middle East peace**, terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, **and political and economic reform.**

#### Definitions are arbitrary:

*(Carolina Center for the Study of the Middle East and Muslim Civilizations, “Where Is the Middle East?,” http://mideast.unc.edu/where/, 2016)*

**The concept of** a region called **the** “**Middle East” is a** relatively **recent and unstable construction**. Since **the term** was first coined at the beginning of the 20th century, it **has been applied to different sets of countries and territories**. **To complicate matters further, territories which have at times been categorized as “Middle East” have also attracted other designations: Near East, western Asia, eastern Mediterranean, the Arab world, and so on.** These designations all represent different ways of conceptualizing what these territories have in common and how they relate to other parts of **the** world.

For practical purposes, CCSMEMC uses an admittedly **arbitrary designation** **of** contemporary nations into “**core areas” and “extended regions” of the Middle East as follows:**

**Core Areas:** **Algeria, Azerbaijan, Bahrain, Cyprus (northern), Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, West Bank and Gaza (Palestine) and Yemen**

**Extended Regions** of Muslim Civilizations: **Afghanistan, Albania, Bangladesh, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Brunei, Burkina Faso, Chad, Djibouti, Eritrea, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, India, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Malaysia, Mali, Mauretania, Niger, Nigeria, Pakistan, Sahara, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan**

The following presentation uses maps to illustrate the **[there is a] lack of consensus among governments, international organizations, and scholars regarding how to define the Middle East or even whether to use that term. The instability of the concept “Middle East” points to the need to break down traditional area studies barriers.**

*(Geoffrey Kemp and Robert Harkavy, Strategic Geography and the Changing Middle East: Concepts, Definitions, and Parameters, Brookings Press, http://acc.teachmideast.org/texts.php?module\_id=4&reading\_id=120&sequence=6, 1997)*

**There is no single, agreed definition of the political and geographic boundaries of the Middle East. Geographers, historians, journalists, and bureaucrats all use the term, yet frequently have different definitions** of what they mean. In parts of Asia it is fashionable to refer to the region as West Asia but this then excludes **Egypt, Sudan, and the Magreb,** which **are in Africa yet are generally thought of as Middle East countries**. In the nineteenth century the major European powers regarded the East or Orient as the region of Eurasia (excluding Russia) that began where Western civilization ended, which is to say with the African continent and the Ottoman Empire. The great strategic competition among Britain, France, Russia, and Germany for access to and control of this area came to be known as the Eastern Question. With the expansion of Western influence further into Asia, however, it became necessary to distinguish between the Near East and Far East. According to Bernard Lewis, **the term Middle East was first used** by Mahan **to refer to the area between Arabia and India** that had particular relevance for naval strategy - **that is, the Persian Gulf.** During World War I the command for the British forces in the region was designated the Middle East Command. Since that time **the term has been used,** sometimes **synonymously with the term Near East, to mean the area from North Africa up to but not including the Indian subcontinent.** 24 **The U.S. Department of State refers to the region as the Near East and includes within that designation North Africa, the Levant, and the Gulf countries but not Turkey** since the latter is a member of NATO. 25 In contrast, **the U.S. Department of Defense divides the region in** **yet another way**. U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM) has responsibility for military operations in a region **that includes** **Egypt, Sudan, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Kenya, Somalia, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Iran, the states of the Gulf Cooperation Council** (GCC), **Afghanistan, and Pakistan. Excluded are Turkey, Israel, Syria, and India** - the first three remaining the responsibility of the European Command (EUCOM) and India falling under the Pacific Command (PACOM).

**The breakup of the Soviet Union and the establishment of the** newly independent **republics of the Caucasus** (Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia) and Central Asia (Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Kazakstan) has **once more raised questions about exactly where the Middle East begins and** where it **ends** **and whether it can be** comprehensively, **consistently defined**. Given the strategic thrust of this study **we believe the definition of the region must include those countries** directly involved **in** **four main conflicts in the area -- Arab-Israeli, Persian Gulf, Caspian Basin, and South Asia.** 26

**How** then **do we define the Middle East**? One option would be to use the phrase "Greater Middle East," which has gained some currency, to cover the areas we think are most significant to our basic thesis. 27 Yet such **a formal designation implies a degree of precision that we do not believe is** presently **justified** and embraces more countries than we are examining in this study. **It assumes there is a consensus concerning which countries to include and** which to **exclude** (as in the case of defining continents, for example, Asia or Africa).**Yet selection is** bound to be **arbitrary** because the rationale for including one country **and** excluding another is **based on judgments** about which are the determinant variables. **Since we are** primarily **interested in** strategic **geography** **rather than religion or political alliances our selection of countries is necessarily different from those who would** wish to **analyze, say, the Muslim world or the** East-West **cold war** confrontation states. As will become clear our focus is on the strategic importance of energy resources, water scarcity, and weapons proliferation, all of which have critical geographical components.

## Strategy

### Solvency

#### Aff- Citizens want demo:

*(David DeBartolo, Director of Dialogue Programs for the Project on Middle East Democracy & joint J.D. / M.A. in Arab Studies from Georgetown, “PERCEPTIONS OF U.S. DEMOCRACY PROMOTION PART ONE: MIDDLE EASTERN VIEWS,” http://pomed.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/05/pomed-perceptions-i-middle-east.pdf, May 2008)*

The notion that Middle Easterners do not value democracy is relatively common in the U.S. Some argue that, for religious, cultural or historical reasons, Middle Easterners prefer dictators or monarchs to rule them rather than ruling themselves. **Yet the World Values Survey shows unequivocally that Middle Easterners desire democracy**.1 While 52.4% of Americans think that a democratic political system is a “very good” way to govern the U.S., over 80% of Moroccans believe that democracy is a very good way to govern Morocco; 67.9% of Egyptians believe democracy is a very good way to govern Egypt; and 58.6% of Iraqis believe democracy is a very good way to govern Iraq.2 See Figure 1. **In no Middle Eastern country surveyed did less than 49% of the people believe that democracy was “very good.”** These results are confirmed in another question, in **which Middle Easterners in almost every country feel strongly that “Democracy may have problems, but it’s better than any other form of government.”**3 **While 41.6% of Americans strongly agree with this statement,** that is dwarfed by the number of Moroccans (77.6%), Egyptians (63.6%), and Iraqis (51.2%) who strongly agree that democracy is better than any other form of government. See Figure 2. **In every country, the number of people who responded positively**4 **exceeded 69%,** **including** Jordan (89.9%), Turkey (88.3%), **Saudi Arabia (74.2%), and Iran (69.2%)**. In 2007, substantial majorities in Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Morocco, and the Palestinian Territories said that democracy was not just a “Western way of doing things,” and could work well in their countries.5 See Figures 3a and 3b. **Time-series data show that** from 1999-2005**, in most of the countries surveyed, people became more optimistic that democracy could work well in their country.** In the West Bank and Gaza, after the election of Hamas in January 2006, Figure 3b shows that respondents in 2007 were significantly more optimistic about whether democracy would work for them than they had been in 2003, the last time this question was asked there. From 2006-2007, however, there was an erosion of optimism among people in Egypt, Turkey, Jordan, and Lebanon about how well democracy would work.

#### Aff- Citizens want demo:

*(F. Gregory Gause III, Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Vermont and Director of its Middle East Studies Program, “Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?,” Foreign Affairs, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2005-09-01/can-democracy-stop-terrorism, September/October 2005)*

It is highly unlikely that democratically elected Arab governments would be as cooperative with the United States as the current authoritarian regimes. To the extent that public opinion can be measured in these countries, **research shows that Arabs strongly support democracy. When they have a chance to vote** in real elections, **they** generally **turn out in percentages far greater than Americans do in their elections.** But many Arabs hold negative views of the United States. If Arab governments were democratically elected and more representative of public opinion, they would thus be more anti-American. Further democratization in the Middle East would, for the foreseeable future, most likely generate Islamist governments less inclined to cooperate with the United States on important U.S. policy goals, including military basing rights in the region, peace with Israel, and the war on terrorism.

Arabs in general do not have a problem with democracy, although some Islamist ideologues do. **The** 2003 **Pew Global Attitudes Project asked people in a number of Arab countries whether "democracy is a Western way of doing things that would not work here." Strong majorities of those surveyed** in Kuwait (83 percent), Jordan (68 percent), and the Palestinian territories (53 percent) **said democracy would work where they lived.** Small minorities (16 percent of Kuwaitis, 25 percent of Jordanians, and 38 percent of Palestinians) thought it would not. According to a 2002 poll conducted by Zogby International, **most of the people surveyed** in Egypt, Kuwait, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) **held a favorable attitude toward U.S. freedom and democracy, even while viewing U.S. policy** in the Arab world very **unfavorably**. According to the same poll, **respondents in seven Arab countries ranked "civil/personal rights" as the most important political issue, before health care, the Palestinian issue, and economic questions.**

These pro-democracy views are borne out by behavior on the ground. **Voter turnout in Arab states for** legitimate **elections is regularly very high.** Some **53 percent of registered Iraqis voted in the January 2005** **parliamentary election, despite threats of violence** **and the boycott by** most **Sunni Arabs, who make up** about **20 percent of the population.** Algerians turned out at a rate of 58 percent for their presidential election in April 2004. Official figures put Palestinian turnout for the January 2005 presidential election at 73 percent, despite Hamas' refusal to participate. Turnout in Kuwaiti parliamentary elections is regularly more than 70 percent. And 76 percent of eligible Yemeni voters cast their ballots in the 2003 legislative election. Although there certainly are antidemocratic forces in the Arab world, and some Arab elections have been characterized by low turnout or low voter registration, Arabs are generally enthusiastic about voting and elections. **Arguments that Arab "culture" bars democracy simply do not stand up to scrutiny.**

#### Aff- Citizens want demos but external support is key:

*(Natan Sharansky, Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, humans rights activist, former member of the Israeli Knesset & former Soviet dissident, “Is Freedom for Everyone?,” Heritage Foundation, Lecture #960, http://www.heritage.org/research/lecture/is-freedom-for-everyone , Sept 7 2006)*

"Who said that freedom is for everybody?" **Look at every nation in the past, whether it is Japan**, whether it is **Germany**, whether it is **Latin American countries**, whether it is Confucian cultures, whether it is Hispanic or other Cath­olic cultures, a**nd you can find very strong arguments why democracy would never arise there. Yet, again and again they are wrong. Why? Because in a fear society, there are three categories of people: 1) true believers** who believe **in the ideology; 2) dissidents who** don't believe in the ideology and **speak openly** against it; **and 3) the overwhelming majority of people who** **are double thinkers**. Over time, the tougher the dictatorship and the longer it exists, the number of double thinkers-people **who** **don't** accept or **believe in this ideology, but who feel that they are not strong enough to speak against it because they are afraid** of pun­ishment-grows all the time.

**If you look at the experience of people in different cultures, in different religions, in dif­ferent parts of the world, the experience of dou­ble thinkers is the same.** And **the fear** **of the double thinker, that they will be punished** per­haps if their child in school will say something different or you will not demonstrate the evi­dence of the ideology, and the discomfort of the life of double thinkers **is the same**. And **that's why** each time **when they have an opportunity to start living life without double-think, they choose it.**

#### Aff- Citizens want demos but external support is key:

*(Juliana Geran Pilon, Research Professor of Politics and Culture at the Institute of World Politics, “Why America Is Such a Hard Sell: Beyond Pride and Prejudice,” Heritage Foundation, Lecture #1003, http://www.heritage.org/research/lecture/why-america-is-such-a-hard-sell-beyond-pride-and-prejudice, March 20 2007)*

While at IFES, I came to understand the far-reach­ing potential of **well-designed** **democracy projects** and the effect of genuine dialogue with our local partners: We learned as much as we taught. Most important, we witnessed the **[generate] enormous amount of goodwill** that such programs can generate.

To offer but one example, **in Bosnia we trained** self-selected local **activists**, dynamic individuals who were especially interested in mobilizing others to help rebuild their war-ravaged country, **to train others** in cooperating with their local authorities to build roads, repair schools, get their garbage collect­ed, and get their goods to market. **After funding for the project** (which was remarkably minimal) **was terminated** in favor of another organization that was better connected to the U.S. bureaucracy, our Penn­sylvania-born project manager decided to stay behind with his new friends. **Undaunted by negligi­ble resources, equipped with endless goodwill and optimism, thousands of people learned to improve their lives while recognizing and appreciating the American contribution** to the effort.

That contribution is enormous beyond descrip­tion; it includes not only traditional forms of foreign assistance and humanitarian outreach, but the fruits of research and development that provides the best medical products; scientific and technological inno­vations that have revolutionized commerce and communication (one need mention no more than Microsoft); billions of dollars' worth of naval, satel­lite, and other public goods that enhance security for the entire world; the world's top universities, where students from every corner of the globe acquire educational skills they end up taking home with America's blessing--the list goes on.[17]

Surely, one of the most depressing results of the recent BBC survey is that only 57 percent of Amer­icans say that the U.S. is having mainly a positive influence in the world--down from 63 percent last year and 71 percent two years ago.

Yet **America's greatest contribution to the world is** actually not material but, indeed, **spiritual**. Writes Ambassador Mahbubani: "**The single biggest gift that America has shared with the** impoverished bil­lions on our **planet is hope**."[18] **Hope for a better future and for self-expression**, implicit in **recogniz­ing the dignity of each human being, is the result of pluralism** in a society that values **and** protects **indi­vidual freedom. This**, in short**, is the genuine mean­ing of the American Dream:** not an iPod in every eardrum but a spark of energy and self-confidence tempered by humility in every heart.

Ironically, it was **an Iranian teacher of Anglo- American comparative literature**, the rightfully acclaimed Azar Nafisi, who **noted** **that the essence of the American democratic spirit is** captured most exquisitely by none other than the witty novelist Jane Austen. Writes Nafisi:

One of the most wonderful things about Pride and Prejudice is **the variety of voices it embodies**.... All **tensions are** created and **resolved through dialogue**.... In Austen's novels, **there are spaces for oppositions that do not need to eliminate each other in order to exist.** **There is also space**--not just space but a necessity--**for** self-reflection and **self-criticism. Such reflection is the cause of change**.... **All we needed was to** read and **appreciate the cacophony of voices to understand the democratic imperative.**[19]

**This message resonates** not only in Iran, but **in** many other parts of **the Middle East--indeed, everywhere in the world** where people are allowed to understand the meaning of that imperative. But resonance is not enough. **Our job is to make it clear, to others** as much as to ourselves, **that** genuine plu­ralism, the seeming cacophony of **freedom** that **leads to the truest harmony**, is the message of Amer­ica: It is our mission and our Dream.

#### Aff- Solvency advocate (generic):

*(Michael Singh, Visiting fellow at The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, "The U.S. Approach to Promoting Democracy in the Middle East", Paper presented at a conference organized by the Euro-Mediterranean Foundation of Support to Human Rights Defenders (EMHRF): Democratic Change in the Arab Region: State Policy and the Dynamics of the Civil Society, Brussels, http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/html/pdf/Singh20110403Brussels.pdf, April 2011)*

19 Conclusion With the United States engaged in military operations in support of an uprising in Libya, and facing uncertain outcomes in longtime allies Egypt, Tunisia, and Bahrain, **it is no longer possible to claim that democracy promotion** and political reform are **[is] not central to U.S. interests in the Middle East, or that opportunities to advance political reform in the region are scant. Washington’s relative inattention to democratization in recent years put it in a disadvantageous position when crises broke out** in these countries, **and has left U.S. officials playing catch-up as regional politics shift rapidly.** **Nevertheless, with a renewed** and bipartisan **emphasis on** the promotion of **democracy**, and in concert with local and international partners, **the U**nited **S**tates **can aid people in the Middle East in shaping not only more inclusive political regimes, but stronger relations with the** United States and the **West**.’

#### Aff- Solvency advocate (generic):

*(Michele Dunne [Georgetown University], “Integrating Democracy into the US Policy,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

BETWEEN 2002 AND 2004, the United States accorded new prominence to political and economic reform and democratization as policy goals in the Middle East. Continuing that trend and translating rhetoric into effective strategies both depend on whether reform and democratization become fully integrated into the U.S. policy agenda in the region. **Can the U**nited **S**tates **promote change at the risk of instability in the region** while it remains dependent on petroleum from Arab countries? **Can it pursue Arab—Israeli peace and democratization at the same time? Can the U**nited **S**tates **still secure needed military and counterterrorism cooperation if it antagonizes friendly regimes by promoting democratization** as well? **Is it feasible for the U**nited **S**tates **to promote democratization effectively amid widespread grievances against the war in Iraq and serious questions about U.S. human rights practices** there and in Afghanistan? **The answer to all those questions is affirmative. The U**nited **S**tates **can and should seek peace, reform, and security for the region simultaneously**, while continuing to buy Arab oil. Doing so, however, will require strengthening nascent aspects of U.S. policy and adding new ones. **The U**nited **S**tates **should pursue these** various **goals separately** in the first instance, **without preemptively sacrificing one part of the policy agenda for another. It should also be alert to ways in which the goals can reinforce one another.** The United States will also have to recognize the limits of regional approaches, such as the Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative, in the quest for reform and democratization. **For reform to become fully integrated into the policy agenda, the U**nited **S**tates **should formulate practical, specific approaches to each country in the region**—including difficult but important countries such as Egypt and Saudi Arabia, as well as easier ones such as Bahrain and Morocco—**in which effective diplomatic engagement with the host government and assistance programs complement each other.**

#### Aff- Possible plans/solvency advocate:

*(Shadi Hamid [senior fellow in the Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World in the Center for Middle East Policy & former director of research at the Brookings Doha Center, director of research at the Project on Middle East Democracy (POMED) and a Hewlett Fellow at Stanford University's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law] and Steven Brooke [postdoctoral research fellow at Harvard’s Belfer Center Middle East Initiative], “Promoting Democracy Worldwide Increases US National Security,” Deocracy, Ed. David M. Haugen and Susan Musser, Detroit: Greenhaven Press, 2012)*

A new **democracy promotion** strategy **in the Middle East should include a variety of measures, including making aid to autocratic regimes conditional on political and human rights reforms; elevating democracy as a crucial part of all high-level bilateral discussions with Arab leaders; coming to terms with the inclusion of nonviolent Islamist parties in the political process; using membership in international organizations as leverage; increasing the budget for programs like the Middle East Partnership Initiative and the Millennium Challenge Account; deepening cooperation with the E**uropean **U**nion **to spread responsibility; and sponsoring initiatives that bring together Islamist and secular groups to forge inclusive pro-democracy platforms.** The pace of democratization should take into account local contexts yet must maintain a consistent focus on expanding the rights of citizens, supporting the development of viable opposition parties, and moving toward free and fair elections. The Consensus at Home Must Be for Democracy But before moving in such a direction, the idea of Middle East democracy must be rehabilitated in the eyes of policymakers and the public alike. Absent a bipartisan political commitment, any new effort will falter. We realize that elevating democracy promotion will mean breaking with the last several decades of U.S. policy, which has relied upon close relationships with Arab regimes at the expense of Arab publics. But our long-term national security, as well as our broader interests in the region, demand such a reorientation. The first step, however, is to reestablish a consensus here at home on both the utility and value of democracy promotion. Once that happens, the discussion of how to actually do it can be conducted with greater clarity. If, on the other hand, we choose to continue along the current path—paying lip service to the importance of democracy abroad but doing increasingly less to actually support it—a great opportunity will be lost. **Turning away from** the Arabs and Muslims who overwhelmingly support greater freedom and **democracy will rob us of** perhaps **our strongest weapon in the broader struggle of ideas. For decades, the people of the region have been denied the ability to chart their own course**, ask their own questions, and form their own governments. **Lack of democratic outlets has** pushed people towards extreme methods of opposition and **made the resort to terrorist acts more likely**. Recognizing this is a crucial step toward a sustained **effort to promote Middle East democracy** and **represents our best chance at a durable and effective counterterrorism policy** that protects our vital interests while remaining true to our ideals.

#### Aff- Past failures don’t prove it can’t succeed/solvency advocate:

*(Matthew RJ Brodsky, Middle East expert and Senior Analyst at Wikistrat, former Director of Policy for JPC & Legacy Heritage Fellow at the American Foreign Policy Council, “Should Washington Promote Middle East Democracy?,” The Jewish Policy Center, http://www.jewishpolicycenter.org/3726/should-washington-promote-middle-east-democracy , December 2012)*

The role America should play in Syria's current uprising is a deeply contentious issue in Washington on both sides of the political divide. It has given rise to a debate over what became known as America's "Freedom Agenda" during the George W. Bush administration. Does the United States have an obligation to help those who seek freedom from tyranny? **Should Washington promote democracy in the Middle East** even if free and fair elections could produce governments even more hostile to U.S. interests? **To answer these questions, policymakers must have a clear understanding of U.S. interests in the Middle East and** then match our objectives with the correct strategy and tactics — all of which requires **a realistic reading of what is happening on the ground. To date, we have not done so.**  Since the Arab uprisings began in December 2010, the American government has adopted inconsistent and rudderless policies for each country: While President Obama worked to remove President Hosni Mubarak after a week of Egyptian protests in Tahrir Square and joined NATO forces with Libyan rebels to defeat Muammar Qaddafi, the Obama administration has done little to end President Bashar Assad's brutal suppression of Syrian protestors, to push Assad from power, or to provide the opposition with the kind of decisive support it seeks. **Many in Washington are internalizing selective and general lessons from the U.S. experience in Iraq, Egypt, and Libya** in order to assess how best to handle the Arab uprisings — especially in Syria — moving forward. **The lessons appear to give** U.S. policymakers who wish to intervene in Middle Eastern affairs **the choice of spilling a lot of American blood and treasure (Iraq), bringing the Muslim Brotherhood or those inspired by them to power (Egypt, Tunisia, and beyond), or increasing al-Qaeda's offensive capabilities (Libya, and now Syria**, where the bloody conflict continues with the daily death toll topping 200, and the total body count reaching more than 35,000). **But such outcomes don't have to be the result of U.S. intervention** and a desire **to promote democracy.**  **Generally speaking, the countries of the Middle East do not possess the preconditions for a successful democracy — namely, a vibrant civil society, state institutions, a strong middle class, respect for the rule of law, concepts of individual liberty, and an independent judiciary. Where they are lacking, radical Islamists have filled the vacuum** after Arab dictators have fallen. Egypt provides the clearest example, and while the Muslim Brotherhood does not rule Libya, Qaddafi's fall provided al-Qaeda-affiliated groups the opportunity to mount the well-planned attack against the U.S. Consulate in Benghazi on September 11, 2012, resulting in the deaths of four Americans — including U.S. Ambassador J. Christopher Stevens. While a survey of Syrian opposition attitudes demonstrates that the rebels are not the Islamic extremists that Western media paints them to be, radical Islamists could come to power if Washington doesn't intervene. The rebels, according to the survey, "solidly support religious tolerance, legal equality, freedom of expression, and a constitution that mentions religion respectfully but is otherwise secular. They look to Western or moderately Islamist Turkish political models, while rejecting those of Saudi Arabia and especially Iran. And they want Western help, while not requesting any boots on the ground." **What is required now is American leadership that is willing to work with our allies and punish our adversaries.** Looking further ahead, **democracy promotion should focus on the development of secular,** nationalist, and **liberal political organizations that could eventually compete with Islamic parties. The United States should not push for quick elections; democracy is not defined by elections alone.**  Make no mistake: A Jeffersonian democracy is not in the offing in the Middle East. But there are some common themes that the United States should encourage. In the region, **democracy can be defined as a government that reflects the will of the people, has an independent judiciary, upholds the rights of minorities and women, has a free press, and allows its citizens to own property. Most important, people should have the right to express their opinions free from threats and intimidation.** All of this takes time, and no matter who comes to power in the near term, **the U**nited **S**tates **should** continue to **work with the regional moderates to organize** — **they will be our allies in the future.**  **For decades the people of the region have been taught that their problems were because of Israel, the U**nited **S**tates, **and a host of outsiders. That façade is now collapsing, and it is important to promote the idea of individual responsibility** — to look inward for the answers. The pathway forward will not be an easy one. But **decades of authoritarian rule have proven to be an unmitigated failure for the people of the Middle East. It may take decades more before they realize that Islam is also not the answer. The Iranian people appear to have learned this lesson; the Arab world may not be too far behind.**  **Blood in the Arab street should not be necessary to** remind us of our principles and values, or to **confirm our interest in promoting democracy abroad.** Even if the "Global War on Terrorism" has been abandoned, there still exists a war of ideas in the Middle East. And **the most important** front in that **war lies not between Islam and the West, but between radical Islamists and secular Muslims who see liberalization rather than indoctrination as the most promising path forward. Collectively, the Arab world has to want democracy and liberalization more than we do. And where they do, the U**nited **S**tates **has a role to play in guiding the outcome.** Syria is a start.

#### Aff- Recent failures don’t prove it can’t succeed/Democracy takes time:

*(Walter Russell Mead, editor of The American Interest Online, James Clarke Chace Professor of Humanities and Foreign Policy at Bard College, and Distinguished Scholar in American Strategy and Statesmanship at the Hudson Institute, “The Paradox of American Democracy Promotion,” The American Interest, Vol 10, no 5, http://www.the-american-interest.com/2015/04/09/the-paradox-of-american-democracy-promotion/, April 9 2015)*

**Natural as** liberal **democratic attitudes** and institutions **are to Americans, they are unnatural to many other peoples.** If the study of democracy over the past two hundred years teaches anything, it is that **democracy is historically rare and reluctant to evolve, and** that willful **transitions to democracy are** really **hard**. **They usually fail in the short term, and often** fail **in the long term as well. This means that happy-clappy enthusiasm about overseas Twitter-fueled “revolutions” is fundamentally naive, and any policy based on it is likely to fail. The first prominent historical victim of this** delusional **naivety was** Thomas **Jefferson, who looked at the French Revolution in 1789 and believed that the French were only doing what the British had done in 1688 and the Americans did in 1776. The same thing happened** again **with** the Greek struggle for freedom in the 1820s and the **Latin American revolutions of the 1830s and** 18**40s**. All kinds of Americans thought everything would be fantastic—**democracy in Argentina, how could it possibly fail? It failed.** It did not end there. **France had its first democratic revolutionary movement in 1789, but it took until 1871 for it to establish a stable, quasi-democratic government. The transition in Germany took even longer and was even more destructive.** Think 1848; think Weimar Republic. **The transition in Russia, assuming there really is one, certainly seems stalled today. How much closer is Russia to Western democracy in 2015 than it was in 1905?** One hopes it is a lot closer, but there have been many disappointments along the way. **Egypt has been trying to modernize, politically** and otherwise, **since Napoleon got there in 1798, but it’s further behind France now than it was in 1798** when the Egyptian elite first said to themselves, “We really have to change; what we’re doing is not working**.” Iran and Turkey surged forward under secularizing and modernizing autocrats,** Turkey emerging into democracy and Iran coming fairly close. **Iran never quite made it, and Turkey is relapsing** into deeply ingrained authoritarian habits. **Despite this** geographically varied and **highly mixed record, all kinds of people in the democracy-promotion movement failed to think historically** in the years after 1989. **Utopia was always just around the corner.** **A group of English-speaking liberals tweeted** sweetly and **democratically in Tahrir Square, and the democracy promotion world saw the millennium at hand**. Brave Syrian activists called for non-violent resistance to the thuggish Assad regime, and many Western observers thought they discerned a Syrian 1688. **History teaches that most revolutions fail; it also teaches that most people fail to learn what history has to teach. Still, there are many more democracies now than there were in 1789** or in 1889. **To say that the path of democratization is not smooth or simple is not to say that the path doesn’t exist. But the road is usually** steep, rocky, **treacherous**, winding, **and, above all, long.**

#### Aff- Options outside government demo promo/Non-traditional options/Solvency advocate:

*(Walter Russell Mead, editor of The American Interest Online, James Clarke Chace Professor of Humanities and Foreign Policy at Bard College, and Distinguished Scholar in American Strategy and Statesmanship at the Hudson Institute, “The Paradox of American Democracy Promotion,” The American Interest, Vol 10, no 5, http://www.the-american-interest.com/2015/04/09/the-paradox-of-american-democracy-promotion/, April 9 2015)*

Beyond that, **America is and always has been** by nature **a revolutionary force in world affairs. This is** not primarily or only **because** our moral values compel us to become the avatars of a global transformation. It is rather because **the way American society works is profoundly destabilizing to the rest of the world. When Al Gore “invented the internet” he did as much to destabilize the Middle East as George W. Bush did when he invaded Iraq.** More seriously—and with apologies to the former Vice President—**the internet started out as a DARPA project to facilitate the secure sharing of classified information. No one** in DARPA, the Defense Department, or anywhere else in America **was thinking about how to** flatten hierarchies or **challenge the social status quo everywhere in the world once the technology went commercial.** The concern was about how to communicate effectively, how a company could use a corporate website to its competitive advantage, and so on. **But the internet turned out to be a profoundly revolutionary force in politics around the world, and it poses huge problems to** cultures and **governments with foundations different from our own. Technology** is not and **has never been** socially or **politically neutral; it** embodies and usually **transmits** the **attitudes**, economic endowments, **moral priorities, and** **even** the **aesthetics of the societies that create it.** It is very hard to simply adopt the machine and not the less tangible biases that go with it. **In the same way, Hollywood movies** have **helped to create a situation in which many young people, for instance, no longer think they should marry whomever their parents tell them to marry. There are all kinds of ways in which the American presence in the world has been** and remains **culturally subversive. In the 19th century we were seen on the Continent as a dangerous nation. The U**nited **S**tates **wasn’t sending armies out into the world to overthrow other regimes, but the mere existence of a successful, stable, large, powerful, and economically effective democratic society was a terrible example from the perspective of Europe’s rulers** and religious traditionalists, **who argued that their hierarchical positions were necessary to** the **effective governance** of society as a whole. The United States was a living, thriving reproach to the political legitimacy of autocracies abroad. Inevitably, therefore, the friends of stability and authority around the world tended increasingly to be as anti-American as they were formerly anti-British, and for similar reasons. The British, of course, did send military forces out into the world, but their real disruptive power derived from the revolutionary impact of a wider and eventually more market-based global trading system that rewarded efficiency and creativity and punished institutionalized privilege and all related arguments from authority. Forces that wanted to see social change in their countries tended to be pro-American. **We still see this pattern today.** **The United States is revolutionary by being** as well as by acting. Any foreign policy that doesn’t take this into account will run into trouble. **Consider Google and other major Silicon Valley companies, whose business models depend on a relatively open internet**, with freedom of association and freedom of communication. In important ways the boundaries of Chinese, Iranian, or Russian power are the boundaries that limit where their business model can reach. **For commercial reasons alone, much of American business is pushing the U.S. government toward the promotion of a liberal model for internet governance** and of freedom of communication **in ways that are** parallel or **equivalent to a values-promoting foreign policy**. The government of a country with global trading interests like the United States must prioritize questions like contract law in foreign relations; the contracts that American companies have entered into abroad must be enforceable in transparent and honest courts of law. **All kinds of people who do not think of themselves as democratic reformers in the history of American foreign policy have been consistently pushing all kinds of reform agendas around the globe that are self-interested in motivation but expansively liberal in consequence. There is every reason to believe that this kind of commercially based liberal policy will endure, and**, **with the information revolution shifting the world’s economic center of gravity away from** the production and exchange of **physical commodities toward** the production and exchange of design and **ideas**, **the importance of liberal values to American commerce is likely to grow. There are other factors at work. The** rapid development of the **international financial system tends to lower the barrier between international and domestic policy and between human rights and security policy. Policing the international financial system against the efforts of drug traffickers**, tax cheats **and terror groups** to conceal or shift assets **is a major** and legitimate **concern** for American policymakers. **The scrutiny of** international **financial transactions that becomes necessary for these purposes has implications for the** tens of thousands of **corrupt officials in countries** large and small **who rely on the international banking system to shelter the fruits of office. As Western countries** progressively **move to police the international financial system, the question of property rights becomes** a **global** rather than a purely local one. Is a Chinese “tiger” or a Russian oligarch entitled to his offshore billions? Should international banks honor decisions of Chinese courts when those courts may not always follow what Westerners would consider appropriate procedures? **Moreover there is a history going back into the 19th century of spontaneous popular activism in the U**nited **S**tates **against human rights abuses abroad leading to sanctions and other measures against various foreign states.** As a matter of fact, **public support for such laws is not going away. From protests against Russian pogroms against Jews in the 19th century to protests against Russian anti-gay laws today, the moral convictions of the American people are going to affect the actions of their leaders.** For more than a hundred years **we have seen a rising tide of this kind of activism** both in the United States **and** other countries; **the trend is unlikely to reverse, even if the record shows that sanctions and boycotts are rarely effective** in international life. **Those who think that American foreign policy can dispense with** a **values-promotion** dimension of some kind—who think, for example, that a strictly realist or “Kissingerian” policy is possible—simply **don’t understand how U.S. policy has worked historically and why. This is not just because the moral element is necessary to get public support for major foreign policy initiatives, though of course it is. The more compelling reason is that American values inevitably inform what we do, even and perhaps especially when we are not consciously thinking about them.**

#### Aff- Support education/Solvency advocate:

*(Walter Russell Mead, editor of The American Interest Online, James Clarke Chace Professor of Humanities and Foreign Policy at Bard College, and Distinguished Scholar in American Strategy and Statesmanship at the Hudson Institute, “The Paradox of American Democracy Promotion,” The American Interest, Vol 10, no 5, http://www.the-american-interest.com/2015/04/09/the-paradox-of-american-democracy-promotion/, April 9 2015)*

Some kind of new strategy is necessary; **American foreign policy needs to have a serious approach to democracy promotion because American public opinion** (and opinion in many of our important allies) expects and **demands it. Moreover**, in spite of all the objections that can be raised against particular policies or approaches to democracy promotion, the establishment of a progressively larger group of countries willing and able to be guided by the ideals of liberal **democracy is** very much **in the interest of the United States. The greatest success in American democracy promotion rose from the failure of Reconstruction**, and even today few Americans are familiar with more than a few isolated pieces of the story. With the collapse of Reconstruction politics, the disarming of African-American Civil War veterans, the withdrawal of Federal forces, the triumph of terrorist racial groups, the rise of lynch law, and the institution of racial franchise and one-party politics **across the South, the outlook for real democracy seemed poor**. **But** a relative handful of **dedicated people**, supported by donations from the North **and the sacrifices of generations** of parents and students**, did not let the story end there**. George Washington Carver, Booker T. Washington, and a group of other **educators made the decision** to bow to force and accept the limits of a Jim Crow society, but **to work** within it **to educate new generations of African-American leaders who, when the time was ripe, would be able to lead a democracy movement to victory.** The years between 1877 and 1945 saw the gradual incubation and development of a broadly based and widely spread African-American leadership, educated along democratic lines across the South. From big cities to small towns, there were college-educated teachers, doctors, lawyers, clergy, undertakers, insurance agents, and other professionals and skilled workers. **These generations of leaders came from schools that were educationally rigorous, focused on the development of personal character and spiritual growth, and imbued with a strong sense of democratic principle and group solidarity.** These people were the ones who provided the leadership that the African Americans of the post-Civil War period lacked. **Educated, disciplined, skilled, they provided** the **local leadership** without which the freedom movement could never have succeeded. **They built the movement that brought democracy to the American South**; from this community came the vision and the skills that transformed American life in the generation after World War II. At the same time, educators had also been working to build up the educational levels among Southern whites, especially among the poor. Few Southern states offered free public schools even to white residents at the time of the Civil War; in the postwar decades networks of primary, secondary, and tertiary educational institutions spread across the region. Segregated as they were, such schools inevitably communicated information that broadened the minds of their pupils. If blacks were more able to fight for democracy in the 1950s than they had been in the 1870s, whites on the whole were less willing to fight against it. There were other **philanthropic initiatives** that helped change the South. Andrew Carnegie and his foundation **funded the construction of** more than 1,600 **free libraries** across the United States and gave substantial grants to more than 3,000. Small towns across the South were provided with large book collections **that opened the doors to a wider world for generations of young people**. (Given the entrenched racial policies of the era, libraries were also built to serve African Americans.) **If we look at successful movements for social change around the world, we can see the tremendous role that educated** professionals and business**people** **have played.** **Mission schools taught the children who would grow up to become** ANC **activists**; independence and **democracy movements around the world can trace their history back to groups of young people gathered around** patriotic, **democracy-minded teachers who created islands of dignity and civil life in universities and schools across the world.** **Looking back over American society’s long engagement in** the business of **democracy promotion, it seems clear that**, abroad as at home, **we have done the most good through** the **universities** we have founded **and** the students whose **educations** we have facilitated. **Universities** and their faculties **act like yeast in dough; over time, they prepare the way for better things. Education is the most enlightened, most effective, and least condescending form of foreign aid; the recipient is free to use that education for whatever purposes she pleases, and the judgment of people on the spot is usually better than the opinions of foreign development think tanks and democracy promotion shops. As we think about the** failure of some recent revolutions and come to grips with the difficulties and **obstacles that democratization faces around the world, our response should not be to give up on democracy.** But as we face the reality that many countries experience a long and complex process of change and social development before democracy has a chance, **we need to put education back at the center of the agenda.** While there is a time and a place for everything**, it is** often **much, much better to start a school than to fund an NGO, better to improve a mediocre university than to run a training session for activists, and in general better to prepare the ground for the emergence of democratic institutions and culture through education than to promote, from abroad, movements for political change.** There are many things the American government and American civil society can do that will help other societies find their way to better, freer lives in the whirlwind of 21st-century life. **Besides starting and helping colleges and schools, we can step up programs that allow foreign students and professors to study in the United States. We can support the translation of important works into local languages, so** that **people** in Pakistan, Egypt, Indonesia, and Brazil **don’t have to develop a reading fluency in a foreign language in order to keep abreast of the** news and **ideas in broader global society. We can do these things without engaging in direct conflict with governments whose** human rights **policies we deplore.** **Just as George Washington Carver and Booker T. Washington worked within existing political limits to build a reality that in due course** could and **would challenge them, so too can we work to** enhance educational systems and **broaden educational opportunities within non-democratic countries. In time, this is likely to produce change, but those changes, when they come, will grow out of a process of reflection and development that expresses the priorities and the values of the people of a given society. Good schools** and universities **are the wellsprings out of which healthy civil societies and durable movements for democratic change ultimately emerge. They are also absolutely critical for economic development**; even countries that oppose democratic politics increasingly understand the importance of universities, even with their irritating tendency to promote free thought.

#### Aff- Private companies solve:

*(Nicole Bibbins Sedaca [Director of Independent Diplomat’s DC Office, adjunct professor at Georgetown University, board of directors member of the Institute for Global Engagement, the International Justice Mission, and Georgetown University’s School of Foreign Service, and former State Dept. Senior Director for Strategic Planning and External Affairs for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor and Senior Advisor to the Under Secretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs] and Nicolas Bouchet [Deputy Editor of Research at Chatham House and PhD in international relations from the University of London], “HOLDING STEADY? US DEMOCRACY PROMOTION IN A CHANGING WORLD,” Chatham House, Feb 2014)*

**One must** also **consider the** potential **impact on democratization of actors that are entirely** unrelated to, or financially **independent from, the US government, including those for whom democratization is not an institutional goal. Over time many private companies have realized the importance of democracy-related issues, such as the rule of law, anti-corruption efforts, institutional development and good governance, to their ability to conduct business abroad** easily, transparently and profitably.18 **Some have invested in supporting change** at a local level **in these areas** **in the countries in which they operate.** Likewise, several American corporations have joined other non-US companies in the World Economic Forum’s Partnering Against Corruption Initiative and the UN’s Global Compact. Partly as a result of growing public pressure in the United States and abroad, including political pressure from NGOs and media, American businesses have tried to bring their foreign practices up to the standards found in democratic societies, e.g. regarding labour rights, transparency, corruption and governance. Some have independently pursued fair business practices abroad as part of their company policies. Others have sought out organizations, such as Business for Social Responsibility, that help corporations integrate human rights and good governance practices into their overseas operations. **This has**, in many cases, **benefited** both the reputation and bottom line of **the corporation, as well as promoting democratic principles in the countries in which they operate. Increased corporate social responsibility efforts have had a**n indirect but **palpable impact on local practices and processes in some countries.** For example, Levi Strauss has committed to advancing workers rights globally and participates in multi-stakeholder efforts such as the International Labour Organization’s ‘Better Factories Cambodia’ programme and the ILO/International Finance Corporation ‘Better Work’ programmes in countries such as Haiti, Indonesia, Lesotho and Vietnam.19 Its work earned the company an award from Freedom House in 2012.

#### Aff- NGOs solve:

*(Bastiaan Bouwman, Humanity in Action Senior Fellow, doctoral candidate in the international history of human rights at the London School of Economics & research MA in history from the University of Amsterdam, “Uncomfortable Bedfellows: Why Human Rights and Democracy Promotion Are Better Off Separate,” HIA, http://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/579-uncomfortable-bedfellows-why-human-rights-and-democracy-promotion-are-better-off-separate, 2015)*

Furthermore, as the examples in the previous section show, **the legitimacy of** human rights as well as **democracy promotion can be improved by reaching out in new ways. Policies to protect human rights** defenders **are now increasingly the work of** coalitions, **not only of states but also of n**on-**g**overnmental **o**rganization**s**, **municipalities, and even corporations. Heavier investment in** international **n**on-**g**overnmental **o**rganization**s** **stands as a** possible **way** for states **to enact policies that enjoy greater legitimacy**. **In this way states can avoid direct ties with organizations in countries with authoritarian governments.** The NED’s Gershman noted in 2008 that **‘[i]t is appropriate for the U.S. to seek the democratic transformation of states that foster extremism, but linking official U.S. policy and diplomacy so closely to this effort has a number of serious drawbacks**.’ (63) For instance, **because of their permanent engagement through bilateral relationships, states can never claim the impartiality of n**on-**g**overnmental organization**s**, **nor can they single-mindedly pursue democratization** or human rights. Cooperating with other actors will not placate those who class all rights and assistance activities as foreign interference, but it does help to show the breadth of support for these areas. The Dutch government’s innovation of trilateral cooperation is a particularly promising instrument in this regard, as it draws on the legitimacy and expertise of regional partners.

Projects like Shelter City and Lifeline stand as important case-studies for the further development of a more network-based, multilateral and indirect approach – and similar projects are underway, not only in the West, but also locally and regionally, for instance the East and Horn of Africa Human Rights Defenders Project**. A corollary** of focusing in this area **is to keep shifting the ultimate emphasis as much as possible to local partners.** This applies to human rights promotion but also to processes of democratization that may of course be enabled by it. **As** a 2008 report by the Overseas Development Institute noted, ‘[t]he impetus for **democratisation must come from within’**. (64) This is so not only **for the sake of efficacy, but also for** the sake of **legitimacy** (**which are**, of course, **interrelated, since a project viewed as illegitimate will be more vulnerable to countervailing forces**). Herein lies, perhaps, the greatest challenge for human rights promotion as a state-initiated project: to succeed in the long term, as a manifestation of a truly universal desire for dignity, it must seriously engage with local partners and allow them to not only use the resources that assistance affords to their needs, but also to contribute to setting the agenda. This means returning to the ethos of human rights as an apolitical project, aimed at countering repression and thereby empowering people to realize their ambitions as autonomously as possible.

#### Aff- Misc. actors outside USFG:

*(Nicole Bibbins Sedaca [Director of Independent Diplomat’s DC Office, adjunct professor at Georgetown University, board of directors member of the Institute for Global Engagement, the International Justice Mission, and Georgetown University’s School of Foreign Service, and former State Dept. Senior Director for Strategic Planning and External Affairs for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor and Senior Advisor to the Under Secretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs] and Nicolas Bouchet [Deputy Editor of Research at Chatham House and PhD in international relations from the University of London], “HOLDING STEADY? US DEMOCRACY PROMOTION IN A CHANGING WORLD,” Chatham House, Feb 2014)*

**A growing variety of actors populates the field of US democracy promotion.** A selection of the major ones is reviewed here. **They include the various arms of the US government, non-governmental organizations – both funded by and independent of the government – and private organizations.** State actors The legislative framework for governmental activities and funding has been gradually established under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (through subsequent amendments, e.g. in 1975 for conditioning aid to respect for human rights and civil liberties), which provides for the Development Assistance Account of the Foreign Operations budget, the National Endowment for Democracy Act of 1983, the Support Eastern European Democracy Act of 1989, the Freedom Support Act of 1991 (mandating assistance to the Soviet Union successor states) and the Millennium Challenge Act of 2003 (mandating stronger democracy and governance criteria for eligibility in economic development programmes). **The American government, primarily through the Department of State, has pursued democracy promotion through diplomatic pressure and support. This has included** public and private **rhetoric to encourage transitions to democracy or end undemocratic practices, as well as** recognition of and **meeting with foreign democracy activists.** Since the early 1990s, the Agency for International Development (**USAID) has been the most prominent among state programmatic actors**, particularly after ‘Democracy and Governance’ was set as one of the core goals of foreign assistance. USAID has pursued this objective principally through its Center of Excellence on Democracy, Human Rights and Governance (previously known as the Office of Democracy and Governance) and its Office of Transition Initiatives, both created in 1994. **The Department of State has also become** more **active in democracy promotion** programming, especially through the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor (since 1993, initially created in the Carter administration as the Bureau of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs) and the Middle East Partnership Initiative (2002). The department’s Human Rights and Democracy Fund was also created in 1998. Democracy-related issues are included in the mandate of the Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC), launched in 2004, which has staked out a role in this field. It should also be noted that **Congress can be extremely influential on democracy promotion policy through budget appropriations and earmarks, committee activity, legislative initiatives, congressional delegations and issue-advocacy by certain members. The American government also works to pursue democracy-related goals through multilateral bodies, such as the U**nited **N**ations (especially the UN Development Programme), **the World Bank, NATO, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe** and **the Organization of American States** (OAS). The United States drove the creation in 1999 of the Community of Democracies, an organization of democratic states committed to jointly promoting democracy and related issues. It was also foundational in the creation of the UN Democracy Fund in 2005 **and** in pushing for a greater focus on democracy and good governance in UN democracy promotion and **the** Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (**OECD**). Although the United States backs multilateral bodies supporting democracy, the majority of its efforts in this field are not pursued through such channels, and this paper focuses on the US actors. Democracy NGOs **There is also a plethora of democracy NGOs** that operate with and without state funding. **They provide a wide array of** support for **democracy promotion** efforts: **training of democratic activists and governmental leaders, support for political party formation and electoral processes, technical and financial assistance to democratic institutions and organizations, and support for civil society actors, including but not limited to trade unions, NGOs and the media. Many of them also provide policy advice and research that influence US policy-making and public-sector programmatic decisions.** Among those focused on such operational programming, **the major players include the National Endowment for Democracy** (NED), created in 1983, and its affiliated institutions, **the National Democratic Institute** (NDI), **the International Republican Institute** (IRI), **the Center for International Private Enterprise** (CIPE) and **the Solidarity Center**. There are also numerous key organizations that have preceded or followed the NED family, and that are central to the programmatic and policy work on democracy promotion. **Freedom House**, launched in 1941, is one of the most prominent American democracy and human rights NGOs, and has a long history of bipartisan advocacy and strong programmatic work. **The Carter Center**, launched by former president Jimmy Carter in 1982, quickly gained a reputation in election observation and introduced a dedicated democracy programme in 1997. Other organizations that have also made an impact on this field include **IFES– Democracy at Large** (1987), **the Open Society Foundation** (1993)14 **and the Democracy Coalition Project** (2001). **Philanthropic bodies such as the Ford, Rockefeller, MacArthur, Asia and Eurasia Foundations also play a notable role in American democracy promotion through their funding** strategies**. Also important are American think-tanks and advocacy groups that have developed expertise on democracy issues.** These include the long-established institutions such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Council on Foreign Relations as well as more recent ones such as the NED International Forum for Democratic Studies (1994), the Project on Middle East Democracy (2006) **and** the Foreign Policy Initiative (2009). **American academic institutions conduct**ing **research in democracy issues** include UC Irvine’s Center for the Study of Democracy (1990), Georgetown University’s Center for Democracy and Civil Society (2002), Harvard University’s Ash Institute for Democratic Governance (2003) and Stanford University’s Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (2004).15 The relationship between state actors and democracy NGOs **These state and non-state actors form an American democracy promotion ‘community’** and their members, who frequently go through their ‘revolving doors’, somewhat of a profession. **Relationships among these actors are** generally **cooperative, with areas of coordination ranging from policy formulation to project implementation and strategic divisions of labour.** While they can disagree vehemently, **there is usually considerable dialogue and exchange between them, which has** often **resulted in improved policies and activities. State institutions frequently solicit policy input from the wider democracy promotion community**, not least because it provides a unique, broader perspective as a result of its grassroots and non-governmental contacts abroad, as well as the subfield expertise these contacts have developed. **Since** these **state institutions do not have the operational capacity to implement all or even most of the democracy promotion goals set by the government** and Congress and that they fund, **they rely heavily on NGOs** to do so. However, **funding also comes from non-state actors, such as** the MacArthur and Ford **Foundations**. The division of labour between state agencies and NGOs is often based on their relative ability to carry out programmes and related activities in specific contexts. The former recognize **that NGOs are often best positioned** to do specific types of work or **to operate in particular countries because they do not carry the** historical or current **baggage of the US government, are seen as more independent, often have better relations with local actors, and/or are more nimble and skilled in addressing specific on-the-ground realities. They can also often react faster than the government.** For example, the NED and its affiliates are usually seen as better suited for operating in autocratic countries with which the United States has difficult official relations.

#### Aff- Demo promo good (laundry list):

*(Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Editor of International Security, "Why the United States Should Spread Democracy", Harvard University’s Center for Science and International Affairs, Discussion Paper 98-07, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/2830/why\_the\_united\_states\_should\_spread\_democracy.html, March 1998)*

This paper argues **that the United States should make promoting democracy abroad one of its central foreign-policy goals.** Democracy is not an unalloyed good and the United States should not blindly attempt to spread democracy to the exclusion of all other goals, but U.S. and **global interests would be advanced if the world contained more democracies**. It often will be difficult for the United States and other actors **to help countries to become democracies**, but **international efforts frequently** can **make a difference**. The United States can promote democracy. In many cases it should. I develop the argument for promoting democracy in three parts. The first section of this paper defines democracy and the closely related concept of liberalism. It distinguishes between democratic procedures of government and the political philosophy of liberalism, but also explains how the two are closely linked. The second section outlines the main arguments for why spreading **democracy benefits the inhabitants of newly democratizing states, promotes peace in the international system, and advances U.S. interests.** This section presents logic and evidence that demonstrates that **the spread of democracy consistently advances many important values, including individual freedom** **from political oppression, deadly violence, and hunger**. It also will show how the spread of **democracy promotes international peace and stability, and helps to ensure** the **security and prosperity** of the United States.

#### Aff- Empirical successes:

*(Lorne Craner, president of the International Republican Institute & former assistant secretary of state for democracy, human rights, and labor, “Will U.S. Democratization Policy Work?,” The Middle East Quarterly, vol 13, no 3, pp 3-10, http://www.meforum.org/942/will-us-democratization-policy-work, Summer 2006)*

**Because of the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq, too often critics misconstrue U.S. democratization policy as military in focus. During the past quarter century, over eighty countries have become democracies, yet only in five of them—Grenada, Panama, Serbia, Afghanistan, and Iraq—did U.S. military intervention play a role**.[2] **These examples** and the post-World War II experiences of Germany and Japan **demonstrate that democratization can occur through use of force, but it is not the preferred** or prevalent **method**. **Washington's primary commitment to Middle East democratization** support **remains in the realm of coordinated diplomacy and international programs.**

**Democracy support is a long-term investment, but when coupled with diplomatic commitment, it works. Critics** of this policy **need only look to Chile, El Salvador, South Korea, Taiwan, Georgia, or Ukraine, countries where U.S. administrations patiently employed democracy policies for seven to ten years before** the "overnight" **victories of citizens against entrenched regimes. In all of these countries, regional experts counseled that, for various cultural reasons, democracy could not take root, and realists counseled that democracy should not take root**.[3]

#### Aff- U.S. is good at demo promo & necessary:

*(Center for American Progress and Center for Strategic and International Studies, “Why Promoting Democracy is Smart and Right,” https://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/StatementofPrinciples-2.pdf, 2013)*

As the events of the Arab Spring demonstrate**, there is a growing sense of urgency among peoples around the world to participate in open and free societies**. At the same time, the United States faces a critical juncture: Following the election, Congress narrowly avoided the fiscal cliff, pushing difficult budget decisions back by just a few short months. Regardless**, our national support for democracy** and governance **assistance overseas must be protected**. Given their modest scale and numerous benefits, America’s official investments in promoting democracy and governance abroad deserve to be sustained even as we deal with very real budget challenges in this current era of fiscal austerity. **Investments in democracy** and governance through the U.S. government’s foreign assistance budget **play a critical role in America’s security, shared global prosperity, and moral imperative**, and they boast a long history of bipartisan support. Today’s “Three Ds” of U.S. international engagement should acknowledge this critical role and become “Four Ds”: defense, diplomacy, development, and democracy. Our foreign assistance budget should reflect these priorities. We, the undersigned, recognize the vitality of American investments in democracy and governance—to national security, to foreign relations, and to the global economy—and we seek to sustain and protect our investments in the democracy and governance sector. In recent years democracy and governance funding became a subject of some controversy in certain circles on both sides of the political aisle. Some shied away from democracy promotion, associating the terminology with the controversy over the Iraq war. Others were tempted by isolationism, expressing broader weariness about maintaining America’s engagement in the world, and still others became nostalgic for unsustainable arrangements with autocratic regimes in the Middle East. Nevertheless, the democracy and governance sector continues to enjoy bipartisan support, as it has for many years. President Ronald Reagan, who fostered the creation of the National Endowment for Democracy to ensure ongoing American support for democratic principles, believed that the United States was obligated to “take actions to assist the campaign for democracy,” and that these actions were vital to combat the spread of communism abroad. During his presidency, Jimmy Carter demonstrated a dedication to the promotion of human rights; he continues his personal support with the Carter Center’s mediation and election-observing programs. Promoting democracy abroad was one of the three central goals of President Bill Clinton’s National Security Strategy of Engagement and Enlargement. And in the wake of 9/11, President George W. Bush saw the spread of democracy as a vital element in the war against terrorism. President Barack Obama gave concrete expression to his public commitment to democratic principles by supporting the democratic aspirations of citizens in Egypt and Libya, among other places. **We are at a critical juncture** not only in the history of the United States, but **in the history of human freedom, with pressing challenges that need to be addressed and opportunities that we should urgently seize. The recent democratic opening in Burma, the presence of both democratic progress and conflict in Africa, ongoing popular unrest in Iran, and the volatile and complex changes in the Middle East present the U**nited **S**tates **with** challenges and **opportunities to help shape a freer world**—**and** a freer world **directly benefit**s **our own security, prosperity, and international standing. If we do not remain engaged** and sustain our investments, **however, we** not only **jeopardize the chances of those pushing for** greater **freedom** in their countries, but we also risk forsaking the benefits to the United States that accompany increased freedom abroad. **The returns in U.S. security alone are tremendous,** especially considering the small scale of investments made to promote and maintain global stability. **The pace of technological change makes democracy support even more vital**, in both closed societies and also emerging and nascent democracies. **Autocrats have become more sophisticated in using new technologies to repress their citizens. Surveillance and monitoring of social media have been used to identify, map, and track democracy activists and to suppress** domestic **political reform. While technology has the potential to allow citizens broader access to information and to connect people around the globe, autocrats have increasingly used a host of sophisticated technologies to filter and censor information and online speech.** The use of these tools has also been the subject of authoritarian learning, with Iran providing technology and assistance in Syria to stifle citizens who have risen up against the Assad regime. Those who seek to remain in power against the will of the people have become adept at tracking activists, jamming communications, and offering propaganda via social media. **On the positive side, technology has opened a world of possibility for improved citizen engagement in democratic politics by making it easier for citizens to monitor elections, access information about their governments, express their views, and organize politically.** Initiatives such as the Open Government Partnership and the improved transparency that they foster can strengthen public integrity and government accountability, as well as improve service delivery and foster economic development. At the same time, technology provides new challenges to transitional democracies. While social media was widely used by democracy activists in the Middle East to organize protests against authoritarian regimes, in order for democracy to take root, popular demands for political participation must ultimately be channeled from the street to democratically elected representative institutions. These institutions must be able to effectively aggregate interests, engage in deliberative discourse, and find areas of compromise. Technology can empower citizens to have a voice in their government, and the institutions of representative democracy must find ways to utilize this technology and other means to channel and respond to citizens’ demands. In many parts of the world, **U.S. investments are pivotal in effecting improvements in democracy** and governance. Although the resources that the United States allocates to these endeavors are quite limited, **together with our strategic partners**—other governments, intergovernmental organizations, and nongovernmental organizations—**we ensure that our investments generate the maximum impact for each assistance dollar** while at the same time maintaining some influence and control over the programs we fund. These **partnerships also soften any impression that the U**nited **S**tates **is seeking to export its own system, rather than supporting the people’s own desire for a voice. Even alongside the vital investments of other** bilateral and multilateral **donors** and critical philanthropic dollars, **U.S. funding is often necessary to reach the minimum level of investment needed to succeed in politically complicated or risky situations. The U.S. government is often the only funder who has the will, the ability, and the stamina to cover the resource gap. Democracy is a process, not an event.** **The U**nited **S**tates **needs to take a longer view of these investments. The advent of democracy changes people, but that change is not instantaneous.** **That societal transformation can take 10 years, 15 years, or even longer,** and auditors, evaluators, and diplomats need to accept more realistic timelines in achieving these goals. The long-term challenge is to help fledgling democracies deliver better lives for their citizens, thereby building support for democratic governance that prevents alternatives from gaining ground. **American investments in democracy** and governance **matter**. **A comprehensive** 2006 **study** **completed by broad collaboration** between USAID and Professors Steven E. Finkel, Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, and Mitchell A. Seligson **examined the effects of U.S. foreign assistance on democracy building** from 1990 to 2003 **and found that U.S. democracy** and governance **programs led to statistically significant improvements in democracy worldwide.** Of course, the United States cannot bring about democracy and good governance by itself; we must work with multiple elements in societies seeking to bring about that change. The United States has a broad set of partners in the international community that bring many assets to the table to help in this great challenge, including civil society groups, religious leaders, and our traditional allies. We define democracy as a government characterized by an inclusive and meaningful competition for political power, a high level of political participation among citizens, and political and civil freedom. We define good governance, equally important to the success of a society, as the mechanisms by which a country’s economic, political, and social authority is apportioned and exercised, and the institutions available to citizens to express their opinions, exercise their rights, and fulfill their obligations. Sometimes societies can improve the quality of their governance while remaining unfree, such as a number of countries in Asia. But these examples are rare, and improved governance in the absence of democracy will be short lived. In this interconnected world, **the desire for human dignity, freedom, and political voice is universal.** In the long run, **the policy of the United States should be to support democratic governance** and strengthen those institutions that support economic and political liberty. Policy reform, the strengthening of civil society, and partnerships with political parties, parliaments, labor, business groups, the media, and courts are unglamorous but critical investments. U.S. policy should prioritize reducing corruption and increasing transparency. Two of the challenges in ensuring adequate support for these investments within the United States are that it takes a long time to bring about change and that the changes are technically complex and the outcomes less immediate than those of other investments, such as providing food aid or medicine for the treatment and prevention of disease. Nevertheless, **studies have also found that democratic practices and institutions matter—and America has experience supporting the development of these practices and institutions** around the world. **Outside expertise, training, and funding are critical for creating**, building, and shaping **institutions in ways that are accountable to their publics, transparent, and deliver a variety of critical public goods.** **The U**nited **N**ations **Development Programme’s landmark** 2002 **Human Development Report rightfully concludes that democratic participation is a critical end of human development as well as a means of achieving it.** As Nobel Prize-winning economist Amartya Sen and others have noted, **economic and political freedoms are mutually reinforcing, and** broader **democratic promotion can have a powerful effect in making overall development efforts more effective. Studies have shown that political and economic freedom can go hand in hand and that a freer world is** **often a more prosperous world.** In **The Democracy Advantage**: How Democracies Promote Prosperity and Peace, Mort Halperin, Joseph Siegle, and Michael Weinstein **examined 50 countries— both democratic and undemocratic—and found overwhelming evidence that democracy supports development and reduces the likelihood of violent conflict.** In that vein, Steve **Radelet’s** 2010 **book, Emerging Africa:** How 17 Countries Are Leading the Way, l**ooked at the track records of 17 high-performing sub-Saharan African countries and found that** they are challenging the traditional understanding of African regional development by making significant, if oft-overlooked, progress. Among several key differences**, most of these highperforming countries were democratic** and enjoyed comparatively good governance.

#### Aff- U.S. key:

*(Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Getting to the Core (Conclusion), “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**In attempting to promote democracy in the Middle East, the U**nited **S**tates faces a situation in which its role as a prodemocratic actor **is** highly contested but at the same time **clearly central.** The political roles of **Europe**an countries are much less controversial, but their actions, t**hough potentially valuable, do not have the same weight and influence. In the Middle East, the United States is indeed the indispensable country,** but it is also the target of much hatred.

#### Aff- A2 “M.E. culture incompatible w/ demos”:

*(Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Getting to the Core (Conclusion), “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**The expectation that democracy could sweep through the Arab world quickly**, even if Iraq turns out well in the end and Western governments fully take up the challenge of promoting democracy in the region, **is not supported by anything we know about democratic transitions and the impact of democracy assistance. Even in the former socialist world, where** indeed many **regimes collapsed suddenly** and dramatically, **the building of democracy has been a slow, uneven process**, with no assurance of success. The troubling political situation in most parts of the former Soviet Union highlights this fact. **At the other extreme, the contention that the Arab world is culturally incapable of becoming democratic is belied by the** intensity of the **discussions about democracy that are taking place in the region, even inside Islamist movements**. Debate does not amount to change, but **the idea that democracy is** too far **outside the reaches of Arab culture** and society to ever take hold **is certainly contradicted by this** debate.

#### Aff- A2 “Islam incompatible with demos”:

*(Irfan Ahmad, Associate Professor of Political Anthropology at Australian Catholic University, “How the West de-democratised the Middle East,” Al Jazeera, http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/03/201232710543250236.html, March 30 2012)*

**The Western view about Islam being incompatible with democracy is** rooted in the Enlightenment which, contrary to the received wisdom, was **prejudiced** - and, to cite John Trumpbour, "shot through with Islamophobia". Thus Alexis de Tocqueville held that the Quran laid stress on faith, not splendid deeds, as a result of which Islam was inhospitable to democracy. In the post-World War II era, Kedouri, Huntington, Lewis and others presented different versions of this argument.

**This Western view was**, however, **seldom shared by Muslims** who believed that Islam and democracy were perfectly compatible. **As early as 1912**, **the Indian philosopher** Abul Kalam **Azad** (b1888) **wrote**: **"Islam regards every form of government which is non-constitutional and non-parliamentary as the greatest human sin."** Turkey's Mustafa Fazil **Pasha** (b1829) **held that Islam determined one's destiny in afterlife but it "does not limit the rights of the people".** Abdullah Abdurrahman of South Africa (b1870) observed that, without full equality, "there is no such thing as a democratic institution". Without multiplying examples, it is suffice to note that the notion of divine sovereignty advanced by India's Maududi and Egypt's Qutb were complex developments unfolding much later.

Contrary to Muslims' self-perception**, the debate on Islam's alleged incompatibility with democracy** continued in the post-war era. Encapsulated under "modernisation", this debate **was integral to the West's domination of the Middle East**, because empire maintains itself not just by brute force but also by presenting itself at the service of rhetoric such as democracy. In the US, this took an institutional form in 1983 when the Reagan administration floated the National Endowment for Democracy (NED). Though currently the United States Agency of International Development (USAID), established in 1961 by John F Kennedy, claims that the US "has a long history of extending a helping hand to those people overseas struggling to ... live in a free and democratic country" and that the US foreign assistance "has always had the ... purpose of expanding democracy". At the time of USAID's formation, its aim was not democracy promotion but to counter communism through economic aid and development.

#### Aff- A2 “Islam incompatible with demos”:

*(Raymond Hinnebusch, a Institute of Middle East, Central Asia and Caucasus Studies and member of the School of International Relations, University of St Andrews, Scotland, “Authoritarian Persistence, Democratization Theory and the Middle East: An Overview and Critique,” Democratization, vol 13, no 3, https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/school-of-international-relations/mecacs/workingpapers/authoritarian\_persistance\_democratization\_theory.pdf, June 1 2006)*

Nevertheless, because democratization did not happen in the Middle East at the income levels that produced some democratization elsewhere, s**ome analysts have fallen back on the argument that the region’s cultural exceptionalism has shortcircuited** the ‘natural’ linear relation between increased development and increased **democratization**. **Islam**, ‘Oriental despotism’, **patrimonialism**, **patriarchalism**, ‘**small group politics’ and mass passivity were all said to make the region democracy-unfriendly**.15 Where **such arguments** see political cultures as essentially fixed and uniform, they **are fundamentally misleading**. Kedourie’s view that ‘Democracy is alien to the mind-set of Islam’ 16 remains **[and] irredeemably essentialist** at a time when most analysts insist that **Islam varies** **too** **widely** by context and time **to constitute a**n unchanging **religious obstacle to democratization any more than Catholicism was once wrongly said to be.** Where other conditions are right (such as level of income and the presence of a private bourgeoisie, as in Turkey and Malaysia), **Islam is no deterrent to democratization.** **Survey research shows that strong Islamic attachments do not discourage support for democracy**.17 **Islamic movements have participated in elections in many countries, tend to be moderated by playing the electoral game, and are likely to become an obstacle to democratization only when radicalized by exclusion.**18 Similarly, **clientelism and patriarchalism, having been quite compatible with pluralistic and democratic regimes in Mediterranean Europe, should pose no insurmountable obstacle to democratization in the Middle East. Nor does Middle East culture make people passive, for wherever they are given the opportunity to participate they grasp it with alacrity.** The association of higher levels of modernization indicators such as literacy and modern employment with higher political consciousness holds no less in the Middle East than elsewhere and **modern Islamism makes a positive religious duty of civic participation** ( jihad, or to struggle for good and against evil). Arguably, **culture** has two impacts. First, it **is important in shaping conceptions of political legitimacy, which are everywhere ‘constructed’** of inter-subjective (that is, **cultural) understandings**. **It is plausible to argue that Islamic traditions accept authoritarian leadership as long as it is seen to serve the collective interest**, that is, **defend**s **the community** from outside threats **and deliver**s **welfare** to which people feel entitled, and as long as it is seen to consult with the community (shura). This essentially collectivist/populist idea of leadership legitimacy is likely to be tolerant of populist versions of authoritarian rule. Dominant versions of Islam may also be associated with a more restricted (some might say more balanced) notion of individual, property and minority rights that is difficult to reconcile with contemporary liberal versions of capitalist democracy. **However**, on the other hand, **Islam is less obscurantist and more ‘protestant’ (having no priesthood with sacred powers) and more law-orientated than many religions; it is also more egalitarian than hierarchic cultural traditions such as Confucianism and Hinduism that have proved compatible with democratization**. Modern **Islamic notions of leadership** do also **incorporate accountability, and nowadays when authoritarian leadership fails to live up to Islamic standards it suffers de-legitimation widely**, with Muslims forming or joining opposition movements. **Moreover, conceptions of legitimacy are hardly fixed and Middle East versions have not been immune to an embrace (by Islamists as well as secularists) of the belief that** the procedural practices of **electoral democracy might be** the **best** way to ensure against leadership deviation from the legitimate model. As Volpi argues, **it is less a rejection of democracy, per se, than rival understandings of it that obstructs democratization**.19 **A second impact of culture derives from the pervasiveness of ‘traditional’ ‘small group’ loyalties, in** good **part an inheritance of the tribalism of nomadic societies in arid regions**. On one hand, these make it harder (but not impossible) to construct broad-based civil society or strong political parties; for example, the impotence of opposition parties across the region can be attributed partially to such factors. On the other hand, assabiya (**exclusionary group solidarity) was manipulated widely by authoritarian state builders to construct** solidary **elite cores for their states**. A kinship culture is especially compatible with the use of clientalism by authoritarian elites as a form of political linkage with the masses. Moreover, the socialization transmitted within the patriarchal family is arguably congruent with patrimonial rule at the state level: just as the father expects, and receives, obedience in the family so the same may apply to the ruler in the state. **Traditional culture did not preclude democracy but it was a ready-made resource that patrimonial state-builders could exploit.** **In summary, Middle Eastern culture(s) is** probably regarded most usefully **not as an independent variable which obstructs democratization but** as **a intervening variable**, in which conceptions of legitimacy which are more tolerant of authoritarian leadership under certain conditions, and surviving ‘traditional’ forms of association reinforce and prolong the viability of authoritarian regimes established for quite other reasons than culture. On the other hand, modernization is changing culture by increasing aspirations for participation and by endowing individuals with such necessary participatory tools as literacy. Whether such aspirations will be satisfied depends on other variables that are considered neither in mainstream MT nor by cultural approaches.

#### Aff- A2 Iraq/past failures:

*(Shadi Hamid [senior fellow in the Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World in the Center for Middle East Policy & former director of research at the Brookings Doha Center, director of research at the Project on Middle East Democracy (POMED) and a Hewlett Fellow at Stanford University's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law] and Steven Brooke [postdoctoral research fellow at Harvard’s Belfer Center Middle East Initiative], “Promoting Democracy Worldwide Increases US National Security,” Deocracy, Ed. David M. Haugen and Susan Musser, Detroit: Greenhaven Press, 2012)*

It is safe to say that **the Bush administration's project to promote Middle East democracy failed**. It failed **because it was never really tried. With the exception of a brief period in 2004 and 2005 when** **significant pressure was put on Arab regimes, democracy promotion was little more than a rhetorical** **device. But lost in the shuffle is the fact that one of the strongest rationales for the "freedom** **agenda"—that the way to defeat terrorism** in the long run **is by supporting** the growth of **democratic** **institutions—hasn't** necessarily **been proven wrong, nor should it be** so readily **discarded due to its** unfortunate **association with the wrong methods and messengers.** But this is precisely what seems to have happened.

#### Aff- A2 Arab Spring/past failures:

*(Shadi Haid [senior fellow at the Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World at the Brookings Institution's Center for Middle East Policy] and Peter Mandaville [professor of public and international affairs at George Mason University and a former member of the State Department’s policy-planning staff], “The U.S. Is Giving Up on Middle East Democracy—and That's a Mistake,” The Atlantic, http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2014/01/the-us-is-giving-up-on-middle-east-democracy-and-thats-a-mistake/282890/, Jan 7 2014)*

With the rise of al-Qaeda, increasingly repressive regimes, and weak, even collapsing states, **the Arab Spring is looking** more and more **like a nightmare for U.S. security interests**. Perhaps, then, it makes some sense that the Obama administration would increase security assistance to the Middle East, from 69 percent of the total budget request for 2014 to 80 percent. However, **this** also **entails a significant reduction in democracy assistance to the region**, which will drop from $459.2 million to $298.3 million. Congress might further deepen these cuts. **But** to look at **this** as a security problem **risks conflating cause and effect.** **Today’s Middle East is a product**, at least in part, **of failed democratization**, **and one of the reasons it failed was the** timid, **half-hearted support of the Obama administration**. That the U.S. is fundamentally limited in its ability to influence the internal politics of Arab states has been a consistent theme within the Obama administration as well as among analysts. No one denies that there are limits to what the U.S. can (or can’t) do; the question, however, is what those limits are. A **growing academic literature points to the significant impact Western** leverage and **“linkage” can have on democratic transitions.** During the “third wave” of democratization, Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way write, “**it was an externally driven shift in the cost of suppression**, not changes in domestic conditions, **that contributed most** centrally **to the demise of authoritarianism in the** 19**80s** **and** 19**90s**.” They find that “**states’ vulnerability to Western democratization pressure… was often decisive.”**  Western democratization pressure will be less effective in the Middle East because of the more existential nature of ideological divides, but it is still important. In a new article in The Washington Quarterly, we argue that **the various attempted revolutions of 2011 and 2012 demonstrate the important**, even decisive, **role of Western nations** as well as regional actors, many of whom themselves are dependent on Western security provisions and other support. Ironically, three years after the uprisings began, the Obama administration has ended up embracing a narrow, security-focused approach to the Arab Spring, something that Obama often criticized his predecessors for doing. To be sure, many of the region’s continuing security problems, particularly in Iraq, are a result of the Bush administration’s disastrous policies. However, it is also worth noting that President Bush acknowledged the existence of a “tyranny-terror” link—**the notion that the root causes of** extremism and **terrorism can be found in the region’s** enduring **lack of democracy.** Those claims are **[is] no less relevant today.**  **In the failure of** peaceful politics and **democracy**, best **exemplified by the military coup in Egypt and the ongoing civil war in Syria**, al-Qaeda and other **extremist groups have been given a gift. Their narrative—that violence is the only option that works—is stronger than ever. Facing this mounting challenge, Obama has now further de-prioritized democracy assistance.** Outside of its commendable efforts to strike a deal with Iran and put forward a framework agreement for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the administration’s approach to the region is characterized almost entirely by ad-hoc crisis management and traditional counterterrorism approaches. Its one larger-scale reform initiative—a half-hearted proposal for a Middle East and North Africa Incentive Fund—has yet to see the light of day and likely never will due to the convoluted way it was presented to Congress. We argue that **the U.S.** and its partners now **need[s] to consider** a very different approach to **Middle East democracy assistance.** Conventional democracy promotion activities tend to focus on the process and “retail” aspects of democratic politics—things like elections, political party training, get-out-the-vote (GOTV) campaigns, and civil society enhancement. While these are undoubtedly important, they are insufficient to deliver lasting reforms. Authoritarianism in the Arab world has proven time and time again—even in supposedly post-revolutionary settings such as Egypt today—that it can weather the annoyances of elections and civil society. What is needed are more systematic reforms focused on fundamental institutions. These include things like constraining the military’s role in civilian domains of governance, deep reform in the security and justice sectors including law enforcement and policing, and comprehensive “renovation” of the civil service sector. These are large-scale, long-term, and expensive undertakings that far transcend the modest parameters of most U.S. democracy promotion programs. In our article, we make the case for a new Multilateral Endowment for Reform (MER) that would tie significant levels of financial assistance—in the billions of dollars—to reform commitments and benchmarked implementation performance by partner nations. The idea is to provide a real incentive for countries to embark down a path to deeper and more enduring political reforms while retaining the ability to pull back funding if they do not deliver. Genuine multilateralism is a hallmark characteristic of the proposed Endowment. While the U.S. would need to take the lead in establishing such an entity, its successful implementation would require significant contributions of money and expertise from other G-8 and European nations, emerging economies in Asia and Latin America, and new regional powers such as Turkey and Qatar. This kind of approach would help to spread the financial burden at a time when new money for foreign assistance is hard to come by in Washington, as well as to reduce the political sensitivities inevitably generated by a democracy fund wearing an exclusively U.S. face. **Rather than giving up on Middle East democracy, this is the time to double down. Since the start of the Arab Spring, the U.S. has failed to** think big and **deliver an ambitious** policy **response worthy of these momentous events. If recent events have taught us anything, it is that “stability,” pursued through traditional means, is an illusion.** Weak states and a new kind of post-Arab Spring authoritarianism may be with us for decades to come. **This** unfortunate **reality requires moving** well **beyond short-term crisis management** and devising a new set of policy tools—on an appropriate scale—to seriously address these challenges. **It would prove an odd twist if one of the legacies of the Arab Spring is** viewing, and **acting as if, democratization and security are** discrete, even **contradictory goals. It is time to push back.**

#### Aff- A2 “no credibility”/good demo promo policy fixes cred:

*(Marina Ottaway [Carnegie Endowment], “The Problem of Credibility,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

And yet, **Arab countries are not changing much politically**. **Even those often hailed as examples of successful reform, such as Morocco and Bahrain, are in reality modernized autocracies with a liberalized facade, and there is reason to doubt that they can** simply **evolve toward democracy without a sharp break with the present political structures**.44 **The dominant political characteristic of the Middle East remains stagnation. The idea of a purely internal process of change, unsupported by external pressure, is not realistic. Democracy is not the inevitable outcome in the Arab world** for the foreseeable future. **There is need for sustained external pressure and encouragement.** However, to be successful, pressure must come from credible sources.At present, the United States lacks credibility in the Arab world. **To play a** more important **role in the** political **transformation of the Middle East, the U**nited **S**tates **needs to establish its credibility as prodemocracy actor.** This will be difficult, but it is not impossible. **The problem of credibility has been faced and solved elsewhere. For example, the U**nited **S**tates **had very low credibility in Latin America when it first started talking of democracy promotion in the 1980s, because in that region, too, it had historically chosen the stability of friendly autocratic regimes over the unpredictable outcome of political transitions. Sustained U.S. support for democratic change in the second half of the 1980s and throughout the 1990s** slowly **allayed suspicions about U.S. intentions. The same is happening in many African countries, because U.S. support for democratic change has become more consistent** during the last decade.

#### Aff- A2 “no credibility”/backlash/Iraq War:

*(Michele Dunne [Georgetown University], “Integrating Democracy into the US Policy,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**The U**nited **S**tates **can pursue peace and reform because governments in the region generally make decisions about whether or not to cooperate with U.S.** peacemaking—or military or counterterrorism **efforts**— **based on a calculation of their own interests** rather than a desire to do the United States a favor. **They will do so even if they are annoyed by U.S. calls for reform.** The one exception to this would be an extreme case in which a government believed the United States was actively trying to undermine it or support its overthrow, situations in which the United States should not find itself with any regional ally. **An idea** from the late Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin (at **that** time, referring to peace and terrorism) **would be good advice: Pursue peace as though there were no democratization, and pursue democratization as though there were no peace. In other words, the U.S. government should pursue reform and democratization as policy goals** in the first instance **without worrying** excessively **about tradeoffs** with other goals. U.S. officials should ask themselves whether such tradeoffs are truly necessary or just a matter of avoiding inconvenience and and confrontation. reform democratization have become real policy goals, U.S. officials must be willing to take some risks on their behalf. As part of pursuing regional peace and reform as equally important goals, **the U**nited **S**tates **should** also **continue to pursue democratization in Arab countries** no matter what happens in Iraq. A democratized and prosperous Iraq would certainly have an important and positive influence, but that outcome is not yet certain and might be years away. At the same time, **there is no reason for the U.S. government to adopt a defeatist attitude in the face of claims that the U.S. role in Iraq negates U.S. credibility in promoting democracy. In fact, although many Arab governments** and reformers **have rejected the U.S.** government **as the messenger of** reform and **democratization, the message itself has resonated broadly and provoked productive debates across the region** about the nature of reforms needed. The United States should also make reform a consideration in its military and counterterrorism relationships.

#### Aff- Even if low probability of solvency, it’s net good:

*(Thanassis Cambanis, fellow at The Century Foundation, “How can America really promote democracy abroad?,” Boston Globe, https://www.bostonglobe.com/ideas/2014/04/26/how-can-america-really-promote-democracy-abroad/3IxMLiJHdEnaIolNkeOGuK/story.html, April 27 2014)*

There’s also an argument that **we** simply **can’t tell how well democracy-promotion efforts work, since they’re always happening in the context of other foreign policy operations** as well—**some of them** working **at cross-purposes**, **and at a much larger scale. In Egypt, for example, the U**nited **S**tates **spends a few millions on** overt **democracy-promotion** efforts, supporting civil society groups that monitor the regime’s abuses of human rights, **while simultaneously giving billions to support the same repressive regime as a political ally.** In Iran, the United States aims to empower citizens to challenge the ayatollahs in street demonstrations and on Twitter, but at the same time impoverishes them through economic sanctions. **In Bahrain, which depends on a US naval base for military protection, the U**nited **S**tates **stood aside while the government violently crushed its pro-democracy movement in 2011, apparently deciding the security relationship trumped** its interest in nudging a nation toward **democracy**. It may be, as Masoud suggests, that international democracy training programs amount to well-intentioned but ineffectual junkets. But there is another possible reading of this complicated picture as well. **When** those unexpected **jumps** **toward democracy do happen**—**in Mongolia in 1990, Indonesia in 1998, Tunisia in 2011, Burma’s halting moves toward democracy today—it’s surely because of a web of factors.** It may be that we need to put more money into basic development for authoritarian countries—education, health, and so on—and put less faith in our ability to promote democracy directly. But **it may be premature to cut off democracy promotion efforts** as sharply as their harshest critics suggest. **In the mysterious and complex picture of what leads countries toward democracy**, it seems that **we’re still figuring out which tools actually work. Until we do, it may not pay to get rid of the one that** probably **does the least harm.**

#### Neg- Citizens don’t want democracy/backsliding:

*(Thomas Carothers, Vice President for Studies at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, “Does Democracy Promotion Have a Future?,” Democracy and Development, http://carnegieendowment.org/2008/06/23/does-democracy-promotion-have-future/g7yc, June 23 2008)*

Of course, there are also positive events that have occurred over the last five or six years, such as the noteworthy democratic progress in Indonesia, the pro-democratic breakthroughs in Georgia and Ukraine and the new political settlement in Nepal. Nevertheless, the **overall democratic trend has stagnated.** Why has this occurred? **Several factors are at work. First,** there is a natural slowing down of any political trend of this sort. Those **dictatorships that could not cope with the surge of democratic impulses have already fallen. Those dictatorships which remain are the adaptable, clever ones, often ones that have oil or other valu- able natural resources. These dictatorships have learned to navi- gate** the waters of international **democratic pressures**. In short, **the easy cases are finished, the harder ones remain. Second, democracies are struggling in many places to deliver** the goods to their people**. People in many countries are saying, "We have been trying democracy for five or ten years, I do not see my life becoming any better.** In fact all I have seen are corrupt politi- cians trading amongst themselves. I do not like it and **I want to try something different".** They are therefore trying something different in some places. **Third**, and this is extremely important, **rivals to democracy are growing.** **A striking feature of the 1990s was the absence of any alternative to the** liberal **democratic model** having any significant legitimacy on the international scene. **But the success of Russia's and China's economic development** over the last five or six years, which in China's case of course extends back for several decades, **has greatly strengthened the idea of the strong-hand model once again. One sees a return in some places to the notion that development requires a strong**, i.e., **non-democratic hand, which puts off democ- ratisation** until some indefinite future, **and focuses on economic development** and perhaps a little rule-of-law development. **These two countries have been actively promoting this model.** Chinese officials invite African officials and activists to come to China and study the Chinese model. Russia puts both positive and negative pressures on its neighbours to follow its political and economic path. **You thus have a model that is** actually **very appealing, espe- cially to non-democratic elites in the Middle East**, South East Asia and other parts of Asia and Africa, **who can use it to argue that their being in power is necessary for their country's development. In many places, citizens frustrated with the democratic experi- ments they have lived through are going along with this new trend.**

#### Neg- Not a citizen priority:

*(Marina Ottaway [Carnegie Endowment], “The Missing Constituency for Democratic Reform,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**Little evidence supports the contention that the desire for liberal democracy is** not only **universal**, but also **[or] strong enough for large numbers of people to work hard to achieve it.** To be sure, in opinion polls people everywhere express a preference for respect of human rights —nobody likes the midnight knock on the door. They usually, although not universally, express a preference for a political system that gives them the right to choose among competing parties and candidates. When it comes to actively demanding democratic change, the situation changes. **Liberal democracy is an ideology that appeals** the **most** **to** **intellectual elites and** to **people whose most basic needs for food, shelter, and security have been satisfied.** Many studies have documented that Western- style, liberal democracy thrives most easily in countries with a large middle class and in those with rapidly improving economic conditions. Furthermore, with the notable exception of India, **democratic systems implanted in poor countries have rarely lasted. The duration of the democratic experiment is directly related to the level of per capita income reached** by the country, as Adam Przeworski's work shows.l **Even in countries that appeared securely democratic, an economic crisis can** weaken if not **eliminate support for democracy. Venezuela is** at present the most dramatic **[an] example** of such crisis- induced democratic reversal, but there is mounting fear that economic difficulties in other Latin American countries threaten the democratic gains of the 1980s and 1990s.

#### Neg- Not a citizen priority:

*(Marina Ottaway [Carnegie Endowment], “The Missing Constituency for Democratic Reform,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**The abstract rights- and process- oriented character of democracy** **is in sharp contrast to the concrete promises made by** some of **the ideologies with which democracy has** had **to compete** historically, **particularly nationalism and socialism.** Nationalism does not promise people the right to fight for the establishment of their own country; it promises them their own country. Socialism promises jobs and economic equality. **These are concrete promises with a more direct, mass appeal with which** the more abstract idea of **democracy has historically had trouble competing**. Furthermore, **these ideologies tap into people's emotions, including resentment, much more easily than democracy.**

#### Neg- No U.S. credibility (laundry list):

*(Marina Ottaway [Carnegie Endowment], “The Problem of Credibility,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

Other **commentators saw democracy promotion as a means to extend American hegemony by lowering resistance to U.S. policies:** "Within this framework, the only logical explanation for the so-called US program for bolstering democracy in the Middle East is that it is merely a means of pressuring Arab and Islamic governments and regimes to become more cooperative with US policies on Palestine, Iraq, Sudan, Afghanistan and other areas where Washington is committing gross mistakes that worry everybody. "14 The many contentions that **the U**nited **S**tates **lacks credibility as a promoter of democracy in the Middle East** revolved around two major themes, with a third issue being raised more rarely, but then with vicious undertones. **First**, and very central, **was the contention that** officials have no credibility for democracy when they respect killings and systematic destruction of Palestinian life, cannot emerge as an 'angel' in Lebanon, calling for virtuous work and looking after the seeds of democracy!" argued a Lebanese writer.15 And a Jordanian commentator asked rhetorically: "And what does Bush have to say about the so-called Israeli democracy, which has produced the worst kind of far-right, extremist government, led by General Ariel Sharon, who is committed to continued human rights because of a callous disregard for the rights of Palestinians. "**The U**nited **S**tates **cannot claim** today **to be the champion of freedoms while it is waging 'vicious' wars against the Arabs in most of their countries,** from Egypt to Saudi Arabia, and from Iraq to Yemen. . This superpower, which protects and sponsors Sharon's mass occupation, emolition of more e country that people of is not region can rely upon to generate a foreign climate conducive to fostering and supporting a true process of democratization. **The U.S. has a long record of supporting dictatorships and of plotting to overthrow democratically elected governments. Whenever the defense of democratic values has come into conflict with the defense of US interests, the latter always win out**."17 Others are more sarcastic: "Now we are Palestinian houses, the expropriation of Palestinian land, the assassination of Palestinian activists, ethnic cleansing and all-out state terrorism?"16 **The second factor Arab commentators cited as undermining U.S. credibility is the long-standing U.S. support for autocratic Arab regimes willing to accept U.S. policies in the area, maintain the status quo, and supply the United States with abundant and cheap oil. "The US is being told** that **Saddam** is not a democrat, is not nice at all really, **is** actually **a tyrant who gasses his own people. How nice to hear this** two decades after the event in Khalabje, **from the very government**s **who supported him in his first Gulf War against Iran. It did not seem to bother them then, or at any time in the past two decades.** "18 At times, **commentators have also attacked U.S. credibility in a third way, by turning their attention to the U.S. global human rights record and even its domestic policies.** For example, reacted to U.S. commentators condemnation of the imprisonment of Egyptian political activist Saad Eddin Ibrahim by noting, "We wished the U.S. would have focused its attention rather on Palestine, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Afghanistan and many areas in Latin America where real human rights violations are rife, instead of digging for allegations about Egypt's breaching of human rights."19 Occasional **articles**, sparked by remarks made by Condoleezza Rice, **argued that a country treating its African-American citizens as the U**nited **S**tates **does should not preach democracy to others.**

#### Neg- No U.S. credibility (general):

*(James Zogby, President of the Arab American Institute, “Should America Be Involved in Democracy Promotion in the Arab World?,” Huffington Post, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/james-zogby/us-arab-relations\_b\_1425554.html, April 14 2012)*

**The advocates of democracy promotion advance a number of arguments to make their case: "it's about** being true to **our values," "it's in our interests," "it is our moral obligation** to improve the human condition" -- all of which resonate with American audiences who reflexively respond to any mention of "our ideals" and appeals to "American exceptionalism." **But** as vigorous and at times passionate as this entire U.S. conversation might become, it ignores one fundamental question that must be addressed at the outset, and that is, "**should America** even **be involved in democracy promotion in the Arab World**?" In my remarks to the Kenyon College event, I provided a contrarian view that said, **quite simply, "no."**  I have a number of reasons for taking this stance. **First** and foremost, it is because I believe that **America is not in the position to be** the **democracy promoters** we fashion ourselves to be. We fail to recognize the damage that has been done to "brand America." **While many Americans still want to see ourselves as "the shining city on the hill," we** simply **do not understand that is not how most Arabs see us. Two disastrous and bloody wars in Iraq and Afghanistan; the blind eye we have shown to Israeli violations of Palestinian rights** and life; **Guantanamo and** the horrors of **Abu Ghraib; torture, rendition**, and "black sites"; **and the treatment of Arabs and Muslims in America all have taken a toll on our credibility as advocates for democracy** and human rights. Our **polling across the Arab World shows that not only has America's favorable rating hit bottom, but when asked to name "the biggest threat to peace and security in the region," more often than not, the U.S. is named.**  As our polling makes clear, what most Arabs want from America is not democracy, it is for Washington to play a role in pressuring Israel to end its occupation of Palestinian lands. Additionally, many Arabs believe that U.S. investment can help create employment and build capacity in their countries. And **despite the fact that in a number of Arab countries, reform and democracy concerns have emerged in the top tier of political priorities, in no case do Arabs indicate that they want American help** in advancing these concerns. **This they see as an unwanted intrusion into their domestic affairs.** There are, of course, those elements who do seek American support. Some in the Libyan and Syrian opposition have reached out in desperation, basically hoping that the U.S. would do a "job" for them. There are also some "democracy" activists who have found it useful to cultivate U.S. patronage. But none of these change the reality that **for strong majorities across the Arab World, American involvement in democracy promotion is not wanted or seen as credible.**  **The reality is that** because we don't listen to Arab voices or respect Arab public opinion, **we operate blindly in the region, seeing what we want to see and hearing only those voices who say what we want to hear. We don't understand Arab society or the** Arab **people's political priorities or their real aspirations. Because of our sense of cultural superiority, we assume a "one size, fits all" model. Those who want what we have to offer, we celebrate as democrats, "just like us." Those who do not, we decry as backward.**  In the end, **we have too little knowledge about the history, culture, and people of the region to play a constructive role in transforming their societies. Our mistake in Afghanistan and Iraq was not just that we believed that we could use force to create a democratic order. It was that we assumed that we could play any constructive role in changing countries and peoples about whom about whom we knew so very little in the first place. This was true for our failed wars, and it is also true for our efforts at democracy promotion.**

#### Neg- No U.S. credibility (anti-Americanism):

*(Amy Hawthorne [Carnegie Endowment], “Is Civil Society The Answer,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

Bush's speech broke new ground because it was the first time that a U.S. president had publicly criticized some of America's Arab allies for their authoritarian ways and had mentioned democratization so explicitly as a leading objective of U.S. Middle East policy. The real test of a genuine shift in U.S. policy, however, will be whether Washington can translate lofty rhetoric into effective policies to support genuine democratic change. This is an exceedingly difficult undertaking. For one thing**, in sharp contrast to Washington's last** high- profile, **regionwide democracy promotion initiative**—to consolidate the new democracies of **Eastern Europe** and the former Soviet Union **after the collapse of** state socialist and **communist rule there**—**the U**nited **S**tates **will pursue** this second track of **Middle East democracy promotion in countries that are not yet undergoing a transition away from authoritarian rule.** **Despite halting steps toward political reform in some Arab countries, no genuine democratization process has unfolded. As** several **decades of experience in** global **democracy promotion have shown, outside assistance has the greatest impact where indigenous momentum for democratic change is evident. Other obstacles** to robust U.S. engagement with Middle East democracy **are the United States' lack of credibility as a promoter of democracy in the region and widespread anti- Americanism.** **The** fallout from the attacks of September 11, 2001, **resentment** over perceived American indifference to Palestinian suffering, **and** the **unpopularity of the United States**— led occupation of Iraq **are strengthening these** long-running **currents in the Arab body politic.** Further complicating the picture are the continuing reluctance of the United States to antagonize friendly Arab governments by pressing them on democracy and the related concern that calling for rapid political openings will empower forces hostile to the United States. The Bush administration's grand rhetoric on Middle East democracy notwithstanding, in practical terms U.S. officials appear hesitant to rock the boat in friendly Arab states.

#### Neg- No U.S. credibility (Iraq backlash):

*(Thomas Carothers, Vice President for Studies at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, “Does Democracy Promotion Have a Future?,” Democracy and Development, http://carnegieendowment.org/2008/06/23/does-democracy-promotion-have-future/g7yc, June 23 2008)*

A second change in this decade, one completely unpredicted in 2000, has been **the reattachment of a democracy agenda to a geo-strategic agenda.** I refer of course to the U.S. war on terrorism. President **Bush** has **set forward democracy promotion** again and again **as a central element** and theme **of the war on terrorism. This has had a major effect on democracy promotion. This** is a complex topic with many facets, but let me just highlight a few parts of the picture. First, as I mentioned at the outset, the war on Iraq, which President Bush holds out as a central part of the war on terrorism, **has closely associated democracy promotion with a war that is** almost **universally reviled**, rejected and regretted **around the world**. **This association of democracy promotion with** what is widely viewed as unauthorised **military force, violations of rights and** a **horrendous** level of **violence** in Iraq, **has been devastating to the legitimacy of** the concept of **democracy promotion**. **Second**, President **Bush's more general association of democracy promotion with regime change has taken the associational damage of Iraq and broadened it. For** many **people in the world, democracy promotion has become a way of describing** efforts to get rid of governments that the **U**nited **S**tates does not like and a cover for **ouster efforts**. In other words, this is a reattachment of security interests with the democracy concept, whether vis-å-vis Syria, Iran or other countries.

#### Neg- No U.S. credibility (perceived as seeking U.S. interests alone):

*(Katerina Dalacoura, Lecturer in International Relations at the London School of Economics, “US Foreign Policy and Democracy Promotion in the Middle East: Theoretical Perspectives and Policy Recommendations,” Ortadoğu Etütleri, Volume 2, No 3, pp. 57-76, http://www.orsam.org.tr/en/enUploads/Article/Files/201082\_katerina.orsam.oetut.pdf, July 2010)*

**The starting point for supporters of democracy promotion** in the West and in the Middle East – as in other regions – **tends to be a cosmopolitan or universalist understanding of democracy**. According to this view, the fundamentals of democracy, as well as its underlying liberal principles, constitute part of an emerging international norm consensus and are applicable across the globe, irrespective of culture and religion and unhindered by political boundaries. More specifically in regards to the Middle East, advocates of democracy promotion oppose the view that democracy is inappropriate for Muslim societies or that it should take a different form from ‘Western’ democracy. **But not everyone shares the view that** the impact of **democracy promotion constitutes** the **benign diffusion of liberal norms**. **In the** post-9/11 **Middle East ‘democracy’ was often perceived as a Trojan horse for Western interests at the expense of local ones**. Rather than a validation of common humanity across regions and civilizations, **the promotion of democracy – similarly to the advocacy** and imposition **of neo-liberal economic reforms – was seen as part of the hegemonic project of the West** and a means **to perpetuate its** political, economic, military and cultural **domination**. According to Larbi Sadiki: ‘Perhaps the most negative aspect of the American promotion of democracy and human rights lies in its veiled imperialist motivation, both in the past during the height of the ideological standoff between communism and now as the United States further asserts its sole superpower status.’15 Resting on a long-standing tradition of Third Worldism and anti-imperialism, **such positions** remained widespread and extremely popular in the Middle East (as well as among the European left16), and **undermined the impact of democracy promotion** policies. For example, liberal or civil society **activists, even while sharing the cosmopolitan underpinnings of democracy promotion policies, would eschew** open **contact with US** and other Western visiting or embassy **officials and avoid**, at least visibly**, receiving** **material support from Western governments because it discredited them in the eyes of their fellow citizens as well as opening them to attacks from their own governments.** This perspective on democracy promotion shaped the way US policies were received in the Middle East and ultimately hindered their impact. The announcement of US policies of democracy promotion following 9/11 was greeted with profound skepticism in the region. One response was that the United States was being hypocritical and that the rhetoric on democracy hid underhanded and material motives – which would ultimately prevail and ensure continuous US support for Middle East dictators. **This view was reinforced by the perception that**, both **on its own home ground**, which included Guantanamo Bay, and abroad (for instance through supporting ‘extraordinary rendition’) **the U**nited **S**tates **was sidelining civil liberties in the ‘war on terror’.** A second response, by the informed public and also regional governments, was of resentment at the US arrogance that it could be an agent of democracy and its interference in the internal affairs of local states. **The lack of US credibility, due to its long history of involvement in the region** on the side of Israeli suppression of Palestinian rights and authoritarian Middle Eastern states, **came to haunt it** in the post-9/11 period. 17

#### Neg- No U.S. credibility (perceived as seeking U.S. interests alone):

*(Marina Ottaway [Carnegie Endowment], “The Problem of Credibility,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

BEGINNING IN EARLY 2002, the George W. Bush administration started paying unaccustomed attention to the issue of democracy in the Middle East. This was a result of the conclusion reached by many U.S. officials **in the wake of September 11**, 2001, that the authoritarianism of most Arab regimes was breeding frustration in their countries, and this frustration encouraged the growth of terrorist organizations. **The new** wave of **U.S. discussions about** the need for **democracy in the Middle East triggered a strong negative reaction by Arab commentators and journalists.** Initially, very little of their writing dealt with the problem of democracy in the real sense that is, with the issue of how Arab governments relate to their citizens now and how they should relate to their citizens in the future. Instead, Arab **commentators treated democracy as a foreign policy issue, asking why the U**nited **S**tates **was suddenly discussing democracy in the Arab world and what true intentions it was trying to hide behind the smoke screen of democracy** talk. **More recently**, however, the debate has broadened. **A growing number of Arab analysts have started** focusing on the problems of Arab political systems and **acknowledging the need for reform. Even the more liberal commentators, however, continue to express hostility toward the U**nited **S**tates **while calling for democratic change.** The debate in the Arab press reveals some of the obstacles that the United States faces as it attempts to define its new prodemocracy role in the Middle East.

#### Neg- No U.S. credibility (empirical failure/we’re bad at demo promo):

*(Musa al-Gharbi, social epistemologist with the Southwest Initiative for the Study of Middle East Conflicts, “Why America Lacks Credibility in the Middle East,” Foreign Policy in Focus, http://fpif.org/america-lacks-credibility-middle-east/, March 10 2015)*

**Credibility** is not about resolve. Strategic credibility **is** actually **about assuring partners that things will work out well for them if they throw their lot in with you. This perception plays a pivotal role in determining whether others will support or resist U.S. interests abroad.**  The primary way **agents establish themselves as credible** is **by making** good **decisions**, which means forming and executing policies **that generate positive outcomes for the** relevant **stakeholders**. **The stronger an agent’s track record**, the more likely others will be willing to get behind them — that is, **the more credibility they will have.** Incidentally, this is the secret to ISIS’ success: Regardless of how distasteful many find their methods and ideology, they have established themselves as one of the most effective forces at seizing territory from the governments of Iraq and Syria, making tangible progress in restoring a caliphate, and resisting the prevailing international order. **America**, on the other hand, **has a serious credibility problem in the Middle East. The results of U.S. interventions in the region have been consistently catastrophic: Whether in Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iraq, Yemen, Libya, or Syria,** **direct** **U.S. involvement is** usually **followed by an erosion of** state **governance, the empowerment of exploitative** sub-state and non-state **actors, and a dramatic rise in violence, civil tension, and unrest.**  **American indirect involvement, meanwhile, tends to empower corrupt, oppressive, and undemocratic forces — such as in Pakistan, Egypt, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, and Bahrain. In terms of achieving positive outcomes, America simply has absolutely no credibility in the Middle East.**

#### Neg- No U.S. credibility (hypocrisy):

*(Musa al-Gharbi, social epistemologist with the Southwest Initiative for the Study of Middle East Conflicts, “Why America Lacks Credibility in the Middle East,” Foreign Policy in Focus, http://fpif.org/america-lacks-credibility-middle-east/, March 10 2015)*

However, character is also important: **Moral credibility means a nation’s intentions and motivations are** more **likely to be trusted.**  Strategic and moral credibility are interrelated: Consistently generating good outcomes goes a long way toward bolstering one’s reputation. Even if the methods for achieving an objective seem questionable, they tend to be justified retrospectively if things turn out all right. In the interim, people are much more willing to extend the benefit of doubt to those with a strong track record of success. Conversely, moral credibility can help make up for occasional bad outcomes — an agent is afforded slack when things go awry if it’s perceived as being genuinely well-intentioned. However, when there are glaring inconsistencies between a government’s declared aspirations (say, promotion of democracy and human rights) and their means of realization (imposing Western socio-economic models at the expense of indigenous self-determination) — especially when paired with a general failure to realize stated objectives (producing chaos rather than order, be it liberal or otherwise) — these generate suspicion about its real intentions and motives. Hypocrisy Undermines “Resolve” **Part of what contributes to America’s cycle of** diplomatic and **military failures in the Middle East is an underlying distrust of the U**nited **S**tates **among most Arabs, which inspires** widespread ambivalence or **resistance to U.S. efforts** in the region. **The source of this deficit has** nothing **to do with** U.S. follow-through or resolve, as foreign policy hawks love to allege. One can be consistent with regards to backing up threats, etc. while still being a hypocrite in **the moral sphere.**  Indeed, this is precisely the problem America faces. **After decades of supporting the region’s dictators** with arms and money, **Washington has** now **formed a coalition with both the surviving local autocrats and the Middle East’s former imperial powers to “bring democracy”** to Syria and (once more) to Iraq. **Is it any surprise the “Arab street” is mistrustful?**  **It further fuels skepticism when America attempts to fight ISIS — a group largely empowered by previous U.S. support for other non-state actors in Iraq, Libya, and Syria — by training and arming new, ineffective, and unpopular proxy militias.** Moreover, these new groups are often aligned with, and trained in, Saudi Arabia — the power most responsible for proliferating the ideology embraced by the so-called “Islamic State.” **It seems disingenuous when the U.S. condemns Russia for funding non-state actors in Ukraine, or Pakistan for doing so in Afghanistan, or Iran in Lebanon — even as America expands its own support of insurgents in Syria.**  **The Arab public is outraged when U.S. policymakers decry human rights violations elsewhere while continuing to support Israel and shield it from international accountability** for its occupation of the West Bank or its wars on Gaza. **And it doesn’t help at all when the** Obama **administration**, among other failings, **declines to prosecute clear and grievous infractions like torture by its own intelligence agencies, while calling for regime change in other countries for the same sorts of infractions.**  **When American representatives lecture others about upholding the very international rules and norms the U.S. government systematically and unapologetically violates through its drone strikes and mass surveillance, enhanced interrogation, and extraordinary rendition programs, others will not take American rhetoric or ideals seriously.**  **These glaring contradictions imbue the entire** ethical **project with a cynical hue — undermining not just American credibility, but the general value of moral discourse on the world stage more generally. This breakdown, in turn, disrupts consensus building and cooperation, threatening the long-term viability of the rules-based international order Americans sacrificed so much in years past to establish and preserve.**

#### Neg- No U.S. credibility (hypocrisy):

*(Katerina Dalacoura, Lecturer in International Relations at the London School of Economics, “US Foreign Policy and Democracy Promotion in the Middle East: Theoretical Perspectives and Policy Recommendations,” Ortadoğu Etütleri, Volume 2, No 3, pp. 57-76, http://www.orsam.org.tr/en/enUploads/Article/Files/201082\_katerina.orsam.oetut.pdf, July 2010)*

**The starting point** for balancing universalist principles and the national **interest is for the U**nited **S**tates **to respect the rule of** domestic and **international law**.30 **Improving the US record**, as Obama has done, **for instance by** committing to **closing** down **Guantanamo** Bay **and desisting** from such infamous practices as ‘**extraordinary rendition’**, as well as coming down hard on the use of torture in all its forms, **is a start**. Michael Ignatieff’s suggested balancing of civil liberties and national security – in a policy aiming for the ‘lesser evil’ - offers a pragmatic guide for action on these issues.31 US and international law provides guidance in the dilemma between stability and security in US relations with allied governments in the Middle East. For example, these laws distinguish, even if imperfectly, between the selling of arms for defence, which is allowed, and for internal repression, which is not.32 **UN Security Council resolutions provide** an excellent, and indeed, **the only viable foundation for adjudication in** **the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.** In the words of Marina Ottaway of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace: **What the U**nited **S**tates **could offer Arab countries as a quid pro quo in a serious process of promoting political reform is an agreement about the** principles, **international laws**, and conventions **that all parties are committed to respecting**. **Arab countries have long complained that the U**nited **S**tates **violates many international principles in its Middle East policies.** Inevitably, much of the criticism centers on U.S. policies concerning Israel; for example, alleged American tolerance of Israeli transgressions of international laws regarding refugees or the conduct of occupying powers. But Arab governments also question the U.S. interpretation of the applicability of the Geneva conventions to Iraq or Guantanamo **and** **accuse Washington of applying different standards to different countries**—**for example**, holding President Omar Bashir accountable for killings in Sudan but seeking to bury the Goldstone report alleging Israeli war crimes during the war in Gaza or **criticizing Arab countries for not holding fair elections, while rejecting the legitimacy of Hamas’s victory in Palestine in an election widely deemed fair**.33 As Ottaway implies, **a consistent defence of civil liberties** by the United States **across the board would** also **provide the foundation** **for** engaging Islamists in a **political dialogue**. There are no easy policy options for the United States when many Islamist movements remain banned in their respective countries. There is no obvious solution to the Hamas conundrum when the latter continues to refuse to renounce terrorism, to honour past treaties and agreements and to recognise the existence of Israel while having been, on the other hand, the democratic choice of the Palestinian majority in 2006. These are political issues as much as legal ones. However, t**he U**nited **S**tates must **protest when the civil liberties of Islamist terrorist suspects**, and Islamists in general, **are violated and not focus solely on the persecution of secular opposition forces.** **High rhetoric on democracy must be replaced by its consistent defence by all levels of** diplomatic staff and other **officials**.34

#### Neg- Obama has no demo promo credibility:

*(Robert Pee, PhD from the University of Birmingham focusing on democracy promotion & national security, “US Foreign Policy Spotlight: Is Democracy Promotion in the Middle East Dead?,” UCD Clinton Institute for American Studies, http://eaworldview.com/2013/11/us-foreign-policy-spotlight-democracy-promotion-middle-east-dead/, Nov 27 2013)*

**The administration has** now **chosen to back existing** Arab **governments**, **as long as they support US security priorities, rather than weak liberal movements**, as vehicles for the achievement of US interests. The administration’s **recent funding requests** for foreign aid **make this** shift **clear**. The proportion of **US foreign aid to Middle East allocated for security assistance will increase** **from 69% to 80%** in the next 12 months, **while the proportion devoted to democracy promotion** programs **will increase from 3% to 4%.**  While **this** is an increase of 1% from the previous year, it **hardly shows a serious commitment to political reform.**  Furthermore, the Middle East Partnership Initiative, the premier US government channel for funding democratic civil society groups in the Arab world, is to be integrated into the State Department’s Office of the Co-ordinator for Middle East Transitions. While MEPI has not been an unqualified success it has sometimes bypassed Arab autocrats to support liberal groups and acted as a pro-reform voice within the US government. MEPI’s further integration into the State Department bureaucracy is likely to curb both these roles, leaving friendly Arab autocrats little to complain about. This also removes impediments to these Arab autocrats’ co-operation with the US’ new emphasis on securing Middle Eastern stability through intergovernmental relations, represented by Obama’s renewed focus on Israel/Palestine and Iran. **Without effective US government pressure on autocrats to open up political space and effective programs to strengthen liberal groups** in the Arab world, **there can be no progress on democracy promotion.**  It seems clear that **Obama has resolved the dilemma** faced by his own administration and George W. Bush’s — i.e. **whether to support** Arab **liberals and risk anarchy or Islamism, or to support** Arab **autocrats** and risk destabilising explosions of popular rage –– **by choosing** to support **the autocrats. This dilemma will recur under subsequent administrations**, and there is an important section of the wider foreign policy elite which will push for a resumption of democracy promotion. However, **the next administration will be even more poorly placed to pursue** it. Soft-pedalling **democracy promotion** now means that **Arab liberals will be weaker**; over-bureaucratisation of the democracy promotion machinery will erode its effectiveness; **while the US’ decreasing leverage over Middle Eastern governments due to growing Russian and Saudi influence will reduce its ability to pressure dictatorships in the region.**  As a result, future administrations will be even less likely to gamble on democracy promotion as a vehicle for stability. Low level democracy promotion through US government agencies and the National Endowment for Democracy will continue, as it does in other parts of the world, under Obama and his successors. However, **the use of democracy promotion by the US government as a vehicle for the creation of a friendly, secure and stable Middle East is over.**

#### Neg- Must do promo in every nation/limited promo worsens loss of credibility:

*(Michele Dunne [Georgetown University], “Integrating Democracy into the US Policy,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**In approaching the region, the U**nited **S**tates **should pursue** reform and **democratization with every country**, although the specific issues to be raised, the modes of engagement with government and nongovernment actors, and the kinds of influence the United States can bring to bear will differ significantly from one country to another. **Pursuing only softer targets (countries with governments already showing a propensity to reform**, such as Morocco, **or those with whom the U**nited **S**tates **shares** a limited set of **interests**, such as Tunisia) **while ignoring harder targets (close allies such as Saudi Arabia** or Egypt) **will only rob the policy of credibility and perpetuate the mistakes of the past.** At the same time, the United States should be ready to focus effort on special opportunities to promote reform, such as leadership successions or crises, and not miss them as it did with the Palestinians in the 1990s.

#### Neg- Citizens reject U.S. involvement:

*(David DeBartolo, Director of Dialogue Programs for the Project on Middle East Democracy & joint J.D. / M.A. in Arab Studies from Georgetown, “PERCEPTIONS OF U.S. DEMOCRACY PROMOTION PART ONE: MIDDLE EASTERN VIEWS,” http://pomed.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/05/pomed-perceptions-i-middle-east.pdf, May 2008)*

**Middle Easterners desire democracy** and political reform, **as** the **polling data** in this paper **demonstrate**. **Nevertheless, they are deeply critical of American involvement in reform in the region. Middle Easterners nearly universally greet any mention of American promotion of democracy with skepticism and suspicion, if not outright hostility. This widespread distrust is a legacy of three things: America’s historic support for Arab autocrats, the conflation of democracy promotion with the Iraq war, and the perceived unwillingness of America to accept democratic outcomes**. Historic U.S. support for friendly Arab autocrats continues to this day. The U.S. has a tight diplomatic and military alliance with the absolute monarchy in Saudi Arabia. Middle Easterners are well aware that Egypt and Jordan receive millions of dollars in American assistance annually. Iranians remember America’s staunch support for the Shah, and its sponsorship of a coup against democratically elected prime minister Mohammed Mossadegh in 1953. **America’s continuing relationships with Middle Eastern autocrats make U.S. pro-democracy rhetoric appear inconsistent with reality, and thus skeptical Middle Easterners search for ulterior American motives. Since 2003, many Middle Easterners associate U.S. “democracy promotion” with America’s occupation of Iraq. Needless to say, no Middle Easterners want to imitate the situation they see in Iraq, regardless of the fact that democratic elections were held there. When no w**eapons of **m**ass **d**estruction **were found, the administration tried to justify the war ex post facto as a war for democracy, thereby conflating “democracy promotion” with war in many Middle Easterners’ minds. American calls for democracy in other states are often interpreted as the prelude to war.** **And** in the early 1990s, America tacitly accepted the Algerian military’s annulment of an Islamist election victory, setting a precedent of not accepting democratic outcomes that were not in its self-interest. **The Bush administration’s response to Hamas’s victory in** the **Palestinian elections** last year has reinforced that perception. America’s refusal to engage the most freely and fairly elected Arab government **is interpreted** by many in the region **as meaning that only U.S.-friendly democratic outcomes are legitimate.** The American distinction between recognizing the electoral outcome as legitimate, which it has done, and engaging a Hamas government, which it has not, is not accepted in the Middle East.

*(David DeBartolo, Director of Dialogue Programs for the Project on Middle East Democracy & joint J.D. / M.A. in Arab Studies from Georgetown, “PERCEPTIONS OF U.S. DEMOCRACY PROMOTION PART ONE: MIDDLE EASTERN VIEWS,” http://pomed.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/05/pomed-perceptions-i-middle-east.pdf, May 2008)*

It is important to note, however, that **while Middle Easterners like the idea of democracy, they** generally **dislike American ideas about democracy**.6 See Figure 4. From 2002-2007, sizeable majorities in Turkey, Jordan, Egypt, Morocco, and the Palestinian Territories disliked U.S. ideas about democracy; the contest was only close in Kuwait and Lebanon. **The trend-lines are negative in every country in the region for which time-series data is available, except for Jordan**, where people are increasingly open to U.S. ideas about democracy. **The data indicates that Middle Easterners do not believe Americans have a monopoly on the meaning of democracy; they like the concept but disagree with America’s interpretation of it.**

#### Neg- Citizens reject U.S. involvement:

*(David DeBartolo, Director of Dialogue Programs for the Project on Middle East Democracy & joint J.D. / M.A. in Arab Studies from Georgetown, “PERCEPTIONS OF U.S. DEMOCRACY PROMOTION PART ONE: MIDDLE EASTERN VIEWS,” http://pomed.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/05/pomed-perceptions-i-middle-east.pdf, May 2008)*

A November 2006 Zogby poll suggests that **U.S efforts to promote democracy in the region have been perceived negatively by Middle Easterners.**23 **In no country did more than 26% of the respondents say that the “promotion of democracy” had a positive effect on their overall opinion of America, and the percentage of respondents saying that U.S. democracy promotion had a negative effect on their opinion ranged from 42%** in Egypt **to 80%** in Morocco. See Figure 10. **The region-wide average,** weighted by population, **shows** about **19% saying that U.S. democracy promotion had a positive effect on their** overall **opinion of America; 58% said it had a negative effect**.24 In several countries, there is a dramatic disconnect between Middle Easterners’ feelings about American democracy and about how the U.S. promotes democracy. For example, the same question in the Zogby 2006 poll shows that Saudis admire American freedoms: 41% said that American freedom and democracy had improved their overall opinion of the U.S., while 31% said that it made a negative impression.25 See Fig- ure 11. In the same question, however, only 7% of Saudis said that America’s promotion of democracy had a positive impact on their overall opinion of the U.S. – compared to 79% who said the opposite. With the exception of Egypt, this stark divergence between admiration for American democracy and for American democracy promotion can be seen in each country.

*(Amy Hawthorne [Carnegie Endowment], “The New Reform Ferment,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**A crosscutting theme** among the three perspectives **is the rejection of,** or at best a very grudging attitude toward, **the role of outsiders, especially the U**nited **S**tates**, in promoting reform**. A small minority of supporters of the liberal perspective endorse U.S. involvement.9 **Most liberals**, however, **accept the value of Western** institutions and **practices but sharply reject any role for the United States**. **Moderate Islamists** **are** almost **universally** deeply **hostile to outside interference, particularly from the U**nited **S**tates. Indeed, the first item in the Muslim Brotherhood's reform plan refers to the need to reject all foreign- generated reform plans as interference in Egyptian affairs. Proponents of the modernization agenda are divided on the issue of Western involvement. The **governments** of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Syria **have made a point of rejecting outside recommendations on reform**, criticizing the Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative in particular **as a Western attempt to impose change**. Other governments are less harsh. **They repeatedly state the need to pursue only indigenous plans for reform** but are favorable to outside assistance if appropriate. Only the Jordanian government has directly welcomed U.S. support for reform, even creating a ministry of political development to coordinate foreign reform aid.

#### Neg- Citizens reject U.S. involvement:

*(Marina Ottaway [Carnegie Endowment], “The Problem of Credibility,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

It is also important to consider what this barrage of articles indicates about the attitudes of **the intellectual elite** to which these writers belong, an elite whose involvement **will be crucial to any process of democratization. These writers are well educated and often have degrees from Western universities. They have all had some exposure to the West. Many have lived in the U**nited **S**tates, **were happy there, and like going back on visits. They are, in other words, the people who could be expected to have the greatest** interest in and **aspirations for democracy. Yet their suspicion of the U**nited **States leads them to concentrate first on what they perceive to be the hypocrisy and contradictions of U.S. policy, and only secondarily on the problems of their own political systems. In turn, these journalists and analysts are read by, and thus influence** to an extent, the better educated segment of the population—**the professionals** and businessmen **who also must embrace the cause of democracy if the change is to take place.**

#### Neg- Progress is coopted by regimes/solidifies authoritarians:

*(Katerina Dalacoura, Lecturer in International Relations at the London School of Economics, “US Foreign Policy and Democracy Promotion in the Middle East: Theoretical Perspectives and Policy Recommendations,” Ortadoğu Etütleri, Volume 2, No 3, pp. 57-76, http://www.orsam.org.tr/en/enUploads/Article/Files/201082\_katerina.orsam.oetut.pdf, July 2010)*

US democracy promotion policies and/or the rhetoric that surrounded them did, however, set off an eager debate in the Middle East.18 They also led to a brief and narrow opening of political space. For example, as the Mubarak regime realized it had to respond to growing US pressure for reform, it allowed some leeway for civil society and political organizations. The Kifaya (‘Enough’) movement, bringing together secular and Islamist protesters against the regime, emerged partly as a result of this relaxation. A desire to pander to the Americans was also a major factor in Mubarak’s decision to amend article 76 of the Egyptian constitution to allow multi-party presidential elections for the first time.19 Despite these developments, however, **the overall effect of US democracy promotion policies on the** politics of the **Middle East** region **was shallow and superficial**. **A number of grand conferences, such as the ones at Alexandria, Sana’a and Doha**, held in 2004, **brought Arab governments together with intellectuals and public figures to discuss reform. The declarations which ensued**, although fervent, **were too** general and **unspecific to be threatening to** individual **regimes**. 20 **Governments undertook** a number of **steps** **which** appeared substantial but **were designed to deflect criticism by giving the impression of movement in the direction of reform.** **One example was the** above mentioned **constitutional amendment of the Egyptian presidential election process whose impact was to divert political debate and silence critics without permitting true pluralism in the presidential race**.21 Another was elections in Saudi Arabia and other Gulf Cooperation Council countries to various assemblies and councils. These elections may have given the appearance of reform but were in fact extremely circumscribed events which barely touched authoritarian structures. **Even such pandering by Middle East governments to the US democracy promotion policy petered out by 2005**-06. The election in December 2005 of eighty-eight Muslim Brotherhood (nominally independent) candidates to the Egyptian parliament and the electoral victory of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas) in January 2006 in the Palestinian Occupied Territories brought home for the United States the fact that freer elections in the Middle East would likely mean gains for Islamist anti-Western opposition movements. Despite the 2005 national elections in Iraq, the bloodshed continued as the insurgency and inter-sectarian fighting took its toll. **The perception of failure in Iraq led to** US **disillusionment** with the democracy promotion project in the region as a whole. **As the U**nited **S**tates **started to back-track** from its commitment to democratic change, **authoritarian Middle East regimes reversed tentative reforms and clamped down on the limited democratic openings they had allowed** over the previous two to three years.22

#### Neg- Progress is coopted by regimes/solidifies authoritarians:

*(Lisa Curtis, Senior Research Fellow for South Asia in the Asian Studies Center at The Heritage Foundation, “Championing Liberty Abroad to Counter Islamist Extremism,” Heritage Foundation, Backgrounder #2518, http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2011/02/championing-liberty-abroad-to-counter-islamist-extremism, Feb 9 2011)*

The Need for Smart Democracy Promotion

**As the U.S. promotes democratic principles** and institutions **abroad**, **it** also **needs to be aware of efforts by autocratic forces to counter democratic progress. Leaders** of autocratic regimes, especially those **who** rely on economic windfalls from extractive industries or are part of an oligarchy whose interests are served by the state’s wealth, seek to **undercut support for** indigenous **democratic movements** and **have become increasingly adept at doing so. Authoritarian regimes** often **invest** **significant resources into** managing and **manipulating the media to promote anti-democratic values. Autocrats are also becoming skilled in establishing “pseudo-democracies” and using the word “democracy” to argue for anti-democratic standards**.[28] **The U.S. needs to better understand these anti-democratic forces** in individual countries and actively counter their strategies.

United States Institute of Peace Vice President Steven Heydemann has recently written about a phenomenon he calls “authoritarian learning.” Heydemann asserts that **authoritarian states are beginning to organize themselves into a group that is systematically seeking to counterbalance Western, liberal democratic order.** He argues that **Iran, Russia, Venezuela, China, and other authoritarian states coordinate their policies and share success stories of deflecting pressure to democratize. They share this “authoritarian learning” with Arab regimes** to help them resist Western pressure for political reform.[29] **China’s rapid economic growth** under an autocratic regime **has made the authoritarian** **model** of governance **more appealing and thus poses a serious challenge** to democratic reform.[30]

#### Neg- Progress is coopted by regimes/solidifies authoritarians:

*(Thomas Carothers [Carnegie Endowment], “Choosing a Strategy,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**Programs to expand civil society** often consist of **funding** for **NGOs** devoted to public- interest advocacy, such as on human rights, the environment, and anticorruption; support for women's rights organizations; **strengthening independent media**; and underwriting formal and informal **efforts to advance democratic** civic **education**. Such indirect aid for democracy in the Arab world has several attractive aspects. All of these types of work unquestionably touch on areas of Arab sociopolitical life that need improvement. They **are a collection of what Western aid providers and policy makers tend to consider "good things" that they believe should have relevance in every region of the world.** Moreover, these sorts of activities often find a narrow but real response in the host societies, heartening democracy promoters and persuading them of the value of their work. Even if there is blockage at the central political level, there may well be, for example, some judges interested in trying to improve judicial efficiency, some decent local politicians eager to learn how to better serve their constituents, or some NGO leaders with admirable talents and courage. And the democracy aid community has a well-established capacity to deliver this kind of assistance. If a U.S. embassy or USAID mission in a country wants to develop a broad portfolio of indirect aid for democracy, the mechanisms exist to do so fairly easily and quickly, provided sufficient funds are made available. A further attraction—at least from the point of view of U.S. officials wary of stepping on the toes of friendly Arab governments—is that most of these kinds of democracy programs can be initiated (though not necessarily successfully completed) without irritating host governments. Most Arab governments are willing to tolerate these sorts of activities, within limits. They may hope that the governance programs will render the state more capable of solving citizens' problems and burnish their own legitimacy as reformist regimes, even as they drag their feet on the necessary institutional changes. They are less likely to be fond of the civil society activities but tend to put up with them, as long as such efforts are not too assertive, do not help Islamist groups, and generally give host governments some control over which groups receive the foreign support. **The nonthreatening nature of indirect aid for democracy is** attractive to U.S. officials but also **a sign of the central weakness of this approach.** Valuable as this aid can be, there is a danger that U.S. policy makers eager to show that the United States is taking seriously the challenge of Middle Eastern democracy will expect too much from it. **Efforts to improve governance and to broaden civil society work best in countries that are actually attempting to democratize**—that is, **where an authoritarian government has been replaced** with a new elected government **or else has made a decision to move seriously toward a real democratic process. These efforts are designed as ways to further democratic consolidation, not as fundamental drivers of democratization itself.** They can certainly be attempted **in countries engaged in limited political liberalization.** But in such contexts, **they are likely to fit within** the boundaries of **that political arrangement**, perhaps widening the boundaries a bit but **not altering the basic political equation. They may in fact help strengthen semiauthoritarian regimes by giving frustrated citizens the impression that** important **reforms are taking place, thereby bleeding off** a certain amount of accumulated **internal pressure for change. To put it more bluntly**, it is very possible that **outside democracy promoters can work for years helping to increase judicial efficiency, augment the capacities of parliamentarians, train local mayors, nourish civic advocacy, foster greater women's rights, and promote more democratic civic education without contributing to a basic change of regime type.** In such contexts, **long-surviving semiauthoritarian regimes** such as those in Egypt, Jordan, and Morocco **are masters at absorbing liberalizing reforms without really changing their core political structures.**

#### Neg- Progress is coopted by regimes/solidifies authoritarians:

*(Kristina Kausch, “Worldwide promotion of democracy: challenges, role, and strategy of the European Union,” Worldwide promotion of democracy: challenges, role and strategy of the European Union, Proceedings of a conference organised by the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftunghttp://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\_11856-1522-2-30.pdf?110504154444, June 5-6 2007)*

**The quality of a democracy promotion policy starts with the clarity of its objective:** what is the aim of a democracy promotion policy in a particular country? Is the ultimate aim a broad systemic political change, selective reform in specific areas, or stabilisation of the regime? **What seems like obvious common wisdom does not come naturally to** European **policy practice.** **Much of the** European ‘political’ **funding** (EU and member states) **goes to** specific h**uman rights and good governance issues, but it is not** always **evident that these** selective **measures actually have a positive impact on political reform in a broader sense. For example, civil society funding that helps pressure groups successfully push the regime into introducing liberalising reforms**, which are often extremely important and valuable in and of themselves (for example womens’ rights groups pushing for reform of the civil code in Morocco or Algeria), in some cases **also serve to actually close off prospects of systemic political reform**. **Similarly, many** European **governance projects** appear to have **strengthened the policy-making capacity of ruling elites and thereby helped to shore-up incumbent regimes**. Moreover, as recipients can be critical of specific human rights issues and pro-regime at the same time, clarity of objective and **strategy** are important to reduce the risk of adverse effects. In consequence, it is necessary to ask if the priority is **to create ‘islands of improvement’** in selected focus areas (basic human rights for example), or to work towards a broader agenda of systemic political reform. The former option **is likely to be used in some** semi-**authoritarian regimes to postpone** more **comprehensive** systemic **reforms**. So far, neither member states nor EU institutions have made a clear choice in favour of broader systemic objectives in their general democracy promotion approaches.

#### Neg- U.S. involvement= backlash against demo:

*(Katerina Dalacoura, Lecturer in International Relations at the London School of Economics, “US Foreign Policy and Democracy Promotion in the Middle East: Theoretical Perspectives and Policy Recommendations,” Ortadoğu Etütleri, Volume 2, No 3, pp. 57-76, http://www.orsam.org.tr/en/enUploads/Article/Files/201082\_katerina.orsam.oetut.pdf, July 2010)*

Democracy promotion has been a significant element in US policy towards the Middle East since the end of the Cold War. It continued to be so, even after the passing of its peak with the neo-conservative phase in US policy following the attacks of 9/11. The debate on democracy has played a role in the relationship between the United States and Middle East in multiple ways. It has contributed to the dynamic shaping of identities between the various players which is highlighted by a constructivist approach to foreign policy and international relations. This contribution has not always been benign or positive. The United States has often appeared in the role of the ‘carrier’ or vehicle of democratic values in the Middle East. Irrespective of the reality of US policy in the region – marked by support for Israeli suppression of Palestinian rights and the authoritarian practices of Arab regimes – the self-perception by a large part of US policy makers and the American public is that they are the champions of democracy and liberal values there. This self-perception is constantly reinforced by the position increasingly assumed by the Middle East – and the Islamic world more generally – as the ‘Other’ against which ‘the West’ defines itself.35 Generalization on such issues is always problematic because it relies on anecdotal evidence, but it seems obvious to this observer that the opposite reaction is played out **in the Middle East** on many levels. **The view that the U**nited **S**tates **is using ‘democracy’ as an instrument to further its own interests leads to a sense of perpetual grievance**, **fuelled by the idea that the Middle East** and the Islamic world more generally **are invaded and ‘violated’ by Western culture**. **The perception that democracy is part and parcel of a US hegemonic project has damaged its prospects** in the region. **It** also **leads to a distancing from** the United States and the values of **democracy** which it purports to stand for. As the Middle East and the Islamic world become increasingly defined as everything that the Western ‘Other’ is not, **the ‘clash of civilisations’ becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy**.

*(Shibley Telhami, Anwar Sadat professor for peace and development at the University of Maryland and a non-resident senior fellow at the Saban Center of the Brookings Institution,“Is Spreading Democracy in Middle East a Bad Idea?,” NPR, Intelligence² Debates, http://www.npr.org/2007/09/26/14569417/is-spreading-democracy-in-middle-east-a-bad-idea, Originally published Sept 26 2007, updated Nov 23 2012, accessed March 15 2016)*

"I think, **if you look at what has happened** over the past five years **as a consequence of** this policy of **spreading democracy** by force, is that **we have a** public and **Arab world that doesn't believe us** ... **we have less democracy, more anarchy, more instability, more terrorism** — **and** even worse, the **growing American dependence on the very institutions and** the very **governments that need to be reformed.** In essence, **we have given democracy a bad name. It is hard for people in the region, including people who** badly and desperately **are looking for democracy and freedom, to think of democracy and freedom the American way without thinking about the horrors of Iraq."**

#### Neg- U.S. involvement kills local movements:

*(Ashley Barnes, writer focusing on democratic theory and the Middle East, “U.S. Democracy Promotion in the Arab World: an Undemocratic Project,” Muftah [think tank focusing on providing English-language analyses of Middle East & North Africa issues], http://muftah.org/u-s-democracy-promotion-in-the-arab-world-an-undemocratic-project/#.VuHjxfkrIgu, July 1 2013)*

**Democracy promotion aid is tied to specific programs and messages**. Certain **programs that align with American interests** **typically are** acceptable to Arab regimes, **with elite staff members who speak English. Discussions and projects already happening in the Arab world, which are most effective at addressing local problems, are drowned out by discussions the U**nited **S**tates **wants to have**—**discussions that are typically far less politically-threatening to authoritarian incumbents than those being promoted by independent, indigenous actors.**  **For instance, in Palestine in the 1990s, the** vast **majority of** international **democracy aid went to programs that supported the Oslo Accords, and went through the** Palestinian National Authority (**PNA**) to get to them. **This created a polarized environment** in Palestinian politics. **Groups that** were supporters or **had the support of the PNA had access to** the **huge** amount of **money** pouring in from foreign governments, **while independent organizations were either forced into co-optation or** at constant risk of being **shut down**. **If organizations rely on the state for their existence, they are far less likely to be critical of it, and much less advocate for its demise – the ultimate end of democratization.** Of the hundreds of millions of dollars spent in the Occupied Territories in the 1990s, not a single project was funded that addressed the Israeli occupation, though this was clearly the most critical element of Palestinian political discourse. During the First Intifada, discussion of the occupation was front and center and accompanied by active, independent community building in the Territories. With the entry of democracy promotion aid this discussion became fractured, and as a Palestinian civil society member once stated, “This is all to convince us that we have a government and we need to respond to it, and to convince us that we do not have a larger goal of fighting the occupation.” Democracy aid has clearly attempted to shift debates, rather than enhance already bubbling dissent. **The discussions and projects fostered by democracy promotion are** very much **Western creations rather than natural outgrowths from Arab societies. In the same way funding streams work in the West,** civil society **organizations pursue projects for which they can receive funding, regardless of whether they are** as **helpful or necessary** as projects they had undertaken before.

#### Neg- U.S. involvement kills local movements:

*(Mark Weisbrot, co-director of the Centre for Economic and Policy Research & president of Just Foreign Policy, “Why American 'democracy promotion' rings hollow in the Middle East,” The Guardian, http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/cifamerica/2012/jan/31/american-democracy-promotion-rings-hollow, Jan 31 2012)*

Who knows what the IRI is doing **in Egypt**? But we know what **the US government has** done there: **supported a brutal dictatorship for decades right up to the point where mass protests made it clear that Washington could not stop Mubarak's ouster by a real**, popular, **democratic movement** last year. The IRI and NDI are core grantees of the National Endowment for Democracy, an organization that conducts activities "much of [which]" the "CIA used to fund covertly", as the Washington Post reported when the Endowment was being created in the early 1980s. These organizations will sometimes support democracy, but often do not, or are even against it. This is not because they are inherently evil, but because of the position of the United States in the world. **The U**nited **S**tates **government**, more than any other in the world**, is running an empire. By their nature, empires are about power and control over other people in distant lands. These goals will generally conflict with** many people's **aspirations for democracy and national self-determination. Nowhere is this more obvious than in the Middle East**, where the US government's policy of collaboration with Israel's denial of Palestinian national rights has put it at odds with populations throughout the region. As a result, **Washington fears democracy in many countries because it will inevitably lead to more governments taking the side of the Palestinians, and opposing other US ambitions in the region, such as its desire for military bases and alliances. Even in Iraq, where Washington brags about having toppled a dictatorship, the people had to fight the occupying authorities for the right to hold national elections, and then to kick US troops out of the country**. **This creates a vicious cycle in which hated and often repressive governments are supportive of US foreign policy, and these governments receive US support, increasing regional animosity toward the United States.** In some cases, **it also leads to terrorist attacks against US** institutions or **citizens, which is then used** by our leaders **to justify** long or **endless wars (**for example, Iraq and Afghanistan). **A poll of Arab public opinion** (pdf) **by the University of Maryland and Zogby International,** which included Egypt, **asked respondents to "name** two **countries that are the biggest threat to you": 88% named the United States**, and 77% named Israel; only 9% chose Iran. **Another ugly side-effect of US** government-**sponsored "democracy-promotion" is that it helps governments that want to repress authentic, national, pro-democracy movements. Most of the repressive governments in the Middle East** and North Africa **have tried to delegitimize their opponents with the taint of association with Washington, in most cases falsely.** In Egypt, before the raids on foreign organizations, the government arrested youth activists associated with the April 6th movement, and other activists.

#### Neg- U.S. involvement kills local movements:

*(Amy Hawthorne [Carnegie Endowment], “The New Reform Ferment,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

The main reason is that, closely controlled governments demonstrate to that reform is still by authoritarian while eager to the international community that the Arab world is not as retrograde as it is often portrayed to be, feel under pressure to reforms. For advocates of who want to no immediate domestic introduce far-reaching different reasons, neither liberal reform nor those build Islamic states have been able to force governments to enact the changes they want. **Arab liberals**, who are **issuing** the most pointed and extensive **demands for democratic reform, are still weak and isolated. The increased attention that democracy enthusiasts outside the Middle East have paid to Arab liberals' activities in the past few years has magnified their significance in Western policy circles but has not increased their influence within the Arab world. Indeed, the attention paid to them by** the Bush administration and by **Western democracy advocates** may **isolate them even more within their own societies, where they are often denounced as too close to the U**nited **S**tates. **They remain** a very elite group, **repressed by regimes and operating** primarily **as individuals with no significant constituency. As a consequence, they easily are marginalized by Arab governments or**, conversely, **co-opted. Many end up working for reform within ruling parties**, or concentrate their efforts on signing broad, regionwide reform manifestos. Many are less able, or less willing, to take an open stand on reform issues at home. Arab governments reinforce this caution by showing tolerance, or even approval, for regional meetings that issue general about statements democracy, while cracking down on domestic political activism that touches on specific issues of local concern, even when couched in the most polite form. For example, the Bahraini authorities arrested democracy activists for circulating a petition demanding constitutional reform, and the Saudi is putting on trial government prominent liberal reformers who called for a fully independent human rights commission. **The moderates within the Islamist camp who are calling for democratic reforms have gained prominence** in the past three years, **but their influence remains marginal within the Islamist movement. Their endorsements of democratic reform are directed** as much **to Western audiences** as to their compatriots. They write about the need for democracy and issue statements to that effect, but there is no sign that democratic change has become a leading topic at Friday mosque sermons, a leading channel of mass communication throughout the Arab world. At the popular level, **the dominant political theme preached by Islamists is still hostility toward U.S.** policies and Western cultural **influence**. **Moderate Islamists, furthermore, are as isolated outside Islamist circles as they are inside them. Arab governments do not trust them, fearing they** are simply the more presentable face of a radical movement that **want**s **to grab power as soon as there is a democratic opening. Most democrats also remain suspicious.** Despite the Muslim Brotherhood's fledgling attempts to build bridges to secular opposition parties in Egypt, the polarization between the liberal and Islamist camps remains, precluding the emergence of broad coalitions for democratic change. Western countries, furthermore, are hardly rushing to embrace moderate Islamists as partners for their vision of transforming the Middle East. The United States in particular appears even more wary about the inclusion of moderate Islamist groups than it was before the September 11 attacks. **This leaves incumbent regimes in control of the reform agenda**, at least for now. **As a result, they introduce measures that they believe will benefit their image in the outside world** and may buy them time domestically **but that do not infringe on their own power** and prerogatives. They shrewdly allow their citizens to talk about reform as a safety valve for discontent, as the expansion of red lines of political discourse in the past few years demonstrates. So far, Arab **regimes have proven quite adept at balancing the need to demonstrate** to the world—and to some extent to their own citizens—their **willingness to change, without allowing the reform process to gather** a **momentum** they will not be able to stop**. Whether the reform ferment will**  remain largely in the sphere of discourse, or **spur** the beginning of **a** wide-reaching political **shift toward democracy, depends on numerous factors. One is the capacity of liberal reformers to attract the popular support they are now sorely lacking**, by developing an appealing social agenda to accompany their abstract political demands. **Another is the ability of moderate Islamists to forge alliances with secular opposition forces and to gain influence within Islamist circles. A third factor is** the future traject01Y of the war on terrorism and the outcome of the situations in Iraq and Palestine. All are currently fueling **anti-American sentiment that complicates the reform agenda by tainting in the popular mind its most vigorous proponents as agents of U.S. plans to undermine Islam.**

#### Neg- U.S. involvement kills local movements:

*(Amy Hawthorne [Carnegie Endowment], “Is Civil Society The Answer,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

The Real Challenge **Aiding civil society abroad is more difficult than it might seem.** This is not only because **civil society is likely to play a more modest role in democratization than is often expected. Improving assistance** in the ways described above **will require** policy makers and aid providers to display a level of **patience, flexibility, and knowledge of local history, language, and culture that is** typically **lacking in U.S. democracy assistance, especially when** the **pressure is on to demonstrate quick results to Congress.** Furthermore, **despite the hubris that permeates the current U.S. discourse about "transforming" the Middle East, the most important factors affecting civil society's democratizing potential** in Arab countries (or in any country for that matter) **are beyond outsiders'** direct **influence**. U.S. assistance at best can play a modest positive role. Effective civil society assistance requires a sense of genuine partnership and a vision for change that is shared by donors and civil society organizations. In this regard**, the Middle East poses a profound challenge in that civil society assistance cannot be separated from the broader context of U.S. relations with the Arab world. Such relations**, though never close, **have only grown more volatile since Washington launched the** new **policy of promoting democracy in the region.** **Widespread opposition to U.S. policy in Iraq and the Palestinian territories may be fostering** a **solidarity** previously lacking **among polarized sectors of civil society**. It remains to be seen whether this will spill over into the realm of domestic politics and lead to the forging of new coalitions for democratic change. In the meantime, **the anti-American tone of Arab political discourse** and the security concerns across the region **make it difficult for U.S. officials to reach out to** new parts of **civil society.** **This** tension **is also leading civil society groups**—especially those with the most credibility—**to steer clear of U.S. assistance for fear that** accepting **it will taint them irrecoverably.** Exacerbating this situation are U.S. counterterrorism measures, which require extensive vetting of all NGOs that are potential recipients of U.S. funding.37 **Thus** until U.S.—Arab relations improve, **U.S. attempts to reach out** meaningfully **to Arab civil society are likely to be complicated by the realities of regional politics as much as by the challenges of democracy promotion.**

#### Neg- U.S. involvement kills local movements:

*(Marina Ottaway [Carnegie Endowment], “The Missing Constituency for Democratic Reform,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**The transformation of democracy into an ideal with mass appeal has so far not taken place in the Arab world. The reason is** not **found** in the peculiarities of Arab or Islamic cultures, but **in historical circumstances.** **First**, after an auspicious beginning in the 1920s and 1930s, when nationalism helped spread democracy in Egypt and some other countries, **mass ideologies** in the Arab world **have remained antidemocratic**. **Second**, the presence of the state of Israel has perpetuated in the Arab world a **suspicion of** Western intentions and **Western ideas, including democracy.** **Like all countries that experienced colonialism, Arab states** in the 1950s and 1960s were seeking to **distance themselves from the West** not only **politically but also ideologically**. Reluctance to embrace what were perceived as Western—rather than universal—values in the name of cultural identity was widespread in this period. In most parts of the world, opposition to Western values declined as people learned from experience that the home- developed alternatives were worse. Disenchantment set in in the Arab world as well, but **reluctance to accept democracy was prolonged by** the reality of the Arab—Israeli conflict and the Arab perception that **Western** countries, and in particular the United States, blindly supported Israel and were indifferent to the plight of the Palestinians. In this climate of nationalist **resentment**, **the U**nited **S**tates' **criticism of Arab governments**, which has become more open since September 11, **and its**  new **agenda of democracy promotion in the Arab world** have become another aggravating factor in the relations with Arab countries, rather than a bridge to Arab reformers. **When the U**nited **S**tates **talks about the need to promote democracy in the Arab world, reform- minded Arabs** appear to **cringe rather than rejoice. They question why the same country that supports Israel, condones the injustice toward Palestinians, and has been tolerant of authoritarian Arab regimes now wants democracy. They bristle at the idea that the U**nited **S**tates **can contribute to reform** in the Arab world. T**he invasion of Iraq has made the situation worse by giving pan-Arab nationalism a new boost and by heightening suspicions of**  real **American intentions in the region. The end result is that even the most ardent supporters of democratic reform seek to distance themselves from the U**nited **S**tates **and to make clear that their democratic agenda is not the same as that of the U**nited **S**tates. **Far from being a beacon for democrats** as it was in Eastern Europe, **in the Arab world the U**nited **S**tates **is a complicating factor.**

#### Neg- Local movements solve/U.S. efforts fail:

*(Ashley Barnes, writer focusing on democratic theory and the Middle East, “U.S. Democracy Promotion in the Arab World: an Undemocratic Project,” Muftah [think tank focusing on providing English-language analyses of Middle East & North Africa issues], http://muftah.org/u-s-democracy-promotion-in-the-arab-world-an-undemocratic-project/#.VuHjxfkrIgu, July 1 2013)*

**Who Says Arabs Need Democracy Promotion?**  The United States does not have veto power over Arab democracy, and Arabs need not be subject to the will of the United States or any other Western power. The fact that the United States does not control the Arab world does not, however, change either the fact that the United States believes it can shape the region or the fact that it is attempting to use its power to serve its own self-interest. **Democracy promotion is neither necessary nor helpful in** ‘creating democrats’ or **helping people to take control of their political destiny**. As the ‘Arab Spring’ shows, especially in the case of Syria, **even in face of some of the most repressive regimes in the world, and with little experience in formal politics, people will fight for their rights and for democracy regardless of what the West does or does not do.** While none of the regimes affected by the Arab Spring, with the possible exception of Tunisia and Egypt, have achieved democracy yet, it is also true that a critical mass of people in the Arab world can rightly be called democrats without having received any substantial help from the United States. People in the Arab world do not need seminars about women’s rights or how to fight corruption to be able to participate in politics or care about pluralism. For decades, Arabs have non-violently called for democratic rights. The First Palestinian Intifada is one of the most beautiful examples in modern history of people politically organizing and taking some vestige of control over their communities – and it happened well before western aid started pouring into the Occupied Territories. **Between 2004 and 2010 over 2 million Egyptians went on strike, mainly by organizing their own independent trade unions, which they had little or no experience doing before. In 2011, we all witnessed the scenes of protesting Copts in Egypt protecting praying Muslims from government thugs, as well as Muslims protesting in response to the military massacre of Copts later that year. These were not the result of US interference. Neither was the grassroots development of the Local Coordinating Committees in Syria, nor the massive Palestinian solidarity protests in Jordan during the Second Intifada.**  Conclusion The Arab world did not passively wait for 2011— **in the face of incredible state brutality largely funded by the United States, huge numbers of people have participated in protests, strikes, sit-ins, computer hackings, teach-ins and every other kind of political action across the Arab world, in numbers far greater than ever could have been achieved through** short term, poorly planned **US democracy promotion** activities. **These people see it as their prerogative to be involved in determining their political destiny, which is the fundamental definition of a democrat.**  **Democracy promotion tactics** are part and parcel with securing larger US interests around the world. These efforts **are not innocent or a-political**. **They are**, by their very nature**, the efforts of external and unaccountable powers attempting to shape and control the internal dynamics of other countries.** In sum, **the** systemic **problems of democracy promotion ensure that the relationship between the U**nited **S**tates **and Arab world remains one of power and domination.**

#### Neg- Anti-U.S. sentiment= promo will undermine support for democracy itself:

*(Thomas Carothers, Vice President for Studies at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, “Does Democracy Promotion Have a Future?,” Democracy and Development, http://carnegieendowment.org/2008/06/23/does-democracy-promotion-have-future/g7yc, June 23 2008)*

So the three drivers of positive change in the 1990s, the advance of democracy, the detachment of democracy promotion from a conflictive geo-political security framework, and the positive idea that economic development and democracy necessarily go hand in hand, are **now in question in the world**. The result **is** new doubt about **the legitimacy of the concept of democracy promotion itself, as well as a renewed questioning of the Western democratic model.** **When I speak to audiences** **in** the developing world, whether in Asia, **the Middle East**, substantial parts of South Asia or Sub- Saharan Africa, **the first question I** often **hear is** now: "**Why are you so sure that your model of democracy is right for us?"** That question had faded considerably in the 1990s but it is now very much back. In addition, for the first time **there is serious resistance to democ- racy assistance activities**. The Russian government has been setting out a very strong line on this. The Russian government has decided that it is going to oppose Western democracy assistance. President Putin openly criticises U.S. democracy aid programmes. The government is making it more difficult for Western democracy promotion organisations to operate in Russia and warning its neighbours about the purported dangers of such activities. The Russians are trying to block the OSCE's democracy assistance func- tions, such as election observation. In short, **Russia is carrying out a** systematic, **sophisticated campaign against Western democracy assistance. But the backlash does not come just from Russia**. As I described in a recent article in Foreign Affairs called "The backlash against democracy promotion," **one sees this phenomenon in many places.l Ethiopia** kicked out some U.S. democracy promoters recently. So too did **Bahrain**. **Nepal** has made it harder for interna- tional NGOs to operate there. **Peru** recently passed a restrictive law limiting funding of NGOs. **One can name many points on this new map. There is a rising sentiment in the world of: "We were uncer- tain about this democracy aid in the 1990s but we have woken up** to what it is all about and we are not sure we like it." There are many open statements articulating a fear of foreign-backed colour revolutions. This troubled situation of democracy promotion is a manifestation of the fact that the overall state of international relations has changed significantly from the 1990s. **We are no longer in a world in which there is** a growing **international consensus on political values**. We are in a world in which there is less consensus on basic political values and increased conflict about them. We are in a world in which consensus on even the ability or right of other countries trying to promote certain parts of a political consensus is now in question. **What does this mean for democracy promotion**? Well, obviously it means **harder times. It is harder to establish trust with partners and with governments.** Let me give **one example**. It is a microscopic example but an indicative one. I **was in Indonesia** doing some research a couple of years ago **and working with me was an Indonesian man**, who was **working with the Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy. He told me he had** just **seen a couple of Indonesian parliamentarians about a programme his organisation was hoping to develop** in Indonesia. **One** of these parliamentarians had **said** to him: "**This is** part of **a democracy promotion programme, isn't it? We don't want that** sort of thing in our country." **'This fellow** was a bit surprised and **said, "I am an Indonesian, working for a Dutch organisation,** I am not part of the war on Iraq. **I am not part of the American** security **project**." **This parliamentarian replied, "Yes, but now we know what** this **democ- racy promotion** business **is really about. We didn't understand it before. Now we do and we don't like it**." So, in many small conversations in many different parts of the world people have to work harder to establish trust when they walk through the door and say, "I am here for democracy." There are also more disagreements among democracy promoters about basic methods. Should you push harder in such situations? Should you back away? What is the right response? And there is less of a sense of momentum in many countries about the advancement of democracy. Instead, **there is**, as I said, greater **scepticism about democracy itself.**

#### Neg- Western actions de-democratized the M.E.:

*(Irfan Ahmad, Associate Professor of Political Anthropology at Australian Catholic University, “How the West de-democratised the Middle East,” Al Jazeera, http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/03/201232710543250236.html, March 30 2012)*

Second, I argue that the West's discourse of democratisation of the Middle East is dubious because it hides how **the West actually de-democratised the Middle East**. My contention is that, **from the 1940s onwards, democratic experiments were well in place and the West subverted them to advance its own interests. I offer three examples of de-democratisation: The** reportedly **CIA-engineered coup against the elected government of Syria in 1949, the coup orchestrated by the US** and UK **against the democratic Iran in 1953 and subversion of Bahrain's democracy in the 1970s. I also touch on the West's recent de-democratisation in Iraq and Afghanistan.**

Third, I explain that **the Middle East was de-democratised because the West rarely saw it as a collection of people with dynamic, rich social-cultural textures. The Western power elites viewed the Middle East as no more than a region of multiple resources and strategic interests; hence their aim was to keep it "stable" and "manageable".** To Ernest Bevin, foreign secretary (1945-51) of imperial Britain, **without "its oil and other potential resources" there was "no hope of our being able to achieve the standard of life at which we [are] aiming** in Great Britain".

#### Neg- Western actions de-democratized the M.E.:

*(Irfan Ahmad, Associate Professor of Political Anthropology at Australian Catholic University, “How the West de-democratised the Middle East,” Al Jazeera, http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/03/201232710543250236.html, March 30 2012)*

Even in 1997, long after NED's formation, Fareed Zakaria - now editor-at-large of Newsweek (although then managing editor at Foreign Policy Magazine) and a neo-realist apologist of US policy - undermined democracy by justifying the Middle East's authoritarian rulers as follows: "In many parts of that world, such as Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt, and some of the Gulf states, were elections to be held tomorrow, the resulting regimes would almost certainly be more illiberal than the ones now in place." Neither Zakaria nor USAID, however, says how the US, and its allies such as Britain, were responsible, not for promoting, but demoting democracy. This is what I mean by de-democratisation of the Middle East by the West. Let me give some examples. De-democratisation of Syria, Iran, Bahrain, Afghanistan and Iraq Syria Perhaps **the earliest theatre of de-democratisation was Syria**. True to the logic of colonialism, as imperial Britain and France dismembered and divided the Ottoman Empire to install the mandate system under the covenant of the League of Nations, Syria fell under the French rule from which it only gained independence in 1946. While still under French control, Syria held presidential elections, following which an elected government (based on universal male suffrage) led by Shukri al-Quwatly, came to power for a five-year term starting August 1943. **The Syrian government, after its independence, was** thus **constitutional and based on democracy. In** March **1949, the US organised a coup** d'état against al-Quwatly's government **to install military rule, presided over by** **Colonel** Husni **al-Zaim.** **Based on** research from **declassified documents now available,** it is well-established that Stephen Meade, **a CIA operative, played a key role in staging that coup**. Meade had met al-Zaim at least six times. To Miles Copland, a US diplomat in Damascus, **al-Zaim was "America's boy".**  **The US de-democratised Syria because al-Quwatly's democratic government was nationalist and unwilling to toe the US line. He had informed Washington that Syria wouldn't adopt any policy that went against its security and sovereignty, even if "it meant defying America". Of its several aims, the US wanted Syria to fulfill at least two, which Colonel al-Zaim joyfully did. He legitimised Israel by signing an armistice and ratified the** TAPLINE (**Trans-Arabian Pipeline** Company) **project, allowing ARAMCO** (Arabian-American Oil Company) **to pipe Saudi oil across Syria to the Mediterranean. The Syrian parliament had earlier rejected both these demands**, reportedly due, among other reasons, to Western and US support for the partition of Palestine, and the creation and support of Israel during the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. Between 1949, when the al-Quwatly's democratic government was dislodged, and 1955, five more coups were organised. The foundations for the de-democratisation of Syria could not have been stronger. Iran **The next major theatre of de-democratisation was Iran, whose elected government was overthrown, in 1953, by** a US-UK alliance. Mohammad Mosaddeq was Iran's elected prime minister. He enjoyed the approval of Iran's parliament for his nationalisation programme. The US and UK organised **a CIA-led coup** to oust Mosaddeq - **because Iran refused make oil concessions to the West**. During World War II, the UK had taken control of Iran to prevent oil from being passed to its ally, the Soviet Union. Through the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, the UK continued to control Iran's oil after the war. The French-educated Mosaddeq was highly critical of Iran's draining of resources to the West. Soon after getting elected as prime minister in March 1951, Mosaddeq and his National Front alliance had moved to nationalise Iranian oil and throw out foreign control of oil fields. One such was the Abadan refinery, then the largest in the world. The UK retaliated by imposing economic sanctions, backed by its heavy naval presence in the region. Mosaddeq, however, was undeterred; his popularity only increased among the Iranian people. Faced with Mosaddeq's resistance, the UK-US alliance staged a coup to over throw Mosaddeq's government. **The** 1953 **coup** in Iran was significant also for Central and South America. Indeed, **subsequently** it **became a model for regime change**. Only a year later, in 1954, as the New York Times noted in 2000, the CIA staged a successful coup in Guatemala. We should also note the CIA plot on 9/11. Not the 9/11 we know think of - but the 9/11 of 1973. On that occasion, the CIA toppled the democratic government of Salvador Allende in Chile to replace it with the dictatorship of General Pinochet, who brutally ruled for 17 long years. Bahrain **Another theatre of de-democratisation in the Middle East was Bahrain**, formerly a British protectorate. In 1971, Bahrain became independent. **In** December **1973, the first elections** (only men participated) **were held to elect the** thirty members of al-majlis al-watani, the **National Assembly**. That assembly challenged the unbridled authority of the al-Khalifa family which had ruled Bahrain since 1783. A major challenge to the clan came in the form of **the assembly's demand for the eviction of the US Navy base from Bahrain.** Let it be noted that the US military presence in Bahrain dates to 1949. After the withdrawal of British forces from there, the US presence increased. Legally, Bahrain's assembly was right in asking for the eviction of the US Navy. But the ruling al-Khalifas **dissolved the assembly** on August 26, 1975. There was then no democracy until 2002. **Various vibrant institutions of civil society, such as trade unions, were all crushed.**  Clearly, **what mattered to the US were not the voices** and aspirations **of Bahraini people but America's** own **national interest, which was to keep its base.** Admiral Crow justified this, saying that "on general principles ... the [US] Navy did not want to leave a place where they were already established". One may say that there was no "external" intervention and the al-Khalifa family took a "sovereign internal" decision to dissolve the assembly. However, in the Middle East (as elsewhere) the drawing of lines between internal and external is a difficult business. Afghanistan **The West's de-democratisation continued in Afghanistan**. **After the fall of the Taliban, a**n **UN**-sponsored **conference took place** (in November 2001) in Bonn **to decide Afghanistan's future**. The avowed objective was to install democracy and women's freedom in Afghanistan. Leaving aside the issue of the extent to which the Afghan delegates invited to Bonn were representative of the Afghan population, it is instructive to note that **the leader** Abdul Satar Sirat, **elected** by a majority of votes **to lead the interim government, was asked to give way to** Hamid **Karzai**. **The decision to install "democracy" in Afghanistan was itself taken undemocratically. The aim** clearly **was not to install democracy but to install Karzai, "our man", who was eager to pursue Western ambitions**. A decade since then, journalists such as James Fergusson, author of A million bullets and Taliban, now complain that Karzai is "absolutely not interested in the principles of democracy". Was this the goal, however? The former Australian prime minister, John Howard, later admitted that the West did not want to get embroiled in Afghanistan's reconstruction or any messy "nation-building". Surgical operations in Afghanistan were the key goal. Iraq **The story of de-democratisation was similar in Iraq**. **Following the** Western **invasion of Iraq** as the government fell **in** April **2003**, p**eople in places as diverse as Mosul (a Kurdish town), Samara (with a Sunni** Arab **majority**), **Hilla and Najaf (both Shia towns), and Baghdad spontaneously organised meetings to elect representatives** for reconstruction, safety and provision of essential infrastructure. It was a popular democratic initiative in the true sense of the term. **However, the US thwarted all such democratic initiatives by nullifying the decisions** and plans **the elected representatives** of various councils **had made. In their place, the US appointed their own, reliable (unelected) people**, including former Baathists. The 'why' of de-democratisation **Why did the West de-democratise the Middle East**? It did so, I submit, **because** seldom did **its power elites see the region as a** people with diverse, dynamic social-cultural texture instead of a **repository of** multiple **resources and strategic interests**. Hence **their prime aim was to keep the Middle East "stable" and "manageable".**

#### Neg- History proves transition is slow & must come from inside:

*(Bruce Fein, J.D. from Harvard & adjunct scholar with the American Enterprise Institute, former special assistant to the Assistant Attorney General for the Office of Legal Counsel in the U.S. Department of Justice and assistant director for the Office of Policy and Planning, “Stop U.S. democracy promotion abroad,” Washington Times, http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2014/dec/24/bruce-fein-stop-united-states-democracy-promotion-/?page=all, Dec 24 2014)*

In any event, **democracy promotion is overwhelmingly a fool’s errand.** **The process is vastly too complex** for us to master or to jump start. Sending nations copies of the Declaration of Independence and Constitution will not do. **Words without a reinforcing political culture are worthless. Iraq’s Constitution prohibits laws that contradict the “principles of democracy.” But Salmon Rushdie would be killed if he attempted to sell The Satanic Verses in Baghdad.**  **We also forget that democracy in the U**nited **S**tates **evolved over more than seven centuries. We cannot expect more from other people.**  **Anglo-American democracy was born with the Magna Carta** to check the absolutism of King John in 1215 on the fields of Runnymede. **Through succeeding centuries and periodic civil wars**, the powers of Parliament strengthened and the powers of the King diminished. **Landmarks included the** Grand Remonstrance, the **beheading of Charles I** by Oliver Cromwell, and **the English Bill of Rights of 1688.** American colonists claimed the rights of British freemen. They soon took on the trappings of democracy with the Virginia House of Burgesses, **the Mayflower Compact**, the Connecticut Charter Oak, the Maryland Toleration Act, **etc**. **The United States Constitution was not drafted until 1787, more than five centuries after Magna Carta.** **Democratic principles did not** completely **triumph until** the Civil War **Amendments ending slavery and enfranchising blacks, and the Women’s Suffrage Amendment** ending their disenfranchisement **in 1919. Blacks did not de facto enjoy the right to vote until the Voting Rights Act of 1965, more seven and one-half centuries since the road to democracy began at Runnymede.**  **It was facilitated in the U**nited **S**tates **by a literate society, a homogeneity of** ethnicity, culture and **language, natural boundaries, and an unprecedented array of profound and selfless leaders**, for example, George Washington and James Madison. **Despite these vast advantages, the U**nited **S**tates **still needed a bloody Civil War and an obscenely prolonged period of Jim Crow before finally achieving substantial national** unity and racial **justice**. **In light of our own seven-century journey to democracy, the idea that we can install democratic dispensations in nations that are at the pre-Magna Carta stage** of political maturity **and lacking our peculiar** cultural **advantages is delusional. Our miserable track record speaks for itself, including South Vietnam, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Egypt, Burma, South Sudan, Somalia, Syria, and Bahrain.**  Taiwan moved into a democratic orbit in 1988 after the deaths of dictators Chiang Kai-shek and his son Chiang Ching-kuo, and South Korea did the same after military strongman Chun Doo Hwan left office. But these democratic movements were indigenous. The United States was complacent with reliable, friendly, and anti-democratic leadership. **At best, democracy promotion is** harmless — **like shouting at the weather. At worst, it is counterproductive**. Many societies are insufficiently mature, literate, and homogeneous to for its practice. **Democracy in these places degenerates into** majoritarian, **sectarian**, or tribal **tyrannies notwithstanding formal elections. Russia, Iraq, Syria, Libya, and South Sudan are emblematic. Democracy is given a bad name, which may handicap its return at a more propitious time.**  **Our energies should be devoted to purging the evils from our own democracy. We should then be satisfied with influencing developments abroad by example**, simpliciter.

#### Neg- History proves transition is slow & must come from inside:

*(Walter Russell Mead, editor of The American Interest Online, James Clarke Chace Professor of Humanities and Foreign Policy at Bard College, and Distinguished Scholar in American Strategy and Statesmanship at the Hudson Institute, “The Paradox of American Democracy Promotion,” The American Interest, Vol 10, no 5, http://www.the-american-interest.com/2015/04/09/the-paradox-of-american-democracy-promotion/, April 9 2015)*

**Why do so many informed observers so frequently underestimate the obstacles to democratic success in so many revolutions**? What are the complexities that they so often miss? One concerns state capacity. One cannot have a democratic state without a state at all, but **the functional and historical distinctions between** state, **governments**, **nations**, and countries, **and** between rule of law and **various forms of accountability, seem too complex a challenge of political sociology for some** people in the democracy promotion industry (and it has, sadly, become something of an industry) to grasp. I was in Ukraine about nine months after the Orange Revolution, and the American embassy was full of people who were sure that a great and unquenchable light had dawned. It felt as if nobody had even tried to learn about the complex history of democratic movements since Thomas Jefferson gushed about the French Revolution. The same naivety, the same blindness as to the complexity beneath the superficial meaning of events, the same incomprehension of state failure that Jefferson brought to his analysis of France, were informing American democracy enthusiasts looking at Ukraine. **Change is hard. Cultural and historical legacies don’t transform overnight. In many places, deeply rooted popular beliefs about how the world works are not compatible with effective** economic **management**. **Argentina is a good example, and it is far from alone. In these places democratic governments make poor economic decisions based firmly on beliefs widely shared by a democratic majority. The economy then goes into a tailspin due to poor policy choices, the society often falls into a deep social crisis, and democratic institutions and parties cannot cope very well with the consequences over time. People vote in democratic elections for parties that then screw everything up so completely that sometimes support for democracy itself collapses and even a coup is popular, at least for a little while. In many places, ideas about what the state is and how it works are connected to feudalism. In feudal societies, the state and state offices are a kind of property.** **If you become the Duke** of Normandy, **you get all the properties** that come **with the dukedom, but you owe support to the king.** And **you distribute the income** and offices of the dukedom **to your followers, who** can enjoy them on their own but **are obliged to support you. That’s not very different from the situation in Russia today, where** cabinet ministers and **oligarchs are the “nobles” in the postmodern feudalism of the Putin regime. Political parties are seen in similar terms in many societies: They are networks of patronage whose leaders are doing their job when they extract revenue from the state and distribute it to their** loyal **followers**. **It is often the case that these ideas are** deeply engrained in popular consciousness and are **more powerful among the voters at large than among elites. Paradoxically, the more democratic a political system is, the more corrupt it can become.** That was certainly true in American cities in the 19th century; universal male suffrage among poor, often uneducated immigrants led to the development of corrupt political machines. A party that wasn’t corrupt would regularly lose elections to a party that was more focused on distributing rewards to its supporters. **Tolerance for** **some forms of corruption, and even a preference for them (as a more “humane” system,** for example, **than a** “cold” and “**heartless” system that adheres rigidly to written rules) is relatively widespread in some cultures** and subcultures. **This preference** may not be conducive to better governance or modernization, but it’s real. It **does not go away just because someone in Washington** or Brussels **publishes a** white **paper saying that corruption is** a **bad** thing. **It is very hard to develop laws that can displace this kind of “corruption”, or** to establish **institutions that can monitor it, when the people charged with such tasks believe that corruption and politics are not so different** from each other as Westerners and others think. A tribal leader in Afghanistan or Iraq will, of course, distribute jobs and money to relatives; that is what being a leader means. **There are other** cultural and historical **factors that lead many people in other countries to accept** and even to expect **what Westerners think of as non-democratic** and non-transparent **governance**. **In a number of countries** around the world, **for example, it was only when a nation produced an authoritarian political party with a charismatic leader that it was able to drive out foreign rulers. In such cases, ruling parties that** erode or **override democratic norms may do so with strong public support. There is also a tendency** **for** minorities and dissidents to be considered disloyal to the state; **to protect the majority from the machinations of foreign powers**, **harsh measures against dissident minorities** can easily win widespread public support. **The influence of ethnic and religious conflict should never be underestimated**. Rulers like Paul Kagame, many of whose supporters see him as a bulwark against genocide, have a different relationship to democratic norms than leaders in countries with no history of ethnic and religious conflict. **There are** also **places where people have very strong religious beliefs about how the world should work, and these beliefs do not necessarily mesh well with the actual practices needed for economic success in a global, capitalist system based on continuing** upheaval and **innovation in technology.** **Under a democratic government, voters** may and **often** do **select leaders who have ideas about property rights or the place of women, for example, that are not compatible with effective governance** in modern conditions. **So democracy does not always lead to good government—examples extend from Kenya to Greece to Brazil and back through Bulgaria and South Africa**—and economic development often depends more on good government than democratic government. **Popular beliefs and cultural patterns like these do not change quickly. A long process** of forgetting and re-remembering history **must precede the changes that lead to proto-democratic institutions, and even then those developing institutions will often not work as they ought to,** because the people carrying out their functions may have an understanding of what politics is, and of what legitimacy is, that predates even the colonial epoch. **A team of American political consultants is** probably **not going to change this** in what we would call a policy-relevant time frame. Of course, **Americans and other democracy-minded folk like to think that after electing bad people, citizens will see that bad policies don’t work; they’ll learn from their mistakes and elect better people.** Sometimes they do, **but sometimes they learn the wrong lessons. Many** conservative **German nationalists turned to** Adolf **Hitler after what they saw as the failure of more moderate conservatives** like Hindenburg and Brüning. Nations walk a narrow path; it is easy to fall off that path into extremes of various kinds, for genuine public sentiment to play into the hands of parties and movements that are anti-democratic and effective at being so. **Democracy can and does take root in imperfect conditions. Citizens do not need to become perfectly enlightened to build a reasonably well-functioning democratic state. The existence of** one or more **impediments** to democracy **does not mean that the path to democracy** for a given country **is** necessarily **blocked**. **But technocratic foreign experts are unlikely to be** very **successful at assessing the complex factors at work in any given case. Successful transitions to democracy are more likely to come from the efforts of insiders who are** much more deeply **grounded in the culture, religion, ideas, and history of a particular society than outside** consultants and career **democracy promotion experts can ever be.**

#### Neg- History proves transition is slow & must come from inside:

*(Walter Russell Mead, editor of The American Interest Online, James Clarke Chace Professor of Humanities and Foreign Policy at Bard College, and Distinguished Scholar in American Strategy and Statesmanship at the Hudson Institute, “The Paradox of American Democracy Promotion,” The American Interest, Vol 10, no 5, http://www.the-american-interest.com/2015/04/09/the-paradox-of-american-democracy-promotion/, April 9 2015)*

**Americans do not have to go abroad to learn about the difficulties of democracy promotion**. The most sustained effort in American history to promote democracy **at home** is known as Reconstruction, **the 12 years following the Civil War during which Federal authorities tried to create a genuine biracial democracy in the former Confederacy.** Reconstruction **involved** a mix of **many democracy promotion tools that we still use today. Washington supported civil society groups and political organizations in the South that were willing to accept black political rights. States and regions that accepted democracy received preferential financial and trade help. The Federal army**, fresh from its triumph in the Civil War, **was deployed to protect black voters, politicians, and their allies. Reconstruction failed**. The United States lacked the political will to continue the struggle, **and Southern blacks were left to** the tender mercies of **Jim Crow.** Republicans were intimidated or driven out of the South, and **the American South**, **in open defiance of the U.S. Constitution, set up a one-party system under a racially limited franchise that survived** Reconstruction **for almost a century. The American South was a much better candidate for democratization** **in 1865 than many foreign countries are today.** While it had lived under the cloud of slavery and ferocious race prejudice, **democratic ideology was a part of its cultural DNA.** Great American **exponents of democracy like** Thomas **Jefferson**, James Madison, and Andrew Jackson **had lived** and worked **there**. **The South had embraced a two-party political system and universal white male suffrage well before the Civil War. The** conquering **North was culturally less alien than Americans are today in the Middle East** or were in 1945 Japan. **The North and South** read the same Bible, **worshipped the same God, spoke the same language, and shared a common political tradition. But with all these advantages, the North could not build a** new and **better democratic order in the** defeated **South**. **One wonders** exactly **why so many people** are so quick **to suppose that much more difficult feats of political transformation can be achieved in foreign countries today.**

#### Neg- Structural barriers (rentier states):

*(Graham Fuller [Carnegie Endowment], “Islamists and Democracy,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**Oil-producing states** in the developing world **share** particularly **poor records in developing democracy**, **for** quite **concrete reasons. Large oil revenues inhibit the development of democracy because the state** "graciously and **generously" distributes oil largesse to a "grateful" public that can make only limited demands on the** paternalistic **state in return. Conversely, when public taxation provides the fiscal basis for the maintenance of government, people** traditionally quickly **demand a voice**: "No taxation without representation" and **hence, there can be no representation without taxation.**

*(Raymond Hinnebusch, a Institute of Middle East, Central Asia and Caucasus Studies and member of the School of International Relations, University of St Andrews, Scotland, “Authoritarian Persistence, Democratization Theory and the Middle East: An Overview and Critique,” Democratization, vol 13, no 3, https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/school-of-international-relations/mecacs/workingpapers/authoritarian\_persistance\_democratization\_theory.pdf, June 1 2006)*

The other major authoritarian formation in the region, **the rentier monarchy** **(RM)** **has**, as Anderson has argued, also **proved** unexpectedly **durable**.36 **RM, the outcome of a** special **combination of oil and tribalism, is** also a hybrid of tradition and modernity virtually **unique to the Middle East region**. While monarchies had a hard time surviving in settled Middle East states with large urbanized middle classes and peasantries, they appear highly congruent with desert tribal societies where traditional forms of patriarchal and religious legitimacy retain credibility and where **rent from oil revenues is used to revitalize pre-existing ‘traditional’ structures around which the state is consolidated. Large extended royal families substitute for the ruling parties of the republics and tribal networks are the equivalent of corporatist associations. The threat from the military that toppled many monarchies has been contained by keeping it small and/or recruited heavily from royal families and tribes** rather than the urban middle class. **All classes –** bourgeoisies, middle classes, working classes **– become dependent economically on the rentier state; and because the majority of** those **residents** **that** **do** much of **the work are not citizens entitled to state benefits, even the least of citizens has a stake in the system.** The populist republics and monarchies emerged originally as rival and hostile political formations, the first embodying a revolt of plebeian groups against the dominant classes and the latter defending the new petro-bourgeoisie against the claims of the Arab world’s ‘have-nots’. Ironically, at least **since** the **oil** boom **made** some **rent available to all, they have converged**, **with** the republics resorting to ‘traditional’ forms of **political cement** and, remarkably, even dynastic leadership succession and the monarchies deploying populist sorts of ‘social contracts’ with their populations. This seems evidence that the state consolidation formulas each has, through trial and error, reached over time are indeed congruent with their environments. **What makes the Middle East ‘exceptional’ is** less culture, per se, than **the unique institutional–social structural configurations by which it has combined mass incorporating populism with rent-lubricated patrimonialism – a combination** nearly **unique to this region**.37

#### Neg- Structural barriers (economic stagnation):

*(Thanassis Cambanis, fellow at The Century Foundation, “How can America really promote democracy abroad?,” Boston Globe, https://www.bostonglobe.com/ideas/2014/04/26/how-can-america-really-promote-democracy-abroad/3IxMLiJHdEnaIolNkeOGuK/story.html, April 27 2014)*

So **what** **does help democracies take root?** Even amid the mass support for the voluntarism theory, there’s always been a contrarian school of thought. “Modernization theory” argues that **for any democracy to thrive, economic development must come first**—**and** that **the most useful way to encourage** struggling **countries is to help them improve literacy, per-capita GDP, and** other benchmarks economists use to measure **human development** levels. **Once a country is wealthy enough, better institutions**, governance, laws, **and political systems can** take root and **thrive**. An influential 1997 paper by NYU political scientist Adam Przeworski argued that wealth didn’t cause democracy—the prosperous but authoritarian nation of Singapore shows that clearly enough—but in wealthy states that achieved democracy, the new order tended to hold. For Masoud and other critics, **the Arab uprisings made this view** suddenly far more **persuasive**. **The failures there couldn’t be blamed on lack of desire or exposure to democratic ideas. Rather, they pointed toward structural factors that had nothing to do with civic groups** or courageous individuals. Once the dust had settled on the Arab uprisings, Masoud began a separate **research** project **comparing conditions in the Arab world to other nations that successfully made a transition to democracy, measuring literacy, per capita GDP, and other indicators of** modern **development**. The results were striking. Egypt, he **found**, had literacy levels comparable to England in 1850, long before universal suffrage there. And Egypt’s per capita GDP wasn’t even where Argentina’s was in 1970, when that country embarked on a final round of dictatorial rule before emerging as a democracy. It was this **lack of wealth and development**, Masoud concluded, that **is** currently **impeding democracy in the Arab world.** **No one knows what causes democracy to break out, but** Masoud believes **the evidence shows what’s necessary to sustain it: an advanced economy. Otherwise, strong authoritarian regimes will be able to rebound even after a brief bout of democracy, just as has happened in Egypt.**

#### Neg- Structural barriers (societal structure):

*(Raymond Hinnebusch, a Institute of Middle East, Central Asia and Caucasus Studies and member of the School of International Relations, University of St Andrews, Scotland, “Authoritarian Persistence, Democratization Theory and the Middle East: An Overview and Critique,” Democratization, vol 13, no 3, https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/school-of-international-relations/mecacs/workingpapers/authoritarian\_persistance\_democratization\_theory.pdf, June 1 2006)*

**In the Middle East social structural conditions do not** seem, on the face of it, to **favour democratization**. **Owing to the** pre-modern imperial state’s relative hostility to private property (notably, in land), and to the **region’s** ‘periphery’ **role in the world** capitalist **economy as a** producer and **exporter of primary products**, **historically the strongest classes were** powerful **landlords and** tribal **oil sheikhs**. Almost everywhere **bourgeoisies were weak, failed to break with landlords, and led no democratic–capitalist revolutions.** What remained of **the private sector** after the 1950–60s wave of nationalizations was either fragmented into a multitude of tiny enterprises or **grew up as crony capitalists dependent on the state for contracts, monopolies, and other favours. Such ‘crony capitalists’** are said widely to **have little interest in** leading **a democratic coalition**. **Nor has the industrial working class been large or independent enough** to provide shock troops **for such a coalition**. **While modernization has stimulated the growth of the educated middle class across the region, this class was** initially **the product of and dependent on the state**. **More recently it has struggled to survive** as a moonlighting petite bourgeoisie **forced into intra-class competition for state patronage**, typically **through clientelist channels in which ethnic/ tribal/sectarian connections are deployed at the expense of** the class **solidarity that might make for** political **activism on behalf of democratization**. **Finally**, the special feature of **the Middle East’s** political economy, namely **rentierism**, **shapes a** certain **regional exceptionalism**. In the many cases **where large amounts of rent accrue to the state and are distributed as jobs and welfare benefits**, **ordinary people become highly dependent on the state for their livelihoods and, not being required to pay taxes, are deterred from mobilization to demand representation**. At the same time, **the dependence of regimes on external sources of rent, whether petroleum revenues or aid, attaches the interests of elites to external markets** and states **and buffers them from accountability to their populations**.25 **Instead of democracy, two outcomes were typical**: **in the** most **tribal regions**, **oil rentierism locked in a shaikhly authoritarianism of the right**. **In the** more advanced **settled regions**, large landed classes stimulated radical alliances of the salaried middle class and peasantry, issuing in **revolutionary coups and a populist authoritarianism of the left.** **These forms of authoritarianism were** arguably **congruent with the social structure of their societies, while** stable **democracy is not** likely to be as **congruent until and if these structures are transformed.**

#### Neg- Structural barriers (historical/developmental/sociopolitical pressures):

*(Raymond Hinnebusch, a Institute of Middle East, Central Asia and Caucasus Studies and member of the School of International Relations, University of St Andrews, Scotland, “Authoritarian Persistence, Democratization Theory and the Middle East: An Overview and Critique,” Democratization, vol 13, no 3, https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/school-of-international-relations/mecacs/workingpapers/authoritarian\_persistance\_democratization\_theory.pdf, June 1 2006)*

Later Modernization Theory: Imbalances and Nation-Building Dilemmas in ‘Transitional’ Societies **The failure of early [modernization theory]** **MT’s expectations for democratization in the less developed countries (LDCs) led to a revision** of the theory, which was **based** **more on empirical studies of LDCs and less on deductions from** the **experiences of** the **developed states.** **The new approaches located the obstacles to** third world **democratization in the imbalances** typical **of** the ‘transition’ to modernity and the **unresolved problems of nation-building**. One approach, epitomized by Huntington’s Political Order in Changing Societies (1965) and by Karl Deutsch’s work on social mobilization demonstrated that social mobilization in LDCs might lead not to democratization, but to what Huntington called ‘**praetorianism’**. This was **because mobilization typically exceeded the slower rate of economic development and political institution-building needed to satisfy** and accommodate **it**.20 **What exacerbated the situation**, as more Marxist orientated analysts stressed, **was that capital accumulation in modernizing countries required high profits for investors while squeezing workers** and peasants. **The result was, as the** well-known ‘**Kuznets curve’ suggests, that inequality actually increased in the development process. The resulting frustration** of demands **led** typically **to class conflict and disorder not containable** readily **by democratic institutions**. **This gave rise** either **to** revolution or to military intervention and a conservative **authoritarianism** protective of the property rights of the dominant classes. Kuznets’ finding that when high income levels were reached, inequalities started to decline seemed compatible with MT findings that democratization was associated with and more viable in mature capitalist societies. 21 **In the Middle East, modernization** **was** indeed **associated with new inequalities**, as new landed classes were established through peasant dispossession and new bourgeoisies enriched from import–export business. **The de-stabilization of early democracies resulted from** the **radicalization** of ‘new middle classes’ **that liberal institutions** dominated by these oligarchies **could not absorb** (as long as the majority of voters remained dependent on their landlords) **and by the politicization of the military as it became a vehicle of the ‘new middle class’**. 22 Even in the states with the longest democratic experiences, military intervention in Turkey and civil war in Lebanon could be linked to the inability of semi-democratic institutions to incorporate newly mobilized social forces. **A second obstacle to democratization was the mismatch** typical in the LDCs **between state and identity from the haphazard imposition of territorial boundaries under imperialism. This meant that LDCs did not enjoy the underlying** consensus on political community (**shared nationhood**) **that would allow groups to differ peacefully** over lesser issues and interests. Rustow argued that the consolidation of national identity was the first requisite stage in democratic transition; **without this, electoral competition would only exacerbate communal conflict.**23 **In the Middle East, a**n inevitable **result of the forced fragmentation of the Arab world into a multitude of small weak states was the persistence of sub- and suprastate identities that weakened the identification with the state that was needed for stable democracy. In such conditions**, wherein **political mobilization tends to exacerbate** communal **conflict** or empowers supra-state movements threatening the integrity of the state, **elites are more likely to resort to authoritarian solutions.** Moreover, in an Arab world divided into many small weak states, activists, colonels and intellectuals alike tended to give priority not to democracy but to overcoming this disunity. **Hence**, the main popular **political movements**, namely pan-Arabism and political Islam, **have been preoccupied with identity**, unity and authenticity, **not democratization**, **and** where they have seized state power, **state-building has** often **taken an authoritarian form**, **with** **elites** seeking legitimacy, not through democratic consent but through the **championing** of **identity – Arabism, Islam – against imperialism and other enemies. Little momentum for democratization can be built up when the political forces that would otherwise lead the fight for it have been diverted into preoccupation with other concerns.** Another consequence of **the** way the states system was imposed was that **artificial boundaries** **built** **irredentism** (**dissatisfaction with the incongruence of identity communities with** a claimed **territory**) **into the very fabric of the states system**. **This**, in turn, **meant that** the new **states were caught in an acute security dilemma in which each perceived the other as a threat.** Among the Arab states the threat largely took the form of ideological subversion where, for example, Nasser’s Pan-Arab appeal could mobilize the populations of other states against their rulers and, in fact, this was decisive in the destabilization of the early liberal oligarchies and monarchies. **On the** Arab/non-Arab **fault lines of the Middle East, irredentism has been militarized** – **issuing** in the Arab–Israeli and Iran–Iraq **wars**, all of which were **primarily over identity, territory and security. Insecurity and war has naturally fed the rise of** national-security **states hostile to democratization. The Middle East remains in ‘transition’ to modernity; hence the obstacles to democratization** typical of the transition **persist today.** **The combination of** increased **social mobilization** (notably literacy) **and population growth with increased economic inequality amidst states suffering from unconsolidated political identity makes for a particularly democratic-unfriendly environment.**

#### Neg- Structural barriers (No strong internal coalitions/reformers):

*(Marina Ottaway [Carnegie Endowment], “The Missing Constituency for Democratic Reform,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**Not only have prodemocracy elites failed to build broad-based constituencies, they have tended to ignore the crucial issue of how constituencies could be developed. Advocates of democracy move in a small world, somewhat isolated from their own societies. They congregate in** their **NGOs and** progressive **think tanks and write** commentaries **for** domestic and pan-Arab **newspapers**. **They** reach across borders to likeminded people in other Arab states but **do not attempt to reach down into their own countries. This failure** to reach out to the public **is** only **partially explained by the difficulty of organizing in countries with illiberal regimes; it is also a function of the gulf that** still **separates the educated elite from the rest of the population** in the Arab world. Whatever the causes of the problem, the consequences are clear: **Because democratic elites do not have a popular constituency** and do not seem able to formulate a plan to develop one, they argue with disturbing frequency that democracy in the Arab world can only come from the top. They imagine gradual reform by enlightened, modernizing political leaders— often expected to arise in the next generation. **Democratic aspirations turn into a wait for deliverance.**

*(Marina Ottaway [Carnegie Endowment], “The Missing Constituency for Democratic Reform,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**Democracy is unlikely to develop without sustained pressure by organized constituencies, but the existence of such pressure does not guarantee successful transformation.** Popular **constituencies with nondemocratic goals are a threat to democracy—they supported the rise of the Nazis in Germany, the fascists in Italy, and many populist leaders in Latin America,** including Venezuela's current President Hugo Chåvez. Furthermore, **challenged regimes do not always respond by developing a** strong **reformist wing. On the contrary, they may unite to suppress the dissidents.** **Even when the response to pressure is reform, it may** simply **amount to a revamping of the institutions of control.** A recent example of reform that strengthens the incumbent regime is offered by Egypt's ruling National Democratic Party (NDP). Following a poor showing by the party's vetted candidates for the National Assembly in 2000, the NDP undertook a major effort to reinvigorate its organization and strengthen its hold over the country. **The prospects for democracy in the Arab world depend on the growth of constituencies committed to furthering** the democratic goal, ideally because they are truly committed to **democracy**, but at a minimum because they see democracy as a means to gain power and further their interests. **No democracy- promotion effort from the outside will achieve much unless internal constituencies develop.** The question is, how can constituencies able to support a sustained process of political reform develop in the region? This is a crucial issue for Arab activists as well as for foreign governments and NGOs seeking to promote political change.

#### Neg- Structural barriers (No strong internal coalitions/reformers):

*(Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Getting to the Core (Conclusion), “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**Significant progress toward democracy in the Middle East will only be achieved if the core features of democracy—giving citizens the ability to choose those who hold the main levers of political power and creating genuine checks and balances** through which state institutions share power—**are addressed. Unless these elements are achieved, Arab countries can undergo political reform**, even significant changes that will make a difference in the lives of their citizens, **without making progress toward democracy.** As Daniel Brumberg makes clear in his chapter, **many Middle East regimes are willing to become more liberal, as long as they can do so without seeing their power seriously challenged. Thus, they allow multiparty elections, a degree of freedom of the press, some limited political space for civil society organizations and political parties, but maintain reserved powers outside the domain of open competition and stunt the development of institutional checks and balances. They become liberalized autocracies rather than democratizing countries. And the difference between even the most liberal of liberalized autocracies and a democratic regime is a qualitative rather than a quantitative one: A little more press freedom or greater space for prodemocracy NGOs will not turn Morocco into a constitutional monarchy, as long as the king is seen as the Commander of the Faithful, with power above that of all institutions** because it comes from divine rather than human sources. **The idea of democracy has not** always **proven a good rallying point for the development of broad-based social movements and political parties**. Marina Ottaway argues in her chapter on constituencies for democracy in the Arab world that **abstract and process- oriented democratic ideals have not** usually **competed successfully with ideologies with an immediate popular appeal, such as nationalism**, socialism**, or religious ideals**. However, democratic breakthrough can take place when parties or movements with a large constituency also accept democracy as a means of gaining access to power. The acceptance of democratic means by socialist parties, initially for purely instrumental reasons rather than out of conviction, crucial to the was democratization of some European countries. So was the rise of Christian Democratic parties in some Catholic countries. Nationalism also helped build constituencies for democracy at times. In the Arab world, the first, albeit very imperfect, steps toward democracy took place in Egypt, when the Wafd party in the 1930s and 1940s combined nationalism and democratic ideals in a successful challenge to the monarchy. **Today in the Middle East, the political organizations and movements with the largest popular constituencies are Islamist.** Although many of these organizations, including the extremely influential Muslim Brotherhood, remain very hesitant to embrace democracy, **Islamist groups will be crucial to democratic transitions** in the Arab world, in view of the present weakness of secular parties of all ideological persuasions and the important following the Islamists have. Unless such broad- based groups buy into the process, democratization will not take place. **Unfortunately**, at present, as Graham Fuller argues in his chapter, **the evolution of Islamist groups toward acceptance of democracy is impeded by their sense of being under siege from the West—and from** **the United States in particular.** As a result, Western countries face the challenge of learning to deal with the organizations that have sizable constituencies, even if they are suspicious of the West and at best ambivalent about democracy. Attempting to understand such groups better, let alone trying to work with them, immediately pulls the United States and even European countries outside their comfort zone; but it has **to promote democracy in the Middle East, the absence of** the kind of **broad-based constituencies needed to force autocratic governments to accept curbs on their own power creates serious difficulties. Such constituencies will have to be developed. They cannot be developed by the** elite, technocratic civil society organizations with which **West**ern countries can work comfortably.

#### Neg- Structural barriers (U.S. gov’t operational limitations):

*(Michele Dunne [Georgetown University], “Integrating Democracy into the US Policy,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

The Bush administration acknowledged by its actions (if not its words), however, that it could not rely on a quick Iraqi transition to democracy as the sole engine of regional change. Since **several** presidential 2002, speeches, the Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI) launched in December 2002, and **initiatives** with G-8 and European partners in June 2004 **focused on promoting political, economic, and educational change, as well as women's rights.** Although some **questions remain about the advisability of such** high-profile **initiatives, still more questions focus on their viability,** especially on the gap between the high- flown rhetoric and the relatively modest funds and program goals of the initiatives. **Something is missing** in the middle: **a strategy that connects rhetoric to reality and shows a pathway to integrating democracy with other goals in the region. Several practical problems impede development and implementation of such a strategy.** Presidential **enterprises such as** **the Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative** unveiled at the June 2004 G-8 summit **have the** advantage of drawing attention to a **problem** but the disadvantage **of absorbing tremendous amounts of bureaucratic energy and funding without** necessarily **producing** commensurate **results**. In addition**, officials at the State Department and embassies overseas—who would have to put the meat on the bones of country strategies—are much better at dealing with crises and short-term problems than they are at pursuing long-term policy priorities or at seeing either challenges or opportunities out on the horizon.** In fact, **many are so overworked that they can barely see beyond the next congressional testimony or high-level visit for which they must prepare.** Finally, **those designing assistance programs face the practical problem of needing to spend the funds allocated for democracy promotion, whether or not they are able to do so in a way that supports policy goals, which themselves remain poorly defined**. USAID and MEPI have understandably chosen to work in areas such as civil society, local government, judicial reform, and women's rights that seemed the easiest and least sensitive. **There has been little assessment of areas in which reform would be** the most **meaningful, which must be determined on an individual country basis, and few attempts to coordinate policy engagement and assistance programs with a view to making progress in those areas.**

#### Neg- Demo promo fails/Work with regimes instead:

*(Thanassis Cambanis, fellow at The Century Foundation, “How can America really promote democracy abroad?,” Boston Globe, https://www.bostonglobe.com/ideas/2014/04/26/how-can-america-really-promote-democracy-abroad/3IxMLiJHdEnaIolNkeOGuK/story.html, April 27 2014)* The favored method is a top-down approach: **Democracy-promotion groups funnel money to** nascent **political parties** and help **train people** to run the institutions considered central to democracy, from elections commissions to associations for judges and lawyers. Western advisers push democratic ideas **and try to strengthen local civic organizations.** Then, when the opportunity for a new government arises, the wisdom goes, we have only to step back and watch citizens embrace it. It may sound naive to think you can midwife societal change or transplant political ideals, but this method has long been almost universally accepted among policy makers. Even those lukewarm in their support for democracy promotion itself have believed it can work this way. **Then came the Arab uprisings** that began **in 2010. America** and other Western nations **had been working for decades and investing hundreds of millions of dollars to support** a vast network of **pro-democracy organizations** across the Arab world. **Based on prevailing theories**, once protests started to shake one authoritarian government after another, the popular **momentum should have been unstoppable**. **Instead, the results have been dismal**. In nearly every case—arguably, the only exception is Tunisia—**the countries that rose up against dictators ended up less democratic than they began.** Now, armed with new case studies from the Arab uprisings, a group of contrarian political scientists is arguing for a radical reconsideration of the whole notion of how to spread democracy to other nations—or if it’s even possible at all. “We should be much more humble about what the best possible outcomes are,” said Tarek **Masoud**, **a** **political scientist at** **Harvard** University’s Kennedy School of Government who recently coauthored a study of the Arab transitions titled “Why the Modest Harvest?” The study, which **took a systematic look at the results of the Arab Spring, concluded that the authoritarian regimes enjoyed a structural stability that no amount of Western-funded political idealism was likely to displace. Masoud, once a believer in** traditional **democracy promotion, has become a vociferous** new **critic** of its tactics and ambitions**. Based on his research**, he has come to believe that **a more effective approach** **would be** to focus on the underlying conditions that allow democracies to flourish—skipping the election coaching and party-building in favor of basics like education, health, and economic growth. If it means **working with nondemocratic regimes** to help get there, **and giving up our vision of democracy sweeping out tyranny at the first opportunity**, so be it. “Maybe in a place like Syria or Libya,” **he said, “the best possible outcome is one in which the old regime is at the table.” Masoud and other skeptics** aren’t ideologues. They **profess** **a** deep personal **preference for democratic rule, and sympathize with oppressed peoples who oppose tyranny. But, they say, our desire to see freedom spread has been clouding our judgment about what actually allows it to take root.**

#### Neg- Demo promo fails/Arab Spring proves:

*(Thanassis Cambanis, fellow at The Century Foundation, “How can America really promote democracy abroad?,” Boston Globe, https://www.bostonglobe.com/ideas/2014/04/26/how-can-america-really-promote-democracy-abroad/3IxMLiJHdEnaIolNkeOGuK/story.html, April 27 2014)*

**At the time that the Arab uprisings broke out in late 2010**, Masoud says, he was firmly persuaded by the **conventional wisdom** about democratization and transitions. Buoyed by the brave actions of so many individual activists and politicians across the Arab world, he **expected** **to see** the **dictatorships replaced by a wave of democratic**, or at least more democratic, **regimes**. **Even in the worst cases**, most scholars and **policy makers assumed, surviving authoritarian regimes would be held to new standards and forced to govern more transparently. Of course, that is not what happened**. Instead of falling like dominoes, most of the Arab **regimes** prevented or **crushed popular uprisings. In cases like Egypt, where** longstanding president Hosni **Mubarak was toppled** in 2011, **the current** military **regime has turned out to be even more repressive.** Masoud and two fellow **political scientists studied 14 Arab states under authoritarian rule and found that** in the end **only Tunisia experienced** an unequivocal **improvement on the democracy scale. Elsewhere**, within a few years of the revolts, **even countries that had appeared promising**, like Egypt, Syria, and Libya, **were headed in a negative direction,** their hopeful democratic movements having crashed against an immovable structural obstacle. What made the difference? Masoud and his fellow **researchers found that the biggest determinant of whether authoritarian regimes survived had nothing to do with civil society,** individual **protest leaders, or** even **the workings of the political system. The calculus turned out to be** much simpler. **As long as regimes had sufficient money and** loyal **security forces, they seemed able to ward off any pressure to democratize**, regardless of whether they were monarchies or republics, or whether they were endowed with oil wealth. **Though Western countries had spent enormous money and effort to support the development of democratic institutions in these places, this factor seemed to make little difference.**

#### Neg- Demo promo fails (generic)/false hope:

*(Thanassis Cambanis, fellow at The Century Foundation, “How can America really promote democracy abroad?,” Boston Globe, https://www.bostonglobe.com/ideas/2014/04/26/how-can-america-really-promote-democracy-abroad/3IxMLiJHdEnaIolNkeOGuK/story.html, April 27 2014)*

MASOUD AND HIS two coauthors—political scientists Andrew Reynolds at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and Jason Brownlee at the University of Texas at Austin—have expanded their research into a book to be released this fall, which takes a deeper look at the structures that enable or prevent new, more democratic politics. Though the three differ in their prescriptions for US policy, they all agree that the prevailing **expectations for our abilities to seed change are unrealistic**. “We need to recognize that there is a historical time to **these processes** that can **take generations**,” Brownlee said. “**There’s an impulse to want to accelerate these processes**, to think that because we’re in the 21st century things move more quickly.” Reynolds has spent decades designing new electoral systems for nations in transition; currently he’s helping to set up a regional parliament in a new semi-autonomous zone of the Philippines. The Arab revolts have made him “more pessimistic” about democracy support, he said. Now, he thinks only limited assistance can work. **Instead of** the vague and sprawling complex of **democracy promotion** programs we currently fund, he suggests, **we should invest in technical help in situations where local powers have already agreed to do something.** Masoud, the most skeptical of the three, sees the policy implications as quite stark. **The U**nited **S**tates **should preserve** small, values-based **programs**, he says, like **promoting human rights and opposing torture**, **in the hope of encouraging small but tangible improvements** even **in authoritarian countries. But we should dispense entirely with the fiction that our policies can bring about democracy** directly. **Not only doesn’t it work**, he says, **but it gives a false expectation of US support to antiregime activists challenging despots** in places like Syria or Ukraine.

#### Neg- Demo promo fails (stifles real political reform discussions):

*(Bastiaan Bouwman, Humanity in Action Senior Fellow, doctoral candidate in the international history of human rights at the London School of Economics & research MA in history from the University of Amsterdam, “Uncomfortable Bedfellows: Why Human Rights and Democracy Promotion Are Better Off Separate,” HIA, http://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/579-uncomfortable-bedfellows-why-human-rights-and-democracy-promotion-are-better-off-separate, 2015)*

**The specter that the convergence of human rights and democracy promotion raises is that Western states have established a universal blueprint for what societies should look like, and** that they **now aim to reform the world in their image** – through soft power and international law as much as possible, but even **through hard power if necessary.** While this suspicion may be exaggerated, **the stated universality of human rights and democracy leaves no doubt** that their spread is, in principle, an objective of Western governments, even though it is bounded by other, competing interests. It is hard to imagine this objective ever being achieved, but as stated above, **the notion** that Western actors are pursuing it certainly vexes authoritarian regimes. It also **disturbs many**, especially in the non-West, **who doubt the sincerity of the stated intentions for rights and democracy assistance, and who feel that interference in their national polities diminishes their ability to determine their own future.**

Some of those objections might of course be disingenuous – the product of government propaganda or self-serving logic. Yet it would be short-sighed to assume that all of them are, as **there are good reasons for being skeptical of rights and democracy promotion.** As indicated above, **recent interventions in the name of human rights and democracy** as well as human rights violations on the part of countries that are supposed champions of universal morality **have dealt a real blow to Western legitimacy**. **And crucially, the more that human rights and democracy promotion have been amalgamated** and expanded into a comprehensive approach to building better societies, **the more this threatens to stifle, rather than encourage, political debate in countries in question.** As the historian Samuel Moyn has put it, **for the purpose of opposing a regime the ‘fiction of moral consensus’ may be useful, but ‘construction requires political dissensus’**. (52) **The more extensive and concrete human rights and democracy promotion become, the more they risk preempting debate on the contentious political choices that need to be made, such as the makeup of political institutions or arrangements for social justice.**

#### Neg- Demo promo fails (U.S. is bad at it):

*(Peter Burnell, Professor of Politics in the Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Warwick, England & founding editor of the international journal Democratization , “Does international democracy promotion work?”, German Development Institute, Discussion Paper, https://www.uwe-holtz.uni-bonn.de/lehrmaterial/begleit\_burnell.pdf, 2007)*

So ‘No’, **for** notwithstanding near on **20 years of** international **democracy promotion**, and writing at a time when the most recent ‘wave’ of democracy or democratisation appears to have peaked, **still under half the countries in the world and less than half of humankind live in political systems that most** conventional judgments **would call** liberal **democracies**. Furthermore **few if any people live in a** more democratically enriched version of democracy than liberal democracy, such as highly participatory forms of democracy let alone the much more **egalitarian form**s **of** social **democracy** that radical writers have mused on down the years. Moreover, **the quality of democracy even in some of the longer established democracies like the US and UK is** considered by serious observers to be **facing major problems or** is **already in steep decline**.

#### Neg- Demo promo fails (Don’t know what we’re doing):

*(Peter Burnell, Professor of Politics in the Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Warwick, England & founding editor of the international journal Democratization , “Does international democracy promotion work?”, German Development Institute, Discussion Paper, https://www.uwe-holtz.uni-bonn.de/lehrmaterial/begleit\_burnell.pdf, 2007)*

What **we are not short of**, however, is **explanations of why democracy assistance fails**, assuming it is not difficult to agree on what failure means in this context, whether in some absolute sense or relative to ambition. It is ironic that while we flounder around trying to measure the benefit that democracy assistance means for democratisation, **very little attention seems to be given to finding out** when, where, and **under what circumstances democracy promotion not merely fails but actually does more harm than good**. **Just as in** efforts **in international development** cooperation, **there may be cases where the endeavours** actually **do a disservice to the cause** that is sought. **Or**, if not quite that, cases **where democracy support leads to excessive collateral damage along the way**, unsought after-consequences for other desired values inside the partner countries – for social order, political stability, governance capability and so on. After all, knowledge about what works can be a powerful tool – no less so than when it ends up in the wrong hands. **We are still toiling in the foothills of establishing what can be known** with any real certainty. **And** in regard to realising the potential benefits of institutional learning **there** **still seems to be a very long way to go.** While it might well be true to say that **experience in recent decades shows there are no foolproof ‘road maps for successful promotion of democracy’** (BMZ 2005, 9), clearly that is no reason for not trying to improve on the situation from here on.

*(Susan B. Epstein, Nina M. Serafino, and Francis T. Miko, Specialists in Foreign Policy Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, Congressional Research Service, “Democracy Promotion: Cornerstone of U.S. Foreign Policy?,” https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34296.pdf, Dec 26 2007)*

**Actual measurement of the effect of democracy promotion** projects **on democratization is**, in the words of the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), “**an** overwhelming, if not **impossible, task**.”63 In a March 2006 report to Congress, the NED pointed out that success could have many definitions, ranging from “whether the democratization of a country was the result of efforts made by a particular action or set of actions to whether a single action moved forward one building block within a much larger democratization effort.”64 **NED** notes that it **does not believe “that democratic progress can be quantified** **in any meaningful way**,”65 and even if it were possible to reliably assess outcomes quantitatively, the cost would be prohibitive. E**ven qualitative measures can be misleading,** according to the NED report, if **they do not take into account a wide variety of criteria on a case-by-case basis.** **Among other factors**, even **qualitative assessments must take into account whether a case is high-risk, whether sponsored groups operate under limiting** or deteriorating **conditions**, **and whether projects are sponsored as “long-term investments”** in countries where democratization is not expected to occur for many years. **Measuring the effects of democracy efforts as a whole**, however necessary, **can be even more problematic**. In an appendix to the 2006 NED report to Congress, Stanford University’s Michael McFaul points to the need for a comprehensive assessment of the global results of democracy promotion and suggests a detailed project design for such a study. **The lack of such an assessment**, as well as a lack of derivative materials for practitioners, **is**, in his judgment, **an important policy problem:** Currently, **there is a scarcity of literature to** inform and **guide** the decisions of senior **policymakers**.... **Every day, literally tens of thousands of people in the democracy promotion business go to work without training** manuals **or** **blueprints** in hand. Even published case studies of previous successes are hard to find in the public domain, **which means that democracy assistance efforts are often reinventing the wheel or making it up as they go along, as was on vivid display in both Afghanistan and Iraq. Even basic educational materials** for students seeking to specialize in democracy promotion **do not exist**.66

#### Neg- NGOs fail (backlash/suppression/cooption):

*(Sarah Bush, assistant prof of political science at Temple University, “Democracy promotion is failing. Here’s why,” Washington Post, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2015/11/09/democracy-promotion-is-failing-heres-why/, Nov 9 2015)*

In Burma and elsewhere, **the ability of the international community to successfully promote democracy is being questioned.** According to some observers, **we are in an era of “resurgent dictatorship**.” Although this phenomenon has a number of dimensions, **one prominent characteristic of the authoritarian backlash against democracy is the proliferation of domestic laws restricting the activities of foreign** nongovernmental organizations (**NGOs) and preventing foreign funding of local NGOs.** As James Savage of Amnesty International said in a recent interview, “**This** global wave of restrictions has a rapidity and breadth to its spread we’ve not seen before, that arguably **represents a seismic shift** and closing down of human rights space not seen in a generation.” A number of countries have been in the headlines this year for enacting these restrictive laws, which Thomas Carothers of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace refers to as the “closing space challenge.” **Russia** made the news in July when it **banned the National Endowment for Democracy from working within its borders. China also has been considering measures that would** regulate and significantly **hamper foreign NGOs**. Although **Russia and China** may be among the most prominent countries engaging in these tactics, they **are hardly unique**. In 2013, Darin Christensen and Jeremy Weinstein examined **98 countries** and found most had **either prohibited or restricted foreign funding for local NGOs**. **Moreover**, an examination of a complete sample of states between 1993 and 2012 by Kendra Dupuy, James Ron and Aseem Prakash found that **45 countries** had **adopted** **similarly restrictive laws.** **The** passage of **laws** that target foreign support for civil society **has** had **significant consequences for** international **efforts to advance democracy** and human rights in the developing world. Since the 1980s, there has been a tremendous growth in foreign aid programs designed to advance democracy and human rights. As I document in my recent book, **the U**nited **S**tates **has been** a leader on this front, **giving** about **$3 billion annually** in recent years **to democracy assistance programs.** In addition, most European democracies — including recently transitioned states — and international institutions have been major donors. Foreign aid programs supporting democracy and human rights in the developing world pursue a number of activities. They support the capacity of local civil society organizations, train journalists and election officials, and encourage women’s political participation. In the end, these activities are designed to encourage countries’ democratic transition and consolidation. Yet **the restrictions that many countries are placing on** the work of **democracy promoters make it difficult for organizations engaged in democracy assistance to choose the programs** that they think are **most likely to lead to democratization.** In other words, countries’ restrictions increasingly encourage what I refer to as a “tame” approach to aiding democracy abroad. **Restrictions** on foreign-funded activities are not limited to the passage of laws — they **also include informal tactics.** **Consider an example from** my field research in **Jordan**. In 2012, I spoke to a woman working for **an NGO** who **had** prepared for months to host **a training session for political parties**. On the day of the workshop, **several men who were not on her participant list showed up. The men sat** quietly **throughout** the workshop, **taking notes** and observing the day’s events **but not participating** in the activities on crafting messages, developing platforms and designing voter outreach. As the workshop continued, **the other participants became uncomfortable**. Although the men had introduced themselves as members of an unspecified political party, **it was clear** to her **that they were observers from** the Mukhabarat, **Jordan’s** omnipresent and highly professional General **Intelligence Directorate** (GID). Unfortunately, **such an anecdote is becoming increasingly familiar for NGO employees and funders from Cairo to Beijing.** People in the field of democracy assistance must worry about maintaining good relations with the governments in the countries where they work. And those governments carefully monitor the foreign-funded programs within their borders. **The end result is that it is harder than ever for states to** directly and effectively **aid democracy overseas.** Sometimes, the consequence is the cessation of foreign NGOs and foreign-funded domestic NGOs. In Egypt, the headline-grabbing 2013 convictions of 43 people working for foreign and foreign-funded NGOs have been followed by yet more state repression of domestic civil society. Other times, the foreign NGOs and foreign-funded domestic NGOs are allowed to continue their work but must switch tactics to a tamer form of democracy assistance that refrains from directly confronting undemocratic rulers and sometimes even cooperates with them. In Azerbaijan, programs supporting women and youths in undemocratic environments have been criticized for failing to support “meaningful social change.” While the **direct repression** of foreign NGOs may be more shocking **and** newsworthy now, the **indirect suppression and co-optation** of these organizations **may** ultimately **prove an even greater obstacle to democracy promotion in the years to come.**

#### Neg- NGOs fail (no credibility/associated with U.S. gov’t):

*(Nicole Bibbins Sedaca [Director of Independent Diplomat’s DC Office, adjunct professor at Georgetown University, board of directors member of the Institute for Global Engagement, the International Justice Mission, and Georgetown University’s School of Foreign Service, and former State Dept. Senior Director for Strategic Planning and External Affairs for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor and Senior Advisor to the Under Secretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs] and Nicolas Bouchet [Deputy Editor of Research at Chatham House and PhD in international relations from the University of London], “HOLDING STEADY? US DEMOCRACY PROMOTION IN A CHANGING WORLD,” Chatham House, Feb 2014)*

**Democracy NGOs** have their own agendas and value their operational independence, but the more

they **rely on state funding**, the more they are influenced by trends in government policy, **and have**

**to follow government** (regional and sectoral) **priorities and operational rules and guidelines.** This

does not stop them from recognizing, and often criticizing, the government’s neglect of democracy

promotion for security or economic interests. Nor does it preclude cases in which the government is

concerned that an NGO’s freedom of action may compromise other national goals in some cases.

This tension fluctuates depending on circumstances but it is an inherent and accepted part of the

relationship. It generally does not harm America’s democracy promotion efforts overall but could

diminish its effectiveness. **Cooperation** between the two sides **and the state-funding of NGOs does**

**create doubts,** however, **about the motives and independence of democracy NGOs in countries**

**suspicious of** the **America**n declared or hidden foreign-policy agenda. **In some cases, the work of**

**democracy NGOs has been hampered by allegations that they are used by US intelligence or other**

**agencies** (e.g. recently USAID in Russia or NDI, IRI and Freedom House in Egypt).

*(Thomas O. Melia, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Walsh School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University, “The Democracy Bureaucracy: The Infrastructure of American Democracy Promotion,” A discussion paper prepared for the Princeton Project on National Security Working Group on Global Institutions and Foreign Policy Infrastructure, https://www.princeton.edu/~ppns/papers/democracy\_bureaucracy.pdf, Sept 2005)*

**A**nother **complaint** **heard** **from NGOs in the democracy promotion community is that USAID has imposed “branding” requirements on all of its projects abroad that the NGOs feel is particularly inappropriate** to political development efforts. While there may be value to labeling school construction or medical clinics or the like with a “made in the USA” label, they argue, it is not advisable to do so with political actors one is trying to support. **In working with politicians and civic leaders in potential** or emerging **democracies**, the NGOs assert, **it is important that successes be owned by the local partners** – and that American helpers and supporters take a back seat. While this relates to a larger problem **some perceive** in **the** current Administration’s **triumphalist rhetoric** about the genesis of political change in various countries, which many democracy promoters see **as counter-productive and denigrating of local efforts**, it has a very specific, literal dimension for those working with USAID. Recently, **USAID has established a policy to require that all contractors prominently highlight in all activities, in graphics and titles (and in precisely described colors, proportions and fonts): “USAID – from the American People.” This includes the presentation on publications, business cards, office signs, and more.**28

#### Neg- Civil society support fails:

*(Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Getting to the Core (Conclusion), “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**Support for civil society organizations has been an important part of U.S. democracy promotion** everywhere, an approach of choice in favorable situations and a solution of last resort when nothing else seems possible. It was a solution of choice in the early days of democracy promotion, particularly in Eastern European countries in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In the permissive environment created by the disappearance of authoritarian regimes, and with populations lacking recent experience with democracy, encouraging civic activism appeared to be a sensible approach. less permissive In environments, with authoritarian governments still firmly in place and often barricaded behind a strong security apparatus, support for civil society appeared to be a way of at least keeping hope alive when all other avenues for democracy promotion were closed. **In retrospect, the impact of civil society assistance has been limited even in permissive environments, creating a plethora of small organizations but not necessarily having much impact on government policy or even extending political participation** much beyond a small cadre of activists. **In the difficult environment of Arab countries, civil society organizations of the type Western donors fund have been especially ineffective and politically isolated, unable to establish a strong presence** in a field where government- affiliated organizations, Islamic charities, and politicized Islamist groups dominate. Women's groups have scored some successes in altering legislation, but the most influential of these groups are those sponsored by host governments, often under the protection of the president's wife or women in the royal family. **Arab governments,** furthermore, **are learning quickly to play the civil society game. They are setting up their own** government-funded and thus **government-controlled human rights organizations, and allowing, even encouraging, prodemocracy** nongovernmental organizations **(NGOs**) and think tanks **to organize** domestic and international **meetings of intellectuals and to issue statements, thereby helping give a democratic aura to the host government.** What is missing, and what governments intend to prevent, are civil society organizations with large memberships. Discussions among individuals are fine, but discussions that involve membership- based organizations become threatening. The much-publicized meeting of civil society activists at the Alexandria Library in Egypt in early 2004 was, by design, a gathering of individuals, not of representatives of organizations**. Like Arab governments talking of reform, foreign democracy promoters want change, but without conflict and without changing the distribution of power sufficiently to threaten the incumbent governments and raise the threat of instability.** Democratization from the top is the ideal embraced by Arab governments, a surprising number of Arab intellectuals, and many foreign supporters of democratic change. This approach might work in countries where governments are strongly motivated to introduce change either by popular pressure or by a strong ideological commitment to change. But both of these elements are limited at best **in the Arab world. Governments remain strong and are** certainly **not inclined to share power. To the extent Arab governments are and feel challenged, it is not by democratic organizations, but by Islamist ones, which have a much broader popular base of support than the** secular, elite **organizations supported by the U**nited **S**tates or Europe. There is a striking contrast in the Arab world today between the broad-based Islamist groups well integrated in their social milieu and the narrowly based organizations foreigners think of as civil society**. The weakness of the democratic constituencies, the strength of the Islamist groups, and the continued reluctance of incumbent governments to take more than cautious steps toward reform constitute a formidable challenge to democracy for which the soft, indirect strategies are no match.**

#### Neg- Support for reformist political parties fails:

*(Thomas O. Melia, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Walsh School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University, “The Democracy Bureaucracy: The Infrastructure of American Democracy Promotion,” A discussion paper prepared for the Princeton Project on National Security Working Group on Global Institutions and Foreign Policy Infrastructure, https://www.princeton.edu/~ppns/papers/democracy\_bureaucracy.pdf, Sept 2005)*

Neither the State Department nor **the US** Agency for International Development **should [not] be involved in political party development work. It just looks bad** for the US Government **to play too conspicuous a role in managing the political competition in a foreign country**, especially given that the US Government does not financially support American political parties. **Embassies have demonstrated too often an instinct for the short term solution. USAID** should opt out because it **worries too much about ‘how to measure success’ and quantify political processes**, and annoys its customers unduly, but mostly because its people would rather be working on other things.) This would require a commitment by Congress, the locus of political party life in the United States, (or private donors) to finance the Endowment (or the party institutes directly) at an adequate level to replace the USAID funding for political party work.

#### Neg- Lack of long-term commitment/follow-though:

*(Thomas O. Melia, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Walsh School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University, “The Democracy Bureaucracy: The Infrastructure of American Democracy Promotion,” A discussion paper prepared for the Princeton Project on National Security Working Group on Global Institutions and Foreign Policy Infrastructure, https://www.princeton.edu/~ppns/papers/democracy\_bureaucracy.pdf, Sept 2005)*

A ten-year follow-through strategy ought to be required of US Ambassadors in those countries that are seen to be crossing critical thresholds toward democratization. Too **often, US policy** too **quickly presumes that an initial transition is more durable or substantial than it is and so funding and attention moves away from the “follow-through’ on democracy. This enables corrupt habits to take hold, for authoritarian tendencies to re-emerge, for political processes to be skewed toward protection of the administration** of the day **rather than** toward **the** strengthening of a **system**. Concerted, differently framed work to pressure governments, empower journalism and news media; schools and universities; and professional bodies to cultivate standards of democratic accountability and democratic citizenship.

*(Thomas O. Melia, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Walsh School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University, “The Democracy Bureaucracy: The Infrastructure of American Democracy Promotion,” A discussion paper prepared for the Princeton Project on National Security Working Group on Global Institutions and Foreign Policy Infrastructure, https://www.princeton.edu/~ppns/papers/democracy\_bureaucracy.pdf, Sept 2005)*

**Few clichés are** heard more often and **ignored more** frequently **than “elections are not the main focus of democracy assistance” and “we are in it for the long haul.” While** the principal **democracy promotion** NGOs and their counterparts in State and AID **would like live up to these maxims**, the **Congress** **and** successive **administrations** **always make more money available as** seemingly critical **elections** **approach**, **and initiatives and funding** by USAID and the State Department are likely to **wind down soon after** an apparently successful breakthrough election. **Serbia and Indonesia provide recent illustrations of the inclination** among U.S. Government agencies **to shift** their **attention away from long-term follow-through very soon after reasonably democratic elections have installed apparently democratic leaders** in office.

#### Neg- Past successes aren’t comparable:

*(Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace] (editors), “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” Introduction, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

Nature of the Challenge Highlighting the vital Western security interests tied to the political future of the Middle East, **some** policy makers and commentators **compare the challenge of promoting Arab democracy with the post—Cold War task of helping advance democracy in the former communist world**. Despite what may misleading**; significant differences distinguish the two** cases. **The** wave of attempted **democratic transitions that followed the** end of the **Cold War** in the former communist countries **took place in a climate in which alternative ideologies to democracy played a limited role. Socialism had lost its appeal.** Antidemocratic forms of nationalism still had some life left, but their full impact was only felt in the Balkans. **In the Arab world, however**, **democracy** seem to magnitude challenges, some the comparable or gravity of the two the comparison is **still has to contend with political Islam**, or Islamism, a mixture of politico- religious **ideas** **that** attract a mass following, have been growing in popularity, and **relate uneasily to** the ideals of liberal **democracy**. **In addition, the relationship between the U**nited **S**tates and Europe on the one hand **and the Arab world** on the other **is completely different from that which existed between the Western powers and** the Soviet Union and its **Eastern Europe**an allies **in the declining days of communism**. **The Warsaw Pact governments were hostile regimes that many Western governments actively hoped would fall, and the political opposition in those countries, and significant parts of the citizenry, were proAmerican. In the Middle East, most of the governments are valued security and economic partners of the West. And** significant parts of **the political opposition** to these governments, **and** in fact large parts of **the citizenry, are anti- American**. **Another major difference is the state of political change**. **In** a trend that gathered force across **the 1980s, the governments of** the Soviet Union and **Eastern Europe** were buffeted by strong internal pressures for change. By the end of the decade they **were collapsing and the region entered a period of profound political transformation, defined** not just by the fall of the old systems but **by** the **widespread desire,** at least in Eastern Europe, **to embrace democracy**. **The Middle East is in a fundamentally different state.** The region has experienced mild liberalizing reforms and internal reform debates over the last fifteen years, at least in some countries. In the last several years this reform debate has intensified, driven both by the Arabs' own reflections on the lessons of September 11 and by the new talk about the need for democracy in the region coming out of Washington and other Western capitals. Yet, **despite** this heightened reform debate and **some modest reform measures, the region remains** politically **stuck, with entrenched authoritarian** or semiauthoritarian **governments that are well versed in absorbing political reforms without changing** the fundamental elements of **power**. **Arab governments are still unwilling to take serious measures** to head off the very worrisome longer-term signs of trouble, such as the rising socioeconomic pressures created by high population growth.

#### Neg- Aff must advance concrete proposal/vague ideals bad:

*(Michael Singh, Visiting fellow at The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, "The U.S. Approach to Promoting Democracy in the Middle East", Paper presented at a conference organized by the Euro-Mediterranean Foundation of Support to Human Rights Defenders (EMHRF): Democratic Change in the Arab Region: State Policy and the Dynamics of the Civil Society, Brussels, http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/html/pdf/Singh20110403Brussels.pdf, April 2011)*

**With** this **proliferation of lines of action and tools** with which to advance them **comes a need to organize the U.S. bureaucracy to effectively devise and implement democracy promotion** strategies. **Traditionally**, crosscutting issues such as **democracy promotion** get little traction in the U.S. policymaking process, in large part because regionally focused offices and bureaus form the centers of power in the foreign policy community. **Efforts** to address this problem—whether by integrating the issues into the regional bureaus or otherwise enhancing their authority on paper—have met with little success, leaving **[have been left]** the fate of democracy promotion **to the energies** and influence **of individual officials** who champion it. Like any policy initiative, **even a well-conceived** and well-articulated **policy of democracy promotion, backed fully by the president, may stumble in the implementation** if the bureaucratic context is not gotten right. **To correct this problem**, senior **U.S.** national security **officials** **must** ensure that a regional democracy **focus** is integrated into the highest-level discussions of Middle East policy issues, **rather than relying on** such considerations to be made at **the base of the bureaucratic pyramid. They must** also **provide clear**er **guidance,** ideally **in the form of a concise and coherent** national security **strategy**, **to govern the day-to-day** tradeoffs made **in the field** between democracy promotion and other issues.

*(Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Editor of International Security, "Why the United States Should Spread Democracy", Harvard University’s Center for Science and International Affairs, Discussion Paper 98-07, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/2830/why\_the\_united\_states\_should\_spread\_democracy.html, March 1998)*

**Establishing that** promoting **democracy is beneficial does not**, however, **resolve all the questions that surround U.S. attempts to spread democracy. These questions include:** Can the United States encourage the spread of democracy or **must democracy** always **develop indigenously? How can the U**nited **S**tates **promote democracy** in other countries? **Which policies work** and under what circumstances do they work? **Any comprehensive case for why the U**nited **S**tates **should promote democracy must address these questions**.138

### Terrorism

#### Aff- Demos solves terror (laundry list):

*(Quan Li, Dept of Political Science at The Pennsylvania State University, “Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents?,” Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol 49, No 2, http://people.tamu.edu/~quanli/papers/JCR\_2005\_terrorism.pdf, April 2005)*

One argument in the democracy-terrorism literature posits that **aspects of democracy reduce terrorism. In nondemocratic societies, the lack of opportunities for political participation induces** political grievances and **dissatisfaction** among dissenters, **motivating terrorism** (Crenshaw 1981, 383). In contrast, **in democratic societies**, free and fair **elections** **ensure that rulers can be removed and** that desirable **social changes can be brought about by voters, reducing the need to resort to violence** (Schmid 1992). Democratic rules enable nonviolent resolution of political conflict. Democracies permit dissenters to express their policy preferences and seek redress (Ross 1993). **Different social groups are able to participate in the political process to further their interest through peaceful means, such as voting and forming political parties** (Eubank and Weinberg 1994, 2001). **Since democracy lowers the cost of achieving political goals through legal means, groups find costly illegal terrorist activities less attractive** (Ross 1993; Eyerman 1998). Wide **democratic participation also** has beneficial consequences that remain largely unnoticed in the literature. To the extent that democratic participation i**ncreases political efficacy of citizens, terrorist groups will be less successful recruiting new members** in democracy than in autocracy. This may reduce the number of terrorist attacks in democracy. **With**in the context of **transnational terrorism**, wide **democratic participation helps to reduce incentives** of domestic groups **to engage in terrorist activities against foreign targets** in a country. **When citizens have grievances against foreign targets,** greater political participation under **a democratic system allows them to exert** more **influence on their own government so** that **they can seek** favorable policy **changes or compensation** more **successfully**. **Joining a terrorist group and attacking the foreign target become less appealing options.** To the extent that **democratic participation leads to public tolerance of counterterrorist efforts, a democratic government will be more effective stopping** a variety of **terrorist attacks**, including those by domestic terrorists against foreign targets as well as those committed by foreign terrorists in the country.

#### Aff- Demos solves terror (repression of dissent radicalizes):

*(Ana Echagüe, senior researcher at FRIDE, “Back to square one: the United States in the Middle East,” FRIDE [a European think tank for global affairs], policy brief, no 192, http://fride.org/download/PB\_192\_The\_United\_States\_in\_the\_Middle\_East.pdf, January 2015)*

The **Obama** administration **has** also **avoided public condemnation of human rights abuses** on the part of the Bahraini regime, **preferring** a more **quiet diplomacy that will not jeopardise** its valuable **security relationship[s]** with the kingdom (the US fifth fleet is stationed in Bahrain). Even the expulsion of a high-ranking State Department official failed to elicit condemnation. Although $53 million worth of security assistance items remain on hold, including crowd control weapons and other dual-use security items, in December 2013 a $580 million expansion of the US Navy’s presence in Bahrain was announced. It is not only aid to support democracy that is declining. **The US is also overlooking the connection between anti-terrorism measures and domestic repression in its Arab partner countries**. As part of its strategy against IS, **Washington is encouraging its Arab allies to counteract terrorist** financing and **support emanating from their countries. But**, as the Gulf Centre for Human Rights has highlighted, newly enacted **terrorism laws in several Gulf states are leading to arbitrary arrests and imprisonment,** reflecting **the** vague wording and broad scope of **legislation** which **gives** the **regimes power to** arrest and **prosecute people for political**ly motivated **reasons**. Outlook Since 2011, crises on the ground have shaped the American agenda in the Middle East more than the other way around. In the face of a very difficult regional scenario characterised by instability derived from the fall out of the 2011 uprisings and the spread of violent extremism, **the Obama administration**’s response **has been** **heavily focused on security and** has brought about **a return to** the traditional **support for authoritarian regimes** in an effort **to restore stability**. **However**, this approach ignores the fact that **repressive regimes tend to exacerbate** the problem ofregional **terrorism** that the US seeks to combat **and foment the** sociopolitical **dissatisfaction that led to** the **uprisings** in the first place. This short-termism on the security front contrasts with the opening of a possibility for a long-term accommodation with Iran.

*(James A Piazza, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, “Do Democracy and Free Markets Protect Us From Terrorism?,” International Politics Journal, http://www.palgrave-journals.com/ip/journal/v45/n1/full/8800220a.html, 2008)*

But how might international terrorism, democracy and free market economies be logically related to one another? Few supporters of President Bush's post-September 11th anti-terrorism policy framework have clearly explained the causal mechanisms underlying such a relationship. American Enterprise Institute fellow Joshua Muravchik provides the most concrete explanation of how this relationship might work in an article published in the conservative Weekly Standard, though his theoretical model is explicitly confined to the political dimension of the relationship — the free market components are poorly described bedfellows of political reform — and is only applied to Muslim societies **in the Middle East.** Muravchik posits that **the climate of ‘unfreedom’** that pervades most Middle Eastern countries **breeds extremist thought** and behavior **that leads to terrorist activity. Regimes in the region**, he notes, **have** traditionally **used** heavy doses of **repression**, replete **with appalling human rights abuses**, **to control their public**, **and are characterized by** a legacy of formidable **state-led economic development**, largely **undisturbed by** the wave of **neo-liberal economic reform** that swept other developing world countries in the 1980s and 1990s, **which has produced a** very **poor standard of living** for citizens. **These practices** have, in turn, **created widespread resentment** and dissatisfaction **among citizens who** importantly **lack a** legal and **non-violent means to express their displeasure** with the status quo (see also Windsor, 2003). **The undemocratic regimes of the Middle East have** furthermore **compounded the problem by trying to wield public rage as a political tool** through state-run media, state-sponsored public demonstrations and state-controlled political associations. In **the absence of** a free press or **freedom of public expression**, an ‘epistemological retardation’ pervades political discourse **foster[s]**ing a mood of **paranoia**, **legitimizing political violence and giving credence to conspiracy stories in which the U**nited **S**tates **and its allies are perpetual villains.** In these societies, public **grievances are** not addressed and are therefore **allowed to fester to the point that citizens turn to extremist actors for relief.** The dictatorial nature of the regime furthermore retards the public virtues of political moderation and compromise, which are necessary ingredients of non-violent political expression (Muravchik, 2001).

#### Aff- Demos solves terror (repression of dissent radicalizes):

*(Shadi Hamid [senior fellow in the Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World in the Center for Middle East Policy & former director of research at the Brookings Doha Center, director of research at the Project on Middle East Democracy (POMED) and a Hewlett Fellow at Stanford University's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law] and Steven Brooke [postdoctoral research fellow at Harvard’s Belfer Center Middle East Initiative], “Promoting Democracy Worldwide Increases US National Security,” Deocracy, Ed. David M. Haugen and Susan Musser, Detroit: Greenhaven Press, 2012)*

It is worth emphasizing that democracy promotion does not involve only our relationships with authoritarian allies like Egypt, Jordan, or Saudi Arabia. Our ability and willingness to understand the relationship between autocracy and terror is also intimately tied to future success in Iraq. Drawing on captured documents previously unavailable to the public, **a** **2008 study by West Point's Combating Terrorism Center found that "low levels of civil liberties are a powerful predictor of the national origin of foreign fighters in Iraq." Of nearly 600 al Qaeda in Iraq fighters listed** in the declassified documents, **41 percent were from Saudi Arabia** while 19 percent were of Libyan origin. **The study also notes that "Saudi Arabian jihadis contribute far more money to [al Qaeda in Iraq] than fighters from other countries." According to the Freedom House index, the Saudi regime is one of the 17 most repressive governments in the world. Because the kingdom brooks no dissent at home, it has**, since the early 1980s, **sought to bolster its legitimacy by encouraging militants to fight abroad in support of various pan-Islamist causes.** Since the late 1990s, **those militants have tended to target the U**nited **S**tates. **In other words, Saudi Arabia's internal politics can have devastating external consequences. Democratic reform also holds out hope for confronting other Middle Eastern flashpoints.** In recent years, the notion of incorporating violent political actors in nonviolent, democratic processes has gained some currency, particularly in light of the successful integration of insurgents in Iraq. Meanwhile, **in the Palestinian territories, whatever else one wishes to say about Hamas, the group's electoral participation since 2006 has coincided with a precipitous drop in** the **suicide bombings** that had long been their hallmark. **Recognizing the relevance of democracy to some of the thorniest Middle Eastern conflicts**—whose effects reverberate to our shores—**makes democracy promotion much harder to dismiss** as a luxury of idealism and a purely moral, long-term concern. In short, understanding the interplay between tyranny and terror can allow us to better judge—and, if necessary, elevate—the place of democracy promotion in the hierarchy of national priorities. Democracy Promotion Can Improve US Credibility De-emphasizing support for democracy, on the other hand, will have significant consequences at a time when Arabs and Muslims are looking to us for moral leadership and holding out great expectations for an American president who many continue to see as sympathetic to their concerns. Obama's Cairo speech, hailed throughout the Middle East, was a step in the right direction, but disappointment has since grown as the administration has failed to follow up with tangible policy changes on the ground. Dropping democracy down on the agenda would ignore the fact that our ideals coincide with those of the majority of **Middle Easterners** who **are angry at us not for promoting democracy, but because we do not. When we say we want democracy but do very little about it, our credibility suffers** and we are left open to charges of hypocrisy. This credibility gap should not be dismissed. Ultimately, **the fight against terror is not simply about** "connecting the dots," improving interagency coordination, and **killing terrorists; it is just as important to have a broader vision that addresses the sources of political violence. Any long-term strategy must take into account** an emerging body of **evidence which shows that lack of democracy can be a key predictor of terrorism, and correlates with it more strongly than other commonly cited factors like poverty and unemployment**. If understood and utilized correctly, **democracy promotion can become a key component of a revitalized counterterrorism strategy that tackles the core problem** of reducing the appeal of violent extremism in Muslim societies. **It has the potential to succeed where the** more traditional, **hard power components of counterterrorism strategy have failed.** The link between lack of democracy and terrorism also has consequences for American domestic politics. It provides a unifying theme for Democrats and Republicans alike, one that honors our ideals while helping keep us safe and secure. To the extent that politicians have had difficulty selling democracy promotion to the American people, the "tyranny-terror link" provides a promising narrative for U.S. policy in managing the immense challenges of today's Middle East.... Democracy Promotion Must Take a Multifaceted Approach **A multitude of factors**—economic, political, cultural, and religious—**contribute to** Islamic **radicalism** and terror. **However**, one important factor, and **one that appears to have a strong empirical basis, is the Middle East's democracy deficit. Any** long-term **strategy to combat terrorism should therefore include a vigorous, sustained effort to support democracy** and democrats in a region long debilitated by autocracy. Obviously, this is an enormous challenge and should not be taken lightly. However, **abandoning such a critical task would mean more of the same—a Middle East that continues to fester as a source of political instability and religious extremism. And, in today's world, such instability, and the violence that** so often **results**, **cannot be contained**; it will spill over and harm America and its allies.

#### Aff- Demos solves terror (repression of dissent radicalizes):

*(Liz Cheney, attorney & former Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, “Why America Must Promote Democracy in the Middle East,” http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/story?id=3611675&page=1, Sept 17 2007)*

**America is** a good and **a** great **nation, founded on** values of **freedom, liberty and individual rights**. It is right that **we should use our position as the world's only superpower to spread** freedom, **democracy** and economic opportunity. **Promoting democracy in the Middle East is also one of the best ways to ensure** our **victory in the war on terror.**  America is at war with enemies driven by a radical ideological hatred to destroy us and all we stand for. These terrorists weren't created by U.S. policy. They are religious zealots who will stop at nothing to further their aim of establishing a global caliphate in which individual lives have no value, women are oppressed and the only legitimate faith is a perverted version of Islam. The leaders of **al Qaeda can't prevail alone. Their cause depends upon recruits. They must convince young men and women that they have no hope for a better future here on Earth**. They must convince them to strap on bombs and kill as many innocents as possible. For decades, **terror leaders** have been **feed**ing **on young people living in despair under authoritarian regimes** with closed and decaying economic systems and schools that teach hatred and intolerance. America must work with the forces of freedom and moderation in today's Middle East to change this deadly status quo. **To win the war on terror, America must defeat today's terrorists and prevent the recruitment of tomorrow's. One of the best ways to prevent recruitment is to make clear that life holds real opportunity. Young people in the Arab world as elsewhere yearn for the freedom to be heard, to stand for something larger than self, to control their own destinies and to choose their own leaders. Only democracy can fulfill these aspirations.**  **Al Qaeda's worst enemy is a democratically elected government** giving voice to its people's hopes and dreams. They know that people don't choose to be ruled by al Qaeda. One need only read the captured writings of former al Qaeda in Iraq chief Abu Musab al Zarqawi to understand the fear democracy strikes into the hearts of terrorists.

*(Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace] (editors), “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” Introduction, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**This** new Western **preoccupation with democracy in the Middle East has a** clear **source**. **The terrorist attacks** against New York and Washington **on September 11**, 2001, **threw into question** a long-standing pillar of Western policy thinking in the region—the belief **that** the **political stability offered by** **friendly** Arab **authoritarian regimes is a** linchpin of Western **security interest**s. In the process of post—September 11 review and reflection, many **people** in the U.S. and European policy communities reversed their previous outlook and **now see the lack of democracy in the Middle East as** one of **the** main **cause**s **of** the rise of **violent**, anti-Western **Islamic radicalism, and** as such, **a major security problem.** And **it follows** directly from this conclusion **that** attempting to political reform and promote **democratization in the region should be a policy priority**—one of **the key method**s **for eliminating the "roots of terrorism."** The new democracy imperative for the Middle East, at least on the part of Western policy makers, is thus driven not by a trend toward reform in the region, but by the West's own security concerns.

#### Aff- Demos solves terror (repression of dissent radicalizes):

*(Voice of America, “Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?,” http://www.voanews.com/content/a-13-2005-11-03-voa55-66368002/546889.html, October 27, 2009)*

**Encouraging democracy** **alone** **is not likely to eliminate terrorism**. **But according to** Joseph **Nye, professor of international relations at Harvard** University, **a lack of democracy contributes to** the spread of **terrorism**. "It's certainly not the major cause of terrorism. I think that prospects for **democracy and free expression** may **help to reduce some of the** sources of **anger**. But there are other sources of anger besides the absence of democracy." There is no real consensus on what turns someone into a terrorist. Experts point to a combination of social, political and economic factors. There is wide agreement that hate and extremism are likely to grow in societies where young people are deprived of opportunities for education and a brighter future.

Jerrold **Post, professor of** psychiatry, **political psychology and international affairs at George Washington University, says because open societies offer more opportunity they provide a less fertile breeding ground for terrorism. He adds, "In societies where there is no access for** a bright, educated **youth to a successful career, many have been inspired by hate-mongering leaders to strike out in despair. The more open societies are, the more opportunity there is. This decreases the reservoir of resentment that is present."**

*(Shadi Hamid and Steven Brooke [Ph.D. student in the Department of Government at the University of Texas], “Promoting Democracy to Stop Terror, Revisited,” Hoover Institution, http://www.hoover.org/research/promoting-democracy-stop-terror-revisited, Feb & March 2010)*

**Promoting democratic reform**, this time not just with rhetoric but with action, **should be** given higher **priority** in the current administration, even though early indications suggest the opposite may be happening. **Despite all its bad press, democracy promotion remains, in the long run, the most effective way to undermine terrorism and political violence in the Middle East.** This is not a very popular argument. Indeed, a key feature of the post-Bush debate over democratization is an insistence on **separating support for democracy from** any explicit **national security** rationale. This, however, **would be a mistake with troubling consequences for American foreign policy.**

*(Chris Forster, The Foreign Policy Centre, “Democracy, Terrorism and the Middle East,” http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/711.pdf, Feb 16 2006)*

Yet **the overriding approach for dealing with organisations that employ terrorism** and the terrorists that join them **should be** one of **democratisation** of the countries that sustain them. **Providing non-violent** and viable **means for people to express grievances**, giving space for economic prosperity **and creating** the **structures for social stability are** all **possible within** the realms of **democracies because the people can inform the government of what is needed. If it fails, it gets voted out.** Furthermore, **with stateless groups, such as al-Qaeda**, where you cannot easily democratise those within the structure, **it is better to whittle down the number of countries they can operate from by spreading democracy.** What ‘democratisation’ means in practice, however, is particularly complicated, for ‘democracy’ itself is not a one dimensional creature.

#### Aff- Demos solves terror (empirical data):

*(Arch Puddington, Senior Vice President for Research, “Democracy Is the Best Defense Against Terrorism,” Freedom House, https://freedomhouse.org/blog/democracy-best-defense-against-terrorism, Jan 13 2015)*

Last week, **Freedom at Issue published a chart** (left) **that showed a powerful link between terrorist attacks and countries that lack democratic governance**. As the second graphic (right) indicates**, the correlation is even stronger when the number of deaths is taken into account: Just 2 percent of deaths from terrorist attacks in 2013 occurred in countries that were ranked Free** in Freedom in the World. The data for both charts are drawn from the authoritative project START, the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism, based at the University of Maryland. The consortium offers statistics on the number of terrorist attacks per country as well as the number of fatalities from such attacks. We broke these figures down according to Freedom in the World designations to determine the percentage of attacks and deaths in Free, Partly Free, and Not Free countries. **The results strengthen the argument that while terrorism poses a threat to democratic and nondemocratic societies alike, it is** apparently **able to flourish only in dictatorships, states with authoritarian-leaning regimes, and settings that suffer from weak or corrupt government.** To take note of this is not in any way to minimize the tragedy, or the importance, of the Charlie Hebdo massacre. Indeed, **the killings in France are shocking precisely because terrorist incidents of this magnitude are so unusual in democracies.** Furthermore, the murder of the cartoonists and editors was meant to send a message to the whole world: Cross certain red lines, and the same thing can happen to you.

**But** **the Paris killings took place in a global environment in which horrible massacres unfold on an almost daily basis**. Late last week, nearly 20 people were killed in a bombing in Yemen. Mass killings in northern Nigeria are by now practically commonplace; some estimates put the death toll from the latest spate of Boko Haram attacks at 2,000, with girls as young as 10 being forced to serve as suicide bombers. There are also chilling reports of Islamic State loyalists kidnapping Christians in Egypt. In Pakistan, a school has just reopened several weeks after nearly 150 children were gunned down by terrorists. As last week’s blog put it: “**For evidence that authoritarian states create** an enabling environment **for terrorism, one has only to look at the location and origins of the major terrorist groups active today. The Islamic State, for example, metastasized amid the Syrian dictatorship’s war with opposition rebels and the sectarian divisions sown by increasingly authoritarian Iraqi prime minister** Nouri **al-Maliki**. An affiliate of the group has emerged in Egypt, where coup leader Abdel Fattah el-Sisi is cracking down on all forms of dissent. **And Boko Haram** has **radicalized** and expanded its reach **amid extrajudicial killings** and other ineffective tactics **by the corruption-plagued Nigerian security forces.** **Given this reality, the most effective way for democracies to combat terrorism** at home over the long term **may be to foster democratic governance abroad.”**

#### Aff- Demos solves terror (ideology):

*(Douglas J. Feith, former Undersecretary of Defense for Policy, “Strategy and the Idea of Freedom,” Heritage Foundation, http://www.heritage.org/research/lecture/strategy-and-the-idea-of-freedom-by-douglas-j-feith, Nov 24 2003)*

Abroad, **the makers of the Reagan Revolution** - with the Heritage Foundation as a key node in the network - **elevated** the status of **ideas as weapons** in the arsenal **of democracy**. The Reaganites understood Realpolitik; they grasped the importance of guns and money and the other "hard" realities of world affairs. But **they appreciated** also **the potency of the human desire of freedom**. **They saw the Cold War not as** a balance-of-power exercise between two "superpowers" - much less **an arms race between "two apes on a treadmill" - but as a** **noble** **fight** **of** western liberal **democracy against** Soviet communist **tyranny**. They abraded conventional sensibilities by speaking of an "evil empire" and insisting that the truly representative voices in that empire were those of Lech Walesa, Vaclav Havel, Andrei Sakharov, Anatoly Sharansky and their fellow dissidents. **This engagement in philosophical warfare**, I need hardly remind folks at the Heritage Foundation, **created** no small controversy in the politics and diplomacy of the western world. President Reagan's talk of democracy and good-versus-evil and his exhortation to tear down the Berlin Wall were widely criticized, even ridiculed, as unsophisticated and de-stabilizing. But it's now widely understood as having contributed importantly to **the greatest victory in world history**: the collapse of Soviet communism and **the liberation of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe without a war**. As we develop and execute our strategy **today in the** Global **War on Terrorism, there is much to be learned** from the Reagan era **about the power of ideas**. With President George W. Bush having just returned from Britain, I'd Like to recall the remarkable speech that President Reagan gave on June 8, 1982 to the British Parliament. In it, he challenged the pessimism about the future of liberty that was common in the 1970s: Optimism is in order [he said] because day-by-day democracy is proving itself to be a not-at-all fragile flower. … the regimes planted by totalitarianism have had more than thirty years to establish their legitimacy. But none - not one regime - has yet been able to risk free elections. President Reagan recognized that **democracy is not the preserve of** one people or **one cultural group**. He said that **democracy** "already **flourishes in countries with very different cultures and historical experiences. It would be cultural condescension, or worse, to say that any people prefer dictatorship to democracy**." Accordingly, President Reagan proposed a program To foster the infrastructure of **democracy**, the system of a free press, unions, political parties, universities, which **allows** a **people to choose their own way to develop their own culture, to reconcile their** own **differences through peaceful means**. That program grew into the National Endowment for Democracy, which recently celebrated its twentieth anniversary. President Bush spoke at the celebration of that anniversary a few weeks ago, recalling Ronald Reagan's words as "courageous and optimistic and entirely correct." In the last few weeks, in his National Endowment for Democracy speech, and in his speech in London, President Bush carried forward Ronald Reagan's ideas and applied them to the Middle East and the Muslim world generally. **The** good and capable **people of the Middle East** all deserve responsible leadership. For too long, many people in that region have been victims and subjects - they **deserve to be active citizens.** As in the case of President Reagan's 1982 speech, George W. Bush's advocacy of democracy serves a number of purposes: The "advance of freedom" is, President Bush said, not only the "calling of our time,…it is the calling of our country." But **there is more at work** here **than** just **idealism**. **All** free peoples **have a practical stake in the spread of democratic institutions** and the rule of law. **Promoting freedom is fundamental to** this Administration's policy in the Middle East, and in the Muslim world in general, and in **the war on terrorism.**  The Bush Administration's strategy in the global war on terrorism has three parts: First, disrupting and destroying terrorist networks and infrastructure. Second, the protection of our homeland. And third is **the intellectual component of creating a global anti-terrorist environment.** We call this third part the "Battle of Ideas." Our aim in that battle **is to de-legitimate terrorism as an instrument of politics. This means** working to change the way people think**, making toleration of terrorism** - let alone support for it - **unacceptable to anyone** who wishes to be regarded as respectable. As President Bush's National Security Strategy says: People everywhere should put terrorism in the same despised category as slave trading, piracy and genocide. President Bush alluded to this point in London last week when he noted that American "zeal" has been inspired by English examples and he cited "the firm determination of the Royal Navy over the decades [of the early nineteenth century] to find and end the trade in slaves." If the United States and its Coalition partners are **to succeed** in changing the way the world thinks about terrorism, **we**'ll **have to ensure that terrorism is punished rather than rewarded and that state sponsors of terrorism pay a price** for their activities. (The Taliban and Saddam Hussein regimes have paid an especially large price.) But **our efforts also** have to **target the recruitment** and indoctrination **of terrorists. No matter how successful we are at killing and capturing terrorists, or intercepting their weapons and funds, we can't win** the war on terrorism **unless we** can **reduce the supply of new terrorists.** So, what are the circumstances that create fertile ground for the recruitment of terrorists? I see many of the usual answers as off the mark. Consider, for example, the phenomenon of suicide bombers - terrorists who perform attacks that they know they cannot survive. Many commentators have asserted that such terrorists don't calculate the benefits and costs of their actions. Westerners commonly assume that only a person ensnared in deep despair could do such a thing. This diagnosis implies its own solution - that the world should address what are called the "root causes of terrorism," the poverty and political hopelessness that many people imagine are the traits and motives of the suicide bombers. This diagnosis, however, doesn't correspond to our actual experience. And it blinds us to opportunities we have to confront terrorism strategically. When we look at the records of the suicide bombers, we see that many aren't drawn from the poor. Mohammed Atta, for instance - a key figure in executing the September 11 attack - was a middle-class Egyptian whose parents were able to send him to study abroad. And his education meant that he could look forward to a relatively privileged life in Egypt - hardly grounds for extreme despair. Rather **what characterizes terrorists seems to be** a strange mixture of perverse hopes: First of all, some bombers cherish a perverse form of religious hope. The promise of eternity in paradise is a tenet of many faiths, a noble incentive and consolation to millions of people. It's as cynical as it is sinister that leaders of al Qaida, Ansar al-Islam, Hezbollah, Hamas and other groups convince young people that eternity in paradise is available as a reward for murder. Second, there is the bomber's **hope of** earthly glory and reward - **praise as a hero from political leaders and honor for one's parents**. Third, there is the bomber's political hope. **Suicide bombing is** what defense analysts categorize as a form of **asymmetric warfare**, a means for the weak to fight the strong. Some **terrorists are motivated by their hope that it is a winning strategy. This suggests a strategic course** for us: **attack the sources of these malignant hopes**. Regarding the religious hope: **Many Muslim** religious **leaders disapprove** of suicide bombing - **but** many have **been silenced** or intimidated to voice support for the terrorists. The civilized world can do more to support moderate clerics, defend them and provide them with platforms on which to protect their religion from extremists who want to distort and hijack it. **The** civilized **world** **should also deal with political leaders who heap honor** (and money) **on** the suicide **bombers** **and** **their** **families**. President Bush, speaking of suicide bombers, said: "They are not martyrs. They are murderers." Other world leaders have the responsibility to reinforce this message. **Finally**, as to the suicide bombers' political hopes, **it is important that terrorism be seen as a losing strategy.** It is of strategic importance that neither in Iraq nor Afghanistan nor elsewhere wills the terrorists achieve success. In addition to batting down these perverted hopes, our mission is to create the conditions in which the people of the Middle East and elsewhere in the Islamic world can cherish the humane aspirations of free people everywhere for liberty and an opportunity to use their talents to win a measure of prosperity for themselves and their families. As President Bush noted: Sixty **years of** Western nations **excusing** an accommodating **the lack of freedom in the Middle East did nothing to make us safe - because in the long run, stability cannot be purchased at the expense of liberty. AS long as the Middle East remains a place where freedom does not flourish, it will remain a place of** stagnation, resentment, and **violence** ready **for export**. We are now engaged most intensively in creating the conditions for freedom in both Afghanistan and Iraq. Although there is much to be said about Afghanistan, in my remaining time, I have to confine myself to a brief review of the situation in Iraq. Our work in that country is guided by President Bush's idea that a successful, new Iraq could serve as a model to the Arab and Muslim worlds of modernization, moderation, **democracy** and economic well-being. A free and prosperous Iraq **could provide** tens of millions of people with **an alternative way to think about the future: Life doesn't have to be dominated by fanaticism and tyranny.**

*(Lisa Curtis, Senior Research Fellow for South Asia in the Asian Studies Center at The Heritage Foundation, “Championing Liberty Abroad to Counter Islamist Extremism,” Heritage Foundation, Backgrounder #2518, http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2011/02/championing-liberty-abroad-to-counter-islamist-extremism, Feb 9 2011)*

**The** Obama **Administration needs to continue** its new-found commitment to **supporting democratic ideals and institutions around the globe, especially in Muslim-majority countries where extremist movements threaten liberal freedoms and**, in some cases, **the stability of the state**.

**Encouraging democratic values will not only help to protect citizens from human rights abuses** by authoritarian regimes, **but also provide a bulwark against** Islamist **extremist movements.** Part of **the effort to counter extremist ideology will necessarily include demonstrating that Muslim-majority countries and democratic principles are compatible.** The strategy should also involve countering Islamists, who may not publicly support terrorism but still seek to subvert democratic systems and pursue an ideology that leads to discrimination against religious minorities.

#### Aff- Demos solves terror (economic growth & pluralism):

*(Mark P. Lagon, Adjunct Senior Fellow for Human Rights at the Council on Foreign Relations, “Promoting Democracy: The Whys and Hows for the United States and the International Community,” CFR, http://www.cfr.org/democratization/promoting-democracy-whys-hows-united-states-international-community/p24090, Feb 2011)*

Furthering democracy is often dismissed as moralism distinct from U.S. interests or mere lip service to build support for strategic policies. Yet **there are tangible stakes** **for** the United States and indeed **the world in the spread of democracy**—**namely, greater peace, prosperity, and pluralism**. Controversial means for promoting democracy and frequent mismatches between deeds and words have clouded appreciation of this truth. Democracies often have conflicting priorities, and democracy promotion is not a panacea. Yet **one of the few truly robust findings in international relations is that** established **democracies never go to war with one another**. Foreign policy “realists” advocate working with other governments on the basis of interests, irrespective of character, and suggest that this approach best preserves stability in the world. However, durable **stability flows from a** domestic **politics built on consensus and peaceful competition**, which more often than not promotes similar international conduct for governments. There has long been controversy about whether democracy enhances economic development. The dramatic growth of China certainly challenges this notion. Still, history will likely show that democracy yields the most prosperity. Notwithstanding the global financial turbulence of the past three years, **democracy’s elements facilitate long-term economic growth. These elements include** above all **freedom of expression and learning to promote innovation**, **and rule of law to foster predictability for investors and stop corruption from stunting growth**. It is for that reason that the UN Development Programme (UNDP) and the 2002 UN Financing for Development Conference in Monterey, Mexico, embraced good governance as the enabler of development. **These elements have unleashed new emerging powers such as India and Brazil and raised the quality of life for impoverished peoples. Those who argue that economic development will eventually yield political freedoms may be reversing the order of influences**—or at least discounting the reciprocal relationship between political and economic liberalization. **Finally, democracy affords all groups equal access to justice**—and equal opportunity to shine as assets in a country’s economy. **Democracy’s support for pluralism prevents human assets**—**including religious and ethnic minorities, women, and migrants—from being squandered**. Indeed, **a shortage of economic opportunities and outlets for grievances has contributed significantly to the ongoing upheaval in the Middle East. Pluralism is** also **precisely what is needed to stop violent extremism from wreaking havoc on the world.**

#### Aff- A2 “demos causes terror”:

*(Quan Li, Dept of Political Science at The Pennsylvania State University, “Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents?,” Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol 49, No 2, http://people.tamu.edu/~quanli/papers/JCR\_2005\_terrorism.pdf, April 2005)*

While most empirical **evidence** shows **that** **democracy encourages** transnational **terrorism**, extant theoretical and empirical work **suffers several important weaknesses. First**, at the theoretical level, the positive effect of civil liberties on transnational terrorism is epiphenomenal of some other fundamental regime attribute. I argue that **it is the institutional constraints on the government that drive the positive effect of democracy on terrorism. In addition**, **previous** arguments in the **literature** have **ignored the heterogeneity of democratic systems across countries.** I argue that **such** institutional **differences account for** cross-country **variations** **in** transnational **terrorist activities. Second**, there exists a disconnection between theoretical arguments and empirical analyses in the literature. Competing theoretical expectations are derived from consideration of different attributes of democracy. Existing empirical analyses, however, all employ some aggregate indicator of political regime type. This approach is problematic because an aggregate indicator cannot offer an empirical separation of the positive and negative effects of democracy if **competing effects are at work at the same time. Hence**, aggregate **indicators of regime type are not useful for evaluating** arguments on **disparate effects of different attributes of democratic institutions. Finally**, the widely cited **analyses** by Eubank and Weinberg (1994, 1998, 2001**) do not control for additional factors such as economic development and income inequality that may confound their findings.** The multivariate analysis by Eyerman (1998) fails to address important statistical problems such as heteroskedasticity and serial correlation in the error term that may affect statistical inferences. **These empirical issues** need to be addressed. In this article, I focus on the various mechanisms by which democracy affects transnational terrorism. I identify new theoretical mechanisms that either complement or encompass existing arguments. Different effects of democracy are assessed using a multivariate analysis in a sample of about 119 countries from 1975 to 1997 using the ITERATE database. The findings **have important policy implications for the war on terrorism and for promoting democracy** around the world.

#### Aff- A2 “demos causes terror”:

*(Quan Li, Dept of Political Science at The Pennsylvania State University, “Does Democracy Promote or Reduce Transnational Terrorist Incidents?,” Journal of Conflict Resolution, Vol 49, No 2, http://people.tamu.edu/~quanli/papers/JCR\_2005\_terrorism.pdf, April 2005)*

A second argument in the literature **claims that democracy encourages terrorism**. This **is based on the premise that** democracies provide greater civil liberties (e.g., Schmid 1992). By guaranteeing **civil liberties**, democracies **allow terrorists to** become organized and **maneuver easily**, reducing the costs of conducting terrorist activities (Ross 1993; Eyerman 1998). Expansive **and** secure civil liberties also **make it harder** for the legal systems in democracies to convict terrorists and **for democratic governments to prevent or retaliate against terrorism** (Schmid 1992; Eubank and Weinberg 1994, 2001). As Crenshaw (1981, 383) notes, “The desire to protect civil liberties constrains security measures.” **The hypothesized effect of civil liberties, however, involves two confounding issues. First, civil liberties** may also **generate a mitigating effect on terrorism. Citizens enjoying more civil liberties are more likely to influence the political process successfully.** To the extent that civil liberties reduce political grievances, they may also reduce terrorist activities. Therefore, civil liberties alone do not help us separate the positive and negative effects of democracy, either theoretically or empirically. **Second, press freedom**, as part and parcel of civil liberties, **may induce** possible **terrorist incident reporting bias** and create an additional incentive for terrorism. **The bias in the reporting of terrorist incidents between different regime types has been widely recognized** (see, e.g., Schmid 1992; Eubank and Weinberg 1994; Sandler 1995; Li and Schaub 2004). **Terrorist incidents are more likely to be reported in democratic countries** but less so in nondemocratic ones. This is so **because democratic countries place fewer restrictions on the media**, the less restrained news-seeking media in democracies tend to provide more extensive coverage of terrorist events, or both. In contrast, **reporting of such incidents in nondemocratic countries is heavily** controlled and **censored**. **Since data on terrorist incidents are collected from open sources**, one is likely to conclude that democracies have more terrorist incidents. **Even if nondemocratic countries experience the same number of incidents, observers may never find out**, using data collected from open sources. **The reporting bias may falsely cause one to observe a positive correlation between** the level of **civil liberties and the number of terrorist events.**

#### Aff- A2 “Worsens ethnic tensions/sectarianism”:

*(Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Editor of International Security, "Why the United States Should Spread Democracy", Harvard University’s Center for Science and International Affairs, Discussion Paper 98-07, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/2830/why\_the\_united\_states\_should\_spread\_democracy.html, March 1998)*

**The argument that democracy exacerbates ethnic tensions** also **is unpersuasive. Managing ethnic tensions in multiethnic societies isn't easy, but democratic approaches may be at least as successful as authoritarian ones. Authoritarian states that appeared to control ethnic tensions often did so at a high price in human life. The Soviet Union avoided ethnic civil war, but** under Stalin **it decimated** or deported many **ethnic minorities**. **Tito's Yugoslavia avoided violent disintegration, but hundreds of thousands** **of suspected separatists were killed** on Tito's orders, particularly in the late 1940s. **Considerable evidence indicates** that liberal **democracy, with its emphasis on tolerance, cooperation, political accommodation, and respect for civil liberties, provides the best recipe for long-term domestic stability.**

#### Neg- Demos doesn’t solve terror:

*(F. Gregory Gause III, Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Vermont and Director of its Middle East Studies Program, “Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?,” Foreign Affairs, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2005-09-01/can-democracy-stop-terrorism, September/October 2005)*

**The U**nited **S**tates **is engaged in** what President George W. Bush has called **a** "generational **challenge" to instill democracy in the Arab world.** The Bush administration and its defenders contend that this push for Arab democracy will not only spread American values but also improve U.S. security. **As democracy grows in the Arab world, the thinking goes, the region will stop generating** anti-American **terrorism**. Promoting democracy in the Middle East is therefore not merely consistent with U.S. security goals; it is necessary to achieve them.

**But this begs a fundamental question: Is it true that the more democratic a country becomes, the less likely it is to produce terrorists** and terrorist groups? In other words, is the security rationale for promoting democracy in the Arab world based on a sound premise? Unfortunately, **the answer appears to be no.** Although what is known about terrorism is admittedly incomplete, **the data** available **do not show a** strong **relationship between democracy and** an absence of or **a reduction in terrorism. Terrorism appears to stem from factors much more specific than regime type**. Nor is it likely that democratization would end the current campaign against the United States. Al Qaeda and like-minded groups are not fighting for democracy in the Muslim world; they are fighting to impose their vision of an Islamic state. **Nor is there any evidence that democracy in the Arab world would "drain the swamp," eliminating soft support for terrorist organizations among the Arab public and reducing the number of potential recruits for them.**

Even if democracy were achieved in the Middle East, what kind of governments would it produce? Would they cooperate with the United States on important policy objectives besides curbing terrorism, such as advancing the Arab-Israeli peace process, maintaining security in the Persian Gulf, and ensuring steady supplies of oil? No one can predict the course a new democracy will take, but **based on public opinion surveys and recent elections in the Arab world, the advent of democracy there seems likely to produce new Islamist governments that would be much less willing to cooperate with the U**nited **S**tates **than** are the **current authoritarian rulers.**

The answers to these questions should give Washington pause. The Bush administration's democracy initiative can be defended as an effort to spread American democratic values at any cost, or as a long-term gamble that even if Islamists do come to power, the realities of governance will moderate them or the public will grow disillusioned with them. **The emphasis on** electoral **democracy** **will not**, however, **serve** immediate **U.S. interests either in the war on terrorism or in other important Middle East policies.**

#### Neg- Demos doesn’t solve terror:

*(F. Gregory Gause III, Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Vermont and Director of its Middle East Studies Program, “Can Democracy Stop Terrorism?,” Foreign Affairs, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/middle-east/2005-09-01/can-democracy-stop-terrorism, September/October 2005)*

**There are** also **logical problems with** the argument **supporting the U.S. push for democracy as part of the war on terrorism. Underlying the assertion that democracy will reduce terrorism is the belief that,** **able to** participate openly in competitive politics and **have their voices heard in the public square, potential terrorists** and terrorist sympathizers **would not need to resort to violence** to achieve their goals. Even if they lost in one round of elections, the confidence that they could win in the future would inhibit the temptation to resort to extra-democratic means. The habits of democracy would ameliorate extremism and focus the anger of the Arab publics at their own governments, not at the United States.

Well, maybe. **But it is** just as **logical to assume that terrorists**, who rarely represent political agendas that could mobilize electoral majorities, **would reject** the very principles of majority rule and minority rights on which liberal **democracy** is based. **If they could not achieve their goals through democratic politics, why would they privilege the democratic process over those goals?** **It seems more likely that, having been mobilized** to participate in the democratic process **by a burning desire to achieve particular goals** -- a desire **so strong that they were willing to commit acts of violence against defenseless civilians to realize it -- terrorists** and potential terrorists **would attack democracy if it did not produce their desired results**. Respect for the nascent Iraqi democracy, despite a very successful election in January 2005, has not stopped Iraqi and foreign terrorists from their campaign against the new political order.

**Terrorist organizations are not mass-based organizations. They are small and secretive.** They are not organized or based on democratic principles. **They revolve around strong leaders and a cluster of committed followers who are willing to take actions** from **which the vast majority of people, even those who might support their political agenda, would rightly shrink. It seems unlikely that simply being outvoted would deflect them from their path.**

The United States' major foe in the war on terrorism, al Qaeda, certainly would not close up shop if every Muslim country in the world were to become a democracy. Osama **bin Laden** has been very clear about democracy: he does not like it. His political model is the early Muslim caliphate. In his view, the Taliban regime in Afghanistan came the closest in modern times to that model. In an October 2003 "message to Iraqis," bin Laden castigated those in the Arab world who are "calling for a peaceful democratic solution in dealing with apostate governments or with Jewish and crusader invaders instead of fighting in the name of God." He **referred to democracy as "this deviant and misleading practice"** and "the faith of the ignorant." **Bin Laden's ally** in Iraq, Abu Musab **al-Zarqawi, reacted** to the January 2005 Iraqi election **even more directly: "The legislator who must be obeyed in a democracy is man, and not God. ... That is the very essence of heresy** and polytheism and error, as it contradicts the bases of the faith and monotheism, and **because it makes the weak, ignorant man God's partner in His most central divine prerogative -- namely, ruling and legislating."**

Al Qaeda's leaders distrust democracy, and not just on ideological grounds: they know they could not come to power through free elections. There is no reason to believe that a move toward more democracy in Arab states would deflect them from their course. And there is no reason to believe that they could not recruit followers in more democratic Arab states -- especially if those states continued to have good relations with the United States, made peace with Israel, and generally behaved in ways acceptable to Washington. **Al Qaeda objects to the U.S. agenda in the Middle East** as much as, if not **more than, democracy. If**, as Washington hopes, **a democratic Middle East continued to accept a major U.S. role in the region and cooperate with U.S. goals, it is foolish to think that democracy would end** Arab **anti-Americanism and dry up** passive support, funding sources, and **recruiting channels for al Qaeda.**

When it works, liberal democracy is the best form of government. But there is no evidence that it reduces or prevents terrorism. The fundamental assumption of the Bush administration's push for democracy in the Arab world is seriously flawed.

#### Neg- Demos doesn’t solve terror:

*(James L. Payne, has taught political science at Yale, Wesleyan, and the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, “Does Freedom Prevent Terrorism?,” The American Conservative, http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/does-freedom-prevent-terrorism/, April 11 2005)*

Let’s start with **the U**nited **S**tates. **Since the mid-1960s**, this country **has seen**, by my count, **16 domestic terrorist organizations**, including the Symbionese Liberation Army, the Black Panthers, the Jewish Defense League, the Weather Underground, the Posse Comitatus, the Omega-7, the May 19th Communist Coalition, the Covenant, the Aryan Nations, the Earth Liberation Front, and Puerto Rican groups including the Macheteros and the FALN. **The Weather Underground alone was responsible for some 800 bombings from 1969-72, including** explosions at the University of Wisconsin Center for Mathematical Sciences**, a U.S. Senate office building, and the Pentagon. In addition to the organized groups, we have seen individual terrorists, including Ted Kaczynski**, the ardent environmentalist whose letter bombs killed three and injured 29, **and Timothy McVeigh**, who, with the aid of Terry Nichols, killed 167 in the Oklahoma City bombing.

**Just about every other democracy has suffered from indigenous terrorists:** Britain has had the IRA and Ulster Freedom Fighters (10,000 bombings, 3,000 killed); Basque terrorists in Spain were killing over a hundred people a year in 1979 and 1980; the Red Brigades in Italy have been responsible for thousands of incidents, including the grisly kidnapping and murder of former premier Aldo Moro; Germany had its Baader-Meinhof gang; Japan has had three terrorist organizations; France has seen two. Terrorists have sprouted up in most of the democracies of Latin America, including Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Peru, and Uruguay. Colombia, the country with the longest record for freedom and democracy in South America, also holds the record for the largest, longest-running terrorist organization, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia. Founded in 1964, the FARC has over 10,000 armed combatants and has committed thousands of atrocities, including a car bombing of a Bogota nightclub in 2003 that killed 30 people. **The theory that freedom prevents terrorism doesn’t work for Muslim countries either. Turkey and Indonesia are among the most democratic Muslim countries, and both face serious domestic terrorist organizations.** Indonesia has the Jemaah Islamiya, responsible for the bombing at the Jakarta Marriott Hotel as well as the Bali bombings that killed over 200. **Turkey is practically a Wal-Mart of terrorist groups. There are at least eight Islamic terror groups, seven Kurdish organizations, and seven that are Marxist. These terrorist groups have killed thousands of people in recent decades.** **Does democracy** really **prevent the growth of “ideologies of hate**,” as the president alleges? When I first **notice**d that claim, I immediately thought of **the classic ideology of hate**, the fascism **of Adolf Hitler**. **Where did that vicious movement grow up? In the** flowering of freedom and **democracy of Germany**’s Weimar Republic, 1919-1933. One could say that in Iraq the president has contrived a direct experiment of his theory. Iraq today is freer and more democratic than it was under Saddam Hussein. Are there fewer terrorists there now? **The idea, then, that** freedom and **democracy prevent the rise of vicious political movements** like fascism, communism, or radical Islam **goes against the evidence. It also goes against political theory. If anything, freedom promotes** or at least enables **the growth of violent partisan groups, because it provides an opportunity for extremists to organize and proselytize.** The point was perhaps first made by founding father James Madison over two centuries ago in Federalist number 10 in discussing the causes of “the violence of faction.” As he put it, “Liberty is to faction what air is to fire, an aliment without which it instantly expires.”

#### Neg- Promo stops anti-terror cooperation:

*(Thomas Carothers [Carnegie Endowment], “Choosing a Strategy,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

The potential payoff of this third strategy is high, but so too are its potential drawbacks and risks. **If the U**nited **S**tates actually **pushed Arab leaders hard to respect human rights, be more politically inclusive, and subject their own rule to the public's choice, it would produce** paroxysms of **resentment** among political elites in the region **and alienate longtime friends. It could jeopardize the beneficial cooperation that Washington receives from friendly Arab autocrats on antiterrorist matters, on efforts to resolve the Palestinian— Israeli conflict, and on supplying oil.** Some of this resentment might be mitigated by the fact that a steppedup set of initiatives to directly aid democracy would likely be carried out by United States—based NGOs and would therefore be at least one step removed from direct U.S. governmental action. Yet **even** these **NGOs are** frequently v**iewed in aid-receiving countries as extensions of the U.S. government. And if such aid is to be effective, it must be backed up with significant U.S. government jawboning and pressure.**

#### Neg- Turn- Demos increases risk of terror:

*(Erica Chenoweth, “The Inadvertent Effects of Democracy on Terrorist Group Emergence,” Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University’s Kennedy School of Government, î BCSIA Discussion Paper 2006-06, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/chenoweth\_2006\_06.pdf, Nov 2006)*

The second argument expects the opposite that **democracy will encourage terrorism**. First, Ted Robert Gurr argues that terrorism in democracies occurs in the context of a widerviolent conflict.7 Ostensibly **democratic transitions are particularly vulnerable events, as the fragile country attempts to overcome the potential backlash of** internal and external **actors opposing the transition** or its implications. **Indeed**, some **scholars have found that new democracies are particularly prone to internal conflict**.8 **Furthermore**, most scholars in this camp have suggested that **democracy provides a permissive environment for terrorist growth because of the necessity to adhere to** certain **civil liberties**.9 This perspective is in line with the political opportunity literature prevalent in sociology.10 **Democratic guarantees such as freedom of assembly reduce the costs of conducting terrorist activities. Moreover, legal systems are less able to quickly pursue and prosecute potential terrorists because of the constraints placed on them by civil rights.** Political leaders in **the U**nited **S**tates, **for instance**, have **expressed frustration about the constraining effects of civil liberties in conducting the war on terrorism:** ì[T]he spirited defense of civil liberties is a ëtactic that aids terroristsÖerodes our national unityÖdiminishes our resolve [and] gives ammunition to Americaís enemies.íî **11Moreover,** the specific civil liberty of **press freedom may also increase terrorism through two distinct processes. First,** and most bothersome to researchers, **is the problem of reporting bias across different regime types. Autocracies have less incentive to report the existence of oppositional groups** or oppositional violence, and therefore restrict the material printed by their media. I**n a democracy, however, the media has an incentive to report not only transparently, but also sensationally**.12 **Furthermore, the democratic government places fewer restrictions on media content.**13 **Therefore, terrorist incidents are less likely to be reported in autocratic countries than in democracies.** Reporting bias, then, may lead researchers to the erroneous conclusion that civil liberties actually contribute to terrorist violence in the long run. **Press freedom may have an additional positive causal effect on terrorism. Without media coverage, terrorist groups are** essentially **obsolete**. **Widespread fear and panic are fundamental elements of terrorist strategy.** In fact, Margaret Thatcher called the press the ìoxygenî for terrorists.14 **Because free press exists in most democracies, terrorists have increased incentives to** grow in, move to, **and conduct their violence within such countries. Sensational media coverage also serves the terrorists in their recruiting, teaching, and training techniques.** The press, therefore, is inadvertently complicit in fulfilling terroristsí objectives.

#### Neg- Turn- Demos increases risk of terror:

*(Erica Chenoweth, “The Inadvertent Effects of Democracy on Terrorist Group Emergence,” Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University’s Kennedy School of Government, î BCSIA Discussion Paper 2006-06, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/chenoweth\_2006\_06.pdf, Nov 2006)*

Even more important, however, is that **institutional constraints weaken the government’s ability to fight terrorism. Checks and balances force the democratic government to be** more **accountable** to a broader range of domestic interests. **The democratic government is unlikely to engage in counterterrorist activities that could be perceived as undermining** core **democratic values, due to electoral incentives as well as norms** of fair play. **Authoritarian regimes, on the other hand, are less constrained and more able to find and crush terrorist organizations**.17 **Democratic countries, therefore, are less likely to adopt counterterrorist strategies that are as strict as those enacted by nondemocratic regimes**.18

*(Erica Chenoweth, “The Inadvertent Effects of Democracy on Terrorist Group Emergence,” Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University’s Kennedy School of Government, î BCSIA Discussion Paper 2006-06, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/chenoweth\_2006\_06.pdf, Nov 2006)*

Interestingly, a number of so-called weak states do not contain or endorse substate terrorist groups, whereas **almost every democratic country in the world has confronted terrorism throughout its history.** Moreover, despite Liís argument that constraints on the executive prevent democracies from adopting strict counterterrorism policies, many cases exist in which democratic executives have circumvented these constraints to adopt such strategies. Therefore, it seems that the opportunity structure alone does not suffice to explain the proliferation of terrorist groups in democracies. There must be some other intervening factor(s) that affect the growth of terrorism as well.26 I argue that the pivotal dimension of the relationship between democracy and terrorist group emergence is that intergroup dynamics differ in democracies and nondemocracies.27 The main difference is that **in democracies, terrorist groups tend to compete against one another, whereas in nondemocracies, they are less susceptible to competitive dynamics. In democracies interest groups compete for space on the public agenda, which is comprised of** ìthose political **controversies the polity deems worthy of attention**.î 28 Importantly, however, t**he agenda is susceptible to crowding** effects, **forcing different interest groups to compete to maintain their positions on the agenda to the exclusion of other issues, especially those** interest groups **in ideological opposition** to the given issue.29 **Because the agenda-setting process is highly competitive, various** political organizations or **interest groups are pitted against one another, even if they have similar interests** at stake. Often, **these groups** are in direct conflict with one another and **may even be hostile** at times.30

#### Neg- Turn- Demos increases risk of terror:

*(Erica Chenoweth, “The Inadvertent Effects of Democracy on Terrorist Group Emergence,” Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University’s Kennedy School of Government, î BCSIA Discussion Paper 2006-06, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/chenoweth\_2006\_06.pdf, Nov 2006)*

**Democracies** **also permit terrorist groups to pay attention to both the effectiveness of certain tactics and the futility of others.** Manus Midlarsky, Martha Crenshaw, and Fumihiko Yoshida have referred to the ìcontagion effectî of terrorist tactics in which **groups emulate each other’s effective** organizational and attack **strategies** primarily **by monitoring the media**.33 **Because of** the existence of **widespread publicity on terrorist activities in democracies, groups within democracies are aware of one another’s actions, therefore motivating themselves to act**. Again, **this may be especially true when terrorist groups that have directly opposing viewpoints** such as radical, left-wing terrorists and neo-Nazi skinhead terrorists coexist within the same democracy. In fact**, we see this ‘action-reaction’ relationship in many democracies. Throughout the West, the left-wing terrorists of the 1960s and** 19**70s** **had** their **counterparts in neofascist terrorist groups**óin Italy, the Red Brigades rivaled Ordine Nero, for instance. **As a further example, the IRA has** its **counterparts** **in the U**lster **F**reedom **F**ighters **and U**lster **V**oluntary **F**orce. Indeed, **these groups** have **experienced** **such a high intensity of issue incompatibility and competition that they have frequently attacked one another.** Most research on terrorism acknowledges that **through their actions, terrorists speak to media, governments, and civilians** as primary audiences. I argue, however, that **in addition to these** conventionally explored audiences, **terrorist groups are talking to each other**, a claim seldom made in the existing literature. **In democracies**, **which** I have already shown to **permit ideological pluralism and the freedoms of assembly and press, terrorist groups are able to monitor the existence and actions of rival groups who are competing for issue recognition.**

#### Neg- Turn- Demos increases risk of terror:

*(Erica Chenoweth, “The Inadvertent Effects of Democracy on Terrorist Group Emergence,” Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University’s Kennedy School of Government, î BCSIA Discussion Paper 2006-06, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/chenoweth\_2006\_06.pdf, Nov 2006)*

In Model 1, **I conduct a negative binomial regression with robust standard errors**, dispersed around the constant and clustered around country. **This model tests the hypothesis that** participation competition (i.e. **competition for influence on the public agenda) and** the **intergroup competition** index **will have positive effects on terrorist group emergence. As anticipated, both variables have positive and significant effects on the emergence of new terrorist groups.**

#### Neg- Turn- Demos causes terror (Sectarianism/M.E. specific):

*(Leonard Weinberg, professor of political science at the University of Nevada, Reno, “Terrorism and Democracy: Illness and Cure?,” Global Dialogue, Vol 8, No 34, http://www.worlddialogue.org/content.php?id=383, Summer/Autumn 2006)*

**Counting the ballots of citizens on an equal basis is one thing if the electorate is composed of individuals who make** disinterested **judgements about** the virtues and vices of particular **candidates and policies and then vote accordingly. It is something else when the** national **electorate** **is seriously divided along ethnic or religious lines and where such** ethnic or religious **groups divide themselves into permanent majorities and minorities. The** groups constituting the **latter often feel** themselves to be **excluded from the** national **policymaking process and to be** the **victims of discriminatory practices** undertaken by the governments controlled **by** the **permanent majorities.** (The Tamils in Sri Lanka come readily to mind.) Outside observers from the United Nations and other international bodies often prescribe some power-sharing arrangement as a means of preventing the eruption of violent conflict. Internal wars are always a possibility. **In liberal democracies**, the sharing of power at the national level or its dispersion to the sub-national level (e.g., **federalism**) **is usually an adequate remedy**. Belgium, Canada, Northern Ireland and the Basque region of Spain have all pursued this approach with varying degrees of success. **The problem** with power-sharing solutions **arises** most seriously **in** what Fareed Zakaria defines as **“illiberal” democracies**.3 **In many** of the world’s **newer democracies, particularly in the Third World, there is little** or no **historical experience with** what he describes as “**liberal constitutionalism**”, a set of institutional restraints on the exercise of executive power, **a set of practices based upon the existence of a** long-standing **middle class whose wealth and power are independent of government. In the absence of this** liberal **tradition**, **majorities may elect** their **rulers but these figures** often **have little incentive** **to promote** the **sharing** of **power** **with** leaders of **minority** ethnic and religious **groups**. **In fact, the latter may be widely disliked by the majority-group** population **whose votes put the leader in power** in the first place. **A leader in such circumstances may have a strong disincentive to** compromise and **share power.** **Steps** in the latter direction **may cause the leader to lose the support of** his or **her “base**”, the very constituencies that originally put the leader in power. **The dynamic here is** really one **made to order for the outbreak of terrorism**. Organisations emerging from **the minority community may** very well **calculate that** employing **terrorist tactics is a rational choice in that it will** probably **enhance their bargaining power** vis-à-vis the government and also elevate their power and prestige within their community. **Moreover**, **if a** political **leader** **extends** the hand of **friendship** **to** prominent figures in **the minority** ethnic or religious community, he or **she risks** being accused of betrayal by members of the **majority population**. And so this situation also has the potential to produce an outbreak of **terrorism**, in this case **initiated by those** most **fearful that concessions to the minority** population **will lead to an erosion of their wealth, power and status.** The fulfilment, **then**, of one of Dahl’s most important criteria for a **democracy**—that all citizens have an opportunity to vote and that all votes be counted equally—**may** not **lead** to the establishment of a democratic peace but **to the eruption of terrorist violence**. In this regard, **the case of Iraq is hard to ignore.** To conclude: **Arguments** to the effect **that** the installation of **democracy in the Middle East** and elsewhere **offers a** long-term **solution** **to** the problem of **terrorism** **are not supported by** the **evidence**. Democracy is without doubt a good in itself, but it is hardly a cure-all. Not only does it not prevent the outbreak of terrorist campaigns, but **there are qualities democracies possess that may actually facilitate** this type of highly dramatic **political violence.**

#### Neg- Turn- U.S. promo causes radicalization:

*(James L. Payne, has taught political science at Yale, Wesleyan, and the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, “Does Freedom Prevent Terrorism?,” The American Conservative, http://www.theamericanconservative.com/articles/does-freedom-prevent-terrorism/, April 11 2005)*

In a similar fashion, **Muslim terrorists are motivated by a belief in a sinister oppressor. For them, the demon is** the West, especially the leader of the West, **the U**nited **S**tates, sometimes referred to by the radicals as “the Great Satan.” **The U.S., they believe, is using diverse** and devious **means to destroy Muslim religion, culture, and society**. There are many strands to this conspiracy idea. **Muslim leaders point to American cultural imports** of movies, music, **and** magazines that seem to be undermining traditional Muslim religious and social values. They point to its Christian religion. They point to American companies that introduce **western styles of dress and consumer goods. These points are rather diffuse evidence for the evil intentions of the U**nited **S**tates**, however. They don’t create the vivid picture of oppression that is needed to fire up recruits to the terrorist cause. To radicalize the population, the Muslim terrorists need** exactly what the Marxist labor leaders needed: **the actual show of** physical **force by the enemy. When the “oppressors” act out the role** of oppressors in steel and blood, **then you have a persuasive picture** of a real enemy. **Time after time, terrorist movements in the Mideast have been galvanized by the intrusion of western** military **forces into these countries.** As University of Michigan history professor Juan Cole puts it, “**It’s obvious that it [Muslim terrorism] comes out of a reaction to being occupied by foreigners**.” He points to the early example of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, which grew up in reaction to British occupation in the 1940s. This organization grew to half a million members in 1948 and was responsible for numerous assassinations of British officials and Egyptian politicians.

In more recent times, the United States has played this role of military intruder in the Muslim world. Lebanon is one example. We have sent troops there twice—1958 and 1983—thus helping to make that country a hotbed of Islamic terrorism. Other American military interventions include Somalia in 1992-94, as well as air strikes against Libya in 1987, and cruise missiles against the Sudan in 1998.

In 1990, the United States stationed troops in Saudi Arabia, Islam’s holy land. One person who was shocked and radicalized was Osama bin Laden, who later said that this move completely transformed his perspective. His reaction of disgust and anger took him to Afghanistan to organize a jihad against America. The rest, as they say, is history. Did Pentagon planners have the slightest inkling of this kind of danger when they stationed American troops in Saudi Arabia?

Then there is Iraq. As we just noted, it flatly contradicts President Bush’s theory that the extension of democracy and freedom damps down terrorism. It clearly supports the idea that the introduction of American troops into a Muslim country generates it. In the first weeks after the American victory, there was practically no terrorism and only a handful of combatants. Today there are hundreds of violent actions every week and thousands of terrorists. **If U.S. policymakers want to limit the growth of Muslim terrorism, they need to be very careful** about sending troops to Muslim trouble spots. There may be times, like the case of Afghanistan, when this is absolutely imperative, but one still pays a price. **The Muslim world community has over one billion people**. Probably **something like 100 million of these are** naïve, impressionable **youths capable of being recruited to the** Islamic **terrorist cause. If ill-considered American** troop **deployments cause just one-tenth of one percent of these youngsters to conclude that the U**nited **S**tates **is an oppressive monster bent on subjugating the Muslim world, that will mean** something like **100,000 more terrorists** for the U.S. to deal with.

#### Neg- Turn- Authoritarians key to check growth of terror (stability):

*(Leonard Weinberg, professor of political science at the University of Nevada, Reno, “Terrorism and Democracy: Illness and Cure?,” Global Dialogue, Vol 8, No 34, http://www.worlddialogue.org/content.php?id=383, Summer/Autumn 2006)*

The Bush administration does, however, share at least one belief with its many critics, namely, that there is a particular “root cause” that must be addressed before global terrorism can be defeated: the absence of democracy. In the long run, it is only through the establishment of democratic governments in the Middle East, and perhaps throughout the world, that terrorist groups will lose whatever popular appeal they currently enjoy. Law enforcement and military measures are essential for dealing with immediate terrorist threats, but democracy offers the only way of ultimately drying up the sources of support for terrorism. Why should this be so? And **what is the evidence to back the view that democracy represents** not simply a palliative but **a cure for terrorism?** The argument goes as follows. Under authoritarian forms of governance, individuals and groups are denied peaceful means of expressing their political views or challenging the direction in which those in power are taking the country. Social groups and formal organisations with various grievances are denied opportunities to express them, at least by peaceful means. Denied a voice by authoritarian governments, those with serious grievances will turn to violence as their own way of obtaining what they want. Constitutional democracy is widely regarded as a technique, a set of procedures, that not only encourages the open expression of competing views but, once they are expressed, makes possible their peaceful resolution. According to the widely respected American political scientist Robert Dahl, the democratic process requires, at least ideally, the inclusion and effective participation of all or most adults in a national political process. In addition, citizens must have the opportunity to decide which matters are to be placed on the national policy agenda. The equality of the vote is a sine qua non for democracy, as is the opportunity of all citizens to gain an understanding of policy alternatives and their potential consequences.2 If such conditions prevail, will terrorism occur? The question may be answered in terms of both theory and practice. Let us deal with the matter of practice first. The Middle East The region of the world with which the Bush administration is most concerned, **the Middle East has three democracies**, as measured by the broadest standards: **Turkey, Lebanon and Israel**. **We** might very well **dismiss** the **Israel**i case **as unique**, as too extreme to reflect accurately the relationship between terrorism and democracy. **Neither Turkey nor Lebanon, though, may be** so easily **dismissed**. **And here** all we need do is report the obvious: **the presence of democracy has hardly meant the absence of terrorism** in both countries. **Instead**, governments in **Ankara and Beirut have been plagued by terrorist campaigns waged by groups with various** nationalist, religious and ideological **agendas** in recent decades. In fact, **terrorist violence in Turkey became so serious at the end of the 1970s that the military** intervened and **suspended the democratic rules** of the game **long enough to destroy the** ideologically driven campaigns of **Marxist–Leninist and neo-fascist bands. Lebanon’s** agonising and **protracted civil war was ignited by** a number of **terrorist attacks** directed against the country’s Christian and Palestinian communities. Moreover, **the story has not ended. Citizens in both democracies have continued to be targeted** by terrorist bands well into the first decade of the twenty-first century. The Bush administration is presently engaged **in** an effort to bring democracy to **Iraq**. A constitution has been written by the Iraqis themselves and competitive elections held on more than one occasion. These **steps towards democracy have hardly brought a cessation of terrorism**. Whatever success the authorities in Baghdad have achieved in reducing the threat of terrorism appears to have been via the exertions of the Shi’ite-dominated police forces, namely, militias, which are employing the most brutal means to restore public order. **This raises a distressing possibility: repression seems to work. It certainly has in other parts of the Middle East**. In general, the most brutal **dictatorships have been** the **most successful in eliminating the terrorist threat.** **The generalisation applies to Iraq when it was ruled by Saddam** Hussein and his henchmen, **and to** the Baathist regime in Damascus with its secret-police apparatus. The Islamic Republic of **Iran, with its revolutionary guards** and special courts, also deserves high marks. **When confronted by a serious terrorist threat in the early 1980s** posed by Marxist–Leninists and “holy warriors”, groups which wanted to take the revolution in a different direction, **the mullahs reacted with mass arrests**, torture, summary executions **and the** normal **repertoire of actions that autocracies**, even or especially popular ones, **undertake when challenged by a violent opposition. The terrorist threat quickly abated.**

#### Neg- Turn- U.S. demo promo is the direct cause of ISIS:

*(Andrew Green, former British Ambassador to Syria and to Saudi Arabia, “Why Western democracy can never work in the Middle East,” The Telegraph, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/11037173/Why-Western-democracy-can-never-work-in-the-Middle-East.html, Aug 16 2014)*

As I write, the immediate crisis on Mount Sinjar appears to have been resolved but **the appalling scenes which have dominated our television screens** in recent weeks and the graphic reports in newspapers **have galvanised public** opinion. People **demand** that we do all in our power **to help** the Christians and the Yasidis who are being so viciously persecuted. And they are right to do so. This is a problem that will not go away. One million people have been displaced since Islamic State militants took over swathes of Northern Iraq. Yesterday, the governor of Dohuk province warned of a “genocide”, as hundreds of thousands sought refuge there.

So **what** exactly **is in our power**? **This requires a realistic appraisal** **of the situation** on the ground **and of our capacity to change it.** Certainly, the situation across **the Middle East is now more chaotic and dangerous than it has been for half a century.**

**The enthusiasm** of yester-year **for the “Arab Spring” has proved** entirely **misguided**. **It** has **led to chaos in Egypt and** anarchy in **Libya**. Those determined to be “on the right side of history” now find themselves on the wrong side of the argument. **Democracy is empathically not the solution for extremely complex societies and Western meddling only makes matters immeasurably worse. The fundamental reason for our failure is that democracy**, as we understand it, **simply doesn’t work in Middle Eastern countries where family, tribe, sect and personal friendships trump the apparatus of the state.** **These** **are** certainly not societies governed by the rule of law. On the contrary, they are better described as “**favour for favour” societies.** When you have a problem of any kind, you look for someone related to you by family, tribe or region to help you out and requests are most unlikely to be refused since these ties are especially powerful. In countries where there is no effective social security, your future security lies only in the often extensive family.

Behind what we might perceive as this somewhat chaotic structure lie **the** secret **police and** the **armed forces.** They **hold the state together under the aegis of the president, king, or whoever rules the roost. That leader keeps the different elements of society in play with concessions to each group but** he **has an iron fist to be used when necessary**, as the public well understand.

Examples can readily be found in Presidents Mubarak in Egypt, Asad in Syria and Saddam in Iraq. Nor are the kings of Jordan, Bahrain or, indeed, Saudi Arabia altogether different. There is much less cruelty in the latter countries but the iron fist is there when needed. Yet **who** in those countries **today** **could survey the Middle East and believe that a republic would be a better option.** **The West’s abject failure to understand the inner workings of these countries has had** some **disastrous effects. Iraq is the classic case**. I was opposed to the invasion of that country, not because I had any love for Saddam but because I believed that the alternative would be worse. I was concerned that our invasion would destroy the stability of the Gulf which had, since the fall of the Shah in 1979, depended on a tripod comprising Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia (the latter supported by the West). That is exactly what happened and we now find that the Iranians are in a position to dominate the Gulf region.

Internally, the outcome was even worse. The army was disbanded (although some would say it disbanded itself). The Americans then closed down the Ba’ath party, the only political organisation in the country. Certainly, it had been an instrument of Saddam’s rule but it was not all bad. Just as anybody in a position of responsibility in the Soviet Union was obliged to be a member of the Communist party so were senior Iraqis obliged to be members of the Ba’ath party. **The result was to atomise the social and political structure of the entire country**. **Favour for favour ground to a halt and so did the country’s governance.**

A while later, **elections were held** to loud applause from Washington. **There was a huge turnout by the majority Shia’** who must have been amazed at the naivety of their occupiers. As it turned out, Nouri **Malaki**, the Iraqi prime minister who was finally forced to step down this week, **proved to be a Shia’ version of Saddam** – at least as the minority Sunnis perceived him. Indeed, **it was the severe disaffection of the Sunni tribes in** the North of **Iraq that permitted IS to make** the **rapid** territorial **gains** that have stunned both the West and the governments of the region.

**We in the West have little conception of the mutual hatred** and contempt **between these two** Islamic **sects**. Think of the Protestant and Catholic hatreds, thankfully of the past, and multiply them up. **Then add in a regional struggle for power.** We now have the leading Sunni power, Saudi Arabia, feeling threatened by the growing power of the Shia’ standard bearer in Iran as their influence spreads in Syria and Lebanon – a Shi’ite arc which the Saudis are determined to oppose.

Where do our interests now lie? **We have** a **humanitarian interest in getting effective aid to** the hundreds of thousands of **refugees** fleeing the blood curdling violence of the Islamic fighters. **Protecting them requires** that the front line of Kurdish controlled **Iraq be stabilised. Only the Kurds can do that** and, as the US and most of Europe - EU foreign ministers met in emergency session in Brussels yesterday to discuss the issue - HAVE now recognised, they must be provided with the ammunition, equipment and intelligence that they need. It is very likely that close air support will also be necessary, at least for some months but **any involvement of ground troops would be a very serious mistake.** While it may be necessary to have a very small number of special forces in a position to direct air strikes, we cannot allow “mission creep” to take over. Before long **the very presence of Western forces generates resentment and hostility.**

Once the immediate crisis has been addressed, we must prevent the development of the Islamic state. That will require an effective government in Baghdad who must take steps to win back the acquiescence, if not the loyalty, of the Northern tribes who, of course, are Sunni and who could take on the Islamic extremists if they chose to. Beyond that **we need to review our attitude to the present regimes** in Tehran and in Damascus – yes, Damascus. We cannot afford to do less. **An “Islamic state” poses a major threat to the stability of the whole Middle East.** Furthermore, it establishes an area under the control of Islamic extremists which poses a threat to Britain itself. The Security Service have been unambiguous in pointing to the risk of “blow-back” – that is young men from Britain going out to fight and coming back fired up with hostile intent. This risk will be exacerbated by any success that IS may continue to have as it will certainly be seen by its adherents as a sign of God’s favour to their cause.

**To** be effective in the region and to **ensure** our own **security**, **we must, for once, learn from the past** and ensure that our policies take account of the internal dynamics of the countries of the region. We cannot afford any more mistakes. **The growing chaos in the Middle East poses a real and present danger** both **to** our economy and **the peace of** our society and indeed to that of **the** wider **world**.

#### Terrorism isn’t a monolith, root causes are different in different places/times/contexts:

*(Chris Forster, The Foreign Policy Centre, “Democracy, Terrorism and the Middle East,” http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/711.pdf, Feb 16 2006)*

The problem here is that ‘democracy’ is assumed to be a simplified construction and ‘terrorism’ a single entity. **Democracy is incredibly complex, taking hundreds of years to evolve** in some countries. **The vast spectrum of terrorism that exists in the world** and the variety of terrorists that operate across it **mean that no single solution**, no one transformation **is likely to neutralise the threat.** **The IRA fought for a cause based on perceived** historical and political **grievances**, aggravated by social ones. The fight remained domestic, contained within the sphere of British politics, **despite money and mediators from the US**. **Since the incorporation of** Sinn Fein, **the political wing of the IRA, into the political process in Northern Ireland** disarmament and **peace [has]** have **been** greatly **successful. ETA**, in its own domestic and localised campaign, **has diminished as a force** since the death of Franco in 1975 and more recently with greater autonomy granted to the regions. Popularity of the terrorist group is at its lowest ebb for decades, due to a combination of depleted support and the devastating attack perpetrated by al-Qaeda in Madrid on 3/11. **Yet the IRA and ETA are from a completely different branch of terrorism compared to organisations such as al-Qaeda. The former were restrained within national fields** of vision**, had realistic** (if not popular) political **ambitions and** often **gave warning of imminent attacks.** Whereas **the latter is blind to national borders**, demands the impossible imposition of a world caliphate based on sharia law **and never gives any advanced notice**d of its activities. **In between** groups such as the IRA and al-Qaeda **are [groups]** those **with a mixture of** these **characteristics**. **Hamas**’s cause, **for example**, h**as crossed boundaries expanding from a Palestinian to a Muslim one. Yet** its primary ambitions remained somewhat realistic, **demoting** the importance of **destroying** the state of **Israel to promoting the creation of their own state. Clouding this distinction is a language constraint hindering our understanding of these organisations. The only aspect that links terrorist groups**, in some respects**, is the fact that they** have **employ**ed **terror** as a tool **to further their ambitions**. **Otherwise, they are** really **quite distinct** entities. **It is like comparing Starbucks to Saatchi & Saatchi. You cannot simply note that they are both ‘businesses’** trying to make a profit. **Their structure, aims, employees, target audience and internal philosophies are markedly different. Similarly with terrorist organisations**, the hierarchical, armybased structure of the IRA is very different to that of the individualised and autonomous cells that sustain al-Qaeda. Creating **the label** of ‘**terrorist’** **can** lead people to **fall into a similar trap**. Personal **motivations vary enormously**. **To prevent people from believing in groups that employ terrorism**, to prevent them from **adopting their methods and beliefs, understanding that is crucial**. **Has the terrorist chosen this path because** familial destitution and a **lack of economic opportunity have fostered hatred** for the perceived perpetrators? **Has a** profound **spiritual belief been twisted** and combined with a feeling of social exclusion? **Perhaps a lack of political voice** has stirred activism **amongst an excluded minority**? More than **likely there is a complicated mixture of these** motivations, further **influenced by** local **culture**, personal **experience**, national **history** **and government influence**. In any case, **there is no singular ‘terrorist’, no one way to ‘drain the swamp’ of support for terrorist organisations.**

### Islamist Takeover

#### Neg- Worse governments can be elected (generic):

*(Bruce Fein, J.D. from Harvard & adjunct scholar with the American Enterprise Institute, former special assistant to the Assistant Attorney General for the Office of Legal Counsel in the U.S. Department of Justice and assistant director for the Office of Policy and Planning, “Stop U.S. democracy promotion abroad,” Washington Times, http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2014/dec/24/bruce-fein-stop-united-states-democracy-promotion-/?page=all, Dec 24 2014)*

**The U.S. government should cease its arrogant and ill-informed attempts to promote democracy** around the globe — whether in Cuba, Iraq, Afghanistan, Communist China, Ukraine, Burma or otherwise. **The attempts are extraneous to the purposes of the U**nited **S**tates **Constitution.** **Democratically elected leaders can be every bit as tyrannical and aggressive** towards the United States **as unelected dictators. Hamas**, **listed as an international terrorist organization, decisively triumphed in Palestinian** parliamentary **elections** in 2006. It has ruled in Gaza since 2007, routinely denies human rights, chronically attacks Israel, and execrates the United States. **Egypt’s first democratically elected president**, Mohamed **Morsi, proved** as much or **more contemptuous of the rule of law, human rights and amity towards** Israel and **the U**nited **S**tates **than** his dictatorial predecessor, Hosni **Mubarak**. Thus, the United States shed only crocodile tears when he was overthrown in a military coup. Adolf **Hitler climbed to power through** popular **elections**. His Nationalist Socialists captured more than 37 percent of the vote in 1932 to become the largest party in the Reichstag. Free and fair **elections in Saudi Arabia would yield victory for radical Islamic parties with affinity** and sympathy **for the** murderous **perpetrators of 9/11.**  In sum, **promoting democracy in foreign lands may aggravate rather than diminish threats** to perceived interests of the United States. Thus, we have supported dictators over democrats in Iran, Guatemala, Chile, Indonesia, Argentina, Bahrain, Kuwait, Cambodia, Brazil, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Spain, the Philippines, ad infinitum.

*(Walter Russell Mead, editor of The American Interest Online, James Clarke Chace Professor of Humanities and Foreign Policy at Bard College, and Distinguished Scholar in American Strategy and Statesmanship at the Hudson Institute, “The Paradox of American Democracy Promotion,” The American Interest, Vol 10, no 5, http://www.the-american-interest.com/2015/04/09/the-paradox-of-american-democracy-promotion/, April 9 2015)*

**Policymakers** may choose to highlight democracy promotion as a way to build public support both at home and abroad; they **should not**, however, **deceive themselves into the belief that promoting democracy in a country will often be an effective strategy for resolving America’s foreign policy problems with that country. Indeed, democracy promotion (especially if it fails, but sometimes even when it succeeds) may well make bilateral relations** considerably **more difficult**. **A democratically elected Saudi government might, for example, be more religiously radical and geopolitically aggressive than the current regime. Certainly the outcome of democratic elections in Israel has not always improved U.S.-Israel relations. A democratically elected Chinese government might take an even harder line than Beijing now does over China’s territorial disputes** with its neighbors.

#### Neg- Worse governments can be elected (generic):

*(Waller R. Newell, professor of political science and philosophy at Carleton University, “Understanding Tyranny and Terror: From the French Revolution to Modern Islamism,” Heritage Foundation, http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2015/06/understanding-tyranny-and-terror-from-the-french-revolution-to-modern-islamism, June 30 2015)*

Identifying tyrannical forces is more relevant than ever as **the promotion of freedom** in today’s world **sometimes** **requires** us to make some rather **difficult** and uncomfortable **choices** **between greater and lesser evils. Does the replacement of a dictator by a self-professed democratic movement** necessarily **mean** that something better will come about? Or might **a new kind of tyranny even worse than what preceded it** be the long-term outcome? We should ponder how **the French, Russian, and Iranian Revolutions all began as liberal reformist movements that were hijacked by** collectivist **extremists bent on genocide and war** when we forecast a future for Egypt or Syria, or **when we** are tempted to **throw over an imperfectly democratic authoritarian regime** when **a totalitarian tyranny might be waiting in the wings to replace it.** We may find it necessary to choose between relatively better and relatively worse non-democratic kinds of authority. **There is abundant evidence that the removal of tyranny does not** itself **guarantee that people will become democrats.** (Consider the fate of “nation-building” in Iraq.) **They may** only **want revenge against their former oppressors, thereby becoming oppressors themselves.** These are not pleasant alternatives, but they are unavoidable. **Confronted by the clash** in today’s world **between** secular **dictatorships** **and** millenarian **Jihadists**, we often search for a deluded middle ground, hoping that revolutions and civil wars can be won by teachers and bank clerks demonstrating peacefully for their rights rather than by a fanatical inner core of radicals. **We want to believe that so-called secular rebels exist in sufficient numbers** **among** the armed **opponents of dictatorships** like that of Assad **to stave off radical Islamism and make the transition to** liberal **democracy**. In hoping for this, we forget Jean Kirkpatrick’s maxim that **we should never undermine an authoritarian regime if doing so risks allowing a totalitarian movement to take its place (disastrously demonstrated by the Carter** Administration’s **abandonment of the Shah of Iran**) and that, moreover, **whatever their failings, authoritarian regimes are much more capable of a peaceful evolution toward** liberal **democracy** **than** are **totalitarian dictatorships.** Whatever prospects may exist for the spread of democracy throughout the world, one thing is certain: **We have to learn** again how to identify **the varieties of tyranny** for what they are. Without that, no prudent judgment of any kind about the greater good or the lesser of evils is possible. Modern liberal **democracy was based on** **the** hard-headed **assessment** by writers like Machiavelli and Hobbes **that human nature is governed by self-interest and that states become prosperous** and powerful **by cooperating with that** passion. **But** it is precisely **the success** of the West **in creating** such societies—**societies characterized by their general peacefulness, comfort, and lack of violent political strife**—that **can lull us into thinking that the entire world** is that way or **can become so if we** will only **wish for it.** To return to an earlier observation, Machiavelli and Hobbes knew that **societies** had to **guard their security and well-being from** the **tyrannically minded wolves prowling** the dark perimeter **around the** well-lit **compound**. **We have a tendency to think the whole world is nothing but that** bright **compound or** that it soon **will be once the wolves learn they will be fed. But wolves** are predators: They **kill whether they are hungry or not**. **To** the **realism** of Machiavelli and Hobbes **we should add Aristotle’s** even more fundamental **reminder that tyrants value mastery and honor over material comforts: “[N]o one becomes a tyrant in order to get in out of the cold.”**[20] The real cure for our amnesia about tyranny is authors like these—the canon of the Great Books. Only from an immersion in the very best of philosophy, history, and literature might young people learn in their hearts and minds to replace a zeal for domination with a zeal for the common good, to be able to distinguish a permissible ambition to excel in serving the common good from an impermissible ambition to dominate one’s fellow citizens, to be mature enough to realize that there are few pure idealists in political life (and when there are, they tend to be extremely dangerous) and that some of the darker, more aggressive qualities that drive the soul of a tyrant can also be found in the inner makeup of great statesmen. Ambition cannot be removed from the human soul, no matter how much wealth and comfort we are offered. It can only be reshaped by liberal education and redirected from unjust goals to just goals. No one better understood what he called “the tribe of the eagle”—men like Alexander, Caesar, and Napoleon—than Abraham Lincoln, or the temptation, explored in his Lyceum Speech, to achieve immortal fame by overthrowing the republic rather than by serving it. Lincoln made the right choices in his own rise more resolutely because he understood and overcame inwardly the appeal of the wrong ones. This maturity about political motivation, ambition, and the permissible and impermissible varieties of honor-seeking is especially necessary today when the canon of the Great Books is so often undermined by the self-absorption of identity politics and the hopeless lack of realism in the social sciences, which persist in refusing to recognize that **tyrannical ambition is a permanent possibility in political behavior. The belief in** globalization, leading either to the elevation of economics as the chief field for the study of human affairs or to **the utopian fantasy of a coming global civil society**—a world without borders—**has** also **done great harm** to liberal education **by making** young **people** **unaware** **of** the richness of the psychology of honor-seeking going back to the classics and **the crucial distinction between** just and unjust, **better and worse regimes** and political systems, further robbing them of the ability both to distinguish between tyranny and free self-government and to understand why liberal democracy, even at its worst and most flawed, is preferable to tyranny even at its best. Conclusion Liberal democracy of the Western kind is not natural in the sense of being spontaneous. **The mere removal of a tyrant does not guarantee that people** everywhere in the world will **automatically embrace their inner Jefferson**ian democrat. They may only want revenge and triumph for their own clan, tribe, or sect. **But** liberal **democracy definitely is natural in** **the** **ancient** **Platonic and Aristotelian meaning of human nature**: not mere survival, but **the cultivation of our greatest potential for moral virtue** as free citizens of a self-governing republic, including tolerance, freedom of thought and expression, liberal education, and cultural excellence. **Tyrannies** at their best **can sometimes protect people’s lives against a greater threat** posed by civil strife or promote material prosperity, **but** they can never enable people to pursue happiness and self-fulfillment. **As long as we remain vigilant against the wolves who prowl the perimeter, democracy is bound to defeat tyranny because it is simply a better idea.**

#### Neg- Demos= Islamist takeover:

*(Jeremy M. Sharp, Middle East Policy Analyst [Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division], “U.S. Democracy Promotion Policy in the Middle East: The Islamist Dilemma,” Congressional Research Service, Report for Congress, https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33486.pdf, June 15 2006)*

At the heart of this upheaval lies a long, vexing dilemma for U.S. policy makers**: should the U**nited **S**tates **exert pressure on Arab governments to open their political systems** and respect human rights **with the knowledge that Islamists, the most popular opposition force in Arab politics, stand to benefit** **from** regional **democratization**? Many observers assert that **Islamist2** political parties and **organizations** **are** largely **opposed**, at least rhetorically, **to key aspects of U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East**, such as support for Israel, the occupation of Iraq, and the large U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf. **Moreover,** some suggest that **with the ascent of Shiite Muslim parties in Iraq and fundamentalist Hamas in Palestinian Authority elections, the U**nited **S**tates, **by encouraging** free and fair **elections across the region**, may have **inadvertently strengthened Islamist opposition movements, particularly militant ones.**

*(Jeremy M. Sharp, Middle East Policy Analyst [Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division], “U.S. Democracy Promotion Policy in the Middle East: The Islamist Dilemma,” Congressional Research Service, Report for Congress, https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33486.pdf, June 15 2006)*

The Bush Administration has made the promotion of democracy **in the Middle East** a national security priority, stating that greater political freedom can undercut the forces of Islamic radicalism and indoctrination. **As U.S. democracy promotion policies have moved forward, policy makers have confronted a significant dilemma: how to respond to** challenges posed by **political Islamist movements** (i.e. parties and political organizations that promote social and political reform in accordance with Islamic religious principles that may lead them to oppose U.S. foreign policy). In response to this dilemma, **some** observers **have questioned whether the U**nited **S**tates **should exert pressure on Arab governments to open their political systems** and respect human rights **with the knowledge that such steps**, if successful, **may benefit Islamist groups**. Representing a powerful and popular political force in the Arab world today, many **Islamist** political **parties** and organizations **are** largely **opposed**, at least rhetorically, **to key aspects of U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East,** such as support for Israel, the occupation of Iraq, and the large U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf. **Elections in Iraq, Egypt, and the Palestinian Authority that were supported by the U**nited **S**tates **have strengthened the political positions of Islamist organizations, including, in the case of Hamas, armed groups that have refused to renounce violence.**

#### Neg- Demos= Islamist takeover:

*(Flynt Leverett, senior fellow at the New America Foundation and former director for Middle East affairs at the National Security Council, “Is Spreading Democracy in Middle East a Bad Idea?,” NPR, Intelligence² Debates, http://www.npr.org/2007/09/26/14569417/is-spreading-democracy-in-middle-east-a-bad-idea, Originally published Sept 26 2007, updated Nov 23 2012, accessed March 15 2016)*

"The legacy of 20th century colonialism in the Middle East, oil concessions and all the rest, mean that it is not popular for regional regimes to cooperate with hegemonic power. **While there is no evidence that democracy reduces the incidence of terrorism, there is ample evidence — from places like Egypt and Saudi Arabia — that holding more open elections in these and other societies would produce governments that are more anti-American than incumbent regimes ... The best hope for modernization, and ultimately liberalization, in the Arab** and Muslim **world**s **today lies in incumbent regimes who recognize that**, first of all, **economic modernization is essential to their country's future."**

#### Neg- Demos= Islamist takeover, worse violence & terrorism:

*(Graham Fuller [Carnegie Endowment], “Islamists and Democracy,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

If the Arab world were operating in isolation, the factors discussed above might be the dominant ones in forging the politics of a new Middle East. A review of these trends would provide ample grounds for optimism about the successful integration of a great segment of the powerful forces of Islamist politics into a democratization process across the Arab world. But **the Arab world** is not operating in isolation. Indeed, it **is** now **operating within an intensely negative international environment with tensions perhaps unprecedented in** the **modern history** of the Middle East. The Al Qaeda attacks of September 11 transformed U.S. policy under the Bush administration, placing **the war on terrorism** **at the center of U.S. foreign policy**. This goal of eliminating terrorism worldwide **has focused** almost **exclusively on the Muslim world** where the majority of radical terrorist movements now exist. The war against the Taliban, **the invasion of Iraq**, the overthrow of Saddam Hussein, the U.S. occupation of Iraq, **the spread of U.S. military presence across the Muslim world, the** new **embrace of authoritarian Muslim regimes as allies in the war on terrorism, the ongoing deterioration of the situation in Palestine, and America's close identification with the** Likud **Party's hard-line policy toward the occupied territories—all have led to a massive growth of anti-American feeling in the Arab world at nearly all levels of society. This sentiment is** reflected and **deepened by** independent satellite **television** channels **and** is now beginning to **affect[s] the views of an entire generation of** young **Arabs**. **At the same time, Arab regimes are under greater pressure—from the United States on the one hand and their own people on the other**—more than ever before, at a time when the gap between the rulers and ruled has never been so wide. **Nearly all regimes are viewed with contempt by publics that see them as** led by **supine dictators**, who depend on harsh security services to stay in power, who are powerless to change realities in the Arab world, who cling to tight relations with Washington at any cost to preserve their power and thus are even more subservient to U.S. interests than more democratic allies of the United States such as Turkey or Europe. There is almost no regime in the region whose fall would not elicit widespread public enthusiasm—with possible exceptions in the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, and maybe Morocco. **This places Islamists at the forefront of the opposition and in command of much popular support**. The public may also show some cynicism on occasion about the opportunism of Islamists as well, but **Islamists are the current masters of anti- imperial and anti-regime rhetoric. Muslims, furthermore, feel uniquely under siege from the** West—read the **United States**—at this stage in their history **and react strictly defensively. They are in a hunker-down mode, feeling their culture and religion under attack and** under legal **discrimination even in the West**. Any culture feeling itself under siege turns to basics**. As a result, Muslims are embracing Islamic practice** more deeply, **as an essential element of their identity. When their religion is** vilified or **portrayed in the West as** part of **the problem, Muslims not surprisingly react by intensifying their identification with Islam** as a source of strength, solace, and solidarity. Islamic emotions are stronger than ever. **Those Arabs who identify with other ideological trends**—Arab nationalism, or the smaller leftist/socialist/ Marxist elite, or the smaller yet liberal Westernizing elite— all **find it difficult to avoid being drawn into a** broader **wave of Islamist**— nationalist **rhetoric and action dedicated to repelling the foreign invader, militarily, politically, and culturally. The line between nationalism and the Islamic identity is now** nearly **obliterated**: **Even non-Muslim Arabs** generally **identify with the broader Islamist—nationalist trend.**  Prognosis evolution of Islamist movements are at their worst. **Anti-imperial** and anti- regime **instincts now motivate the public at large and generate more radicalized attitudes.** A process of polarization is under way in which anti-Western and **anti-American violence is now perceived, if not as acceptable, at least as "understandable" in defense of the** Islamic **homeland and its culture. Radicalism on both the secular and religious levels is merging.** Regrettably, **In the face** international "civilizational' conditions for **of these immense pressures** and confrontations, **it is unrealistic to think that at this juncture in Arab history we will find** greater tolerance and openness toward the West or greater **interest in Western political institutions or moderation. In the struggle against local regimes, radical ideologies are likely to shout down more moderate and liberal** interpretations of Islam and Islamic **politics** in particular**. The prognosis for** political Islam under these conditions—indeed for almost **any form of moderate politics—is not good.** Moderate voices, Islamist or non-Islamist, dare not speak up in the mood of rising radicalism. Indeed, we might speculate that at least two things must occur before we can hope to see any longer term trend of moderation within Arab Islamist politics. Only **after existing regimes fall**, or throw open the political process, will there be a chance for genuinely open and democratic orders to emerge. But this in itself is not enough, because **the mood of the new** more **populist regimes will** initially **be anti-American.** **The external sources of radicalization must** also **be curtailed. This means** an end to the radical right- wing policies of the Likud in Israel and **a just settlement of the Palestinian problem, a departure of U.S. troops from the region, and an end to** the more intimidating and broad-brush **antiMuslim discrimination that has** unfortunately **come to mark the** new **global alert against Muslim terrorism**. **Until this happens, the region will remain radicalized and without political outlet, except through Islamist parties** and movements. **AntiAmerican** and anti- regime **terrorism, if not condoned, will be** viewed with immense ambiguity or even **indulged by publics at large. These conditions are the worst possible for the moderate evolution of the Arab world**. But all is not lost. If the conditions that are generating such radicalism today can be addressed or ameliorated, then the longer term future of the Arab world is likely to be quite different. Islamist parties will simply become a part of a broader political spectrum and less a source of anxiety to all—as has happened in Turkey. Unfortunately, getting there is not likely to be quick or easy.

#### Neg- Islamic takeover bad (support terrorist groups):

*(Lisa Curtis [Senior Research Fellow for South Asia in the Asian Studies Center of the Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy at The Heritage Foundation], Charlotte Florance [Research Associate for Economic Freedom in Africa and the Middle East in the Douglas and Sarah Allison Center for Foreign and National Security Policy of the Davis Institute], Walter Lohman [Director of the Asian Studies Center] and James Phillips [Senior Research Fellow for Middle Eastern Affairs in the Allison Center], “Pursuing a Freedom Agenda Amidst Rising Global Islamism,” http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2014/11/pursuing-a-freedom-agenda-amidst-rising-global-islamism, Nov 17 2014)*

**Islamist parties have generally demonstrated lenience toward anti-Western terrorist groups, which contributes to** U.S. officials’ **concern about their rising political influence.** **When Ennahda held power in Tunisia** from 2011 to 2014, **thousands of** Islamist **extremists were released from jail**, including Abu Iyad, **who fought with al-Qaeda** in Afghanistan. Once released, Iyad formed Ansar al-Sharia Tunisia (AST), a Salafist organization adhering to al-Qaeda’s ideology. It is widely believed that AST instigated clashes outside the U.S. embassy and at the American school in Tunis on September 14, 2012, following controversy over a private film about Mohammed.[7] AST was banned in Tunisia in August 2013 after **the organization was directly linked to two high-profile political assassinations. Former Egyptian Prime** Minister **Morsi also released scores of terrorists from jail** and called on the U.S. to release Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, who orchestrated the 1993 attack on the World Trade Center. **Similarly, in Indonesia, PKS was among the most ardent supporters of** Abu Bakar Baasyir, a founder of **al-Qaeda** affiliate Jemah Islamiyah.

#### Neg- Islamist takeover bad (terrorism, human rights, U.S. interests, roll back democracy):

*(Jeremy M. Sharp, Middle East Policy Analyst [Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division], “U.S. Democracy Promotion Policy in the Middle East: The Islamist Dilemma,” Congressional Research Service, Report for Congress, https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33486.pdf, June 15 2006)*

Some believe that all Islamists, whether they espouse peaceful or violent means to achieve power, are suspect. Dr. Martin Kramer, a Middle East expert at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, argues that all **Islamists are** fundamentalists who are **inherently anti-democratic and anti-Western**. In his essay, “Islam vs. Democracy,” Kramer writes that **Democracy, diversity, accommodation** — **the fundamentalists have repudiated them all.** In appealing to the masses who fill their mosques, **they promise, instead, to institute a regime of Islamic law**, make common cause with like-minded “brethren” everywhere, **and struggle against the hegemony of the West and** the existence of **Israel**. **Fundamentalists have held to these principles through long periods of oppression, and will not abandon them now,** at the moment of their greatest popular resonance.6 Other experts have echoed such beliefs, asserting that **the idea of non-violent Islamism is a myth, since even non-violent Islamists routinely fail to condemn terrorist acts committed by their more radical counterparts.** According to Daniel Pipes, director of the Philadelphia-based think tank the Middle East Forum, **facilitating the** immediate **political participation of Islamists is tantamount to “helping the enemy.”**7 Others believe that **Islamists would set back regional democratization by restricting the rights of women and religious minorities and** that **their ascension to power would be detrimental for U.S. policy in the region.** In order to counter Islamist influence, some have suggested that the United States, if it is going to promote regional democracy, should aggressively work to strengthen the rule of law, separation of powers, civil society, and alternative, preferably secular, movements. There also continues to be strong sentiment among some foreign policy experts and Arab government officials that **the U**nited **S**tates **should refrain from pushing for political liberalization and allow market forces and globalization to gradually build educated middle classes who can push for change indigenously.**

#### Neg- Islamist takeover bad (terrorism, human rights, U.S. interests, roll back democracy):

*(Lisa Curtis [Senior Research Fellow for South Asia in the Asian Studies Center of the Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy at The Heritage Foundation], Charlotte Florance [Research Associate for Economic Freedom in Africa and the Middle East in the Douglas and Sarah Allison Center for Foreign and National Security Policy of the Davis Institute], Walter Lohman [Director of the Asian Studies Center] and James Phillips [Senior Research Fellow for Middle Eastern Affairs in the Allison Center], “Pursuing a Freedom Agenda Amidst Rising Global Islamism,” http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2014/11/pursuing-a-freedom-agenda-amidst-rising-global-islamism, Nov 17 2014)*

One of the most salient, consistent features across these political environments is the rise of **Islam-based political parties.** Such parties fill a political need and thus **have a role** to play **in the democratic evolution of their respective countries. The ideological underpinnings and anti-democratic practices of the hard-line** Islamist[1] elements among them, however, **pose serious risks** to U.S. foreign policy objectives. The U.S. requires a long-term strategy to manage this challenge. **Countering the illiberal agendas of Islamist parties is vital to protecting** American core **national security** interests. **Islamists often pursue policies that undermine individual freedoms and lead to discrimination, repression, and violence against religious minority groups and women. Their lenient policies toward terrorist groups also** undercut U.S. counterterrorism measures and **encourage a permissive environment for extremists to plot**, plan, **and train for international terrorist attacks.** Countering Islamism requires a thoughtful and clear-eyed approach that recognizes that **Islamist leaders often employ short-term tactics that may fall in line with democratic processes, while maintaining a long-term strategy that seeks to weaken democracy.**

#### Neg- A2 “Support moderate Islamic parties”:

*(Lisa Curtis, Senior Research Fellow for South Asia in the Asian Studies Center at The Heritage Foundation, “Championing Liberty Abroad to Counter Islamist Extremism,” Heritage Foundation, Backgrounder #2518, http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2011/02/championing-liberty-abroad-to-counter-islamist-extremism, Feb 9 2011)*

**The U.S. has little to gain from engaging Islamists, who likely would use meetings** with U.S. officials **to bolster their** local political standing and **power**, which they in turn would use **to push an anti-democratic agenda**. During a recent congressional hearing, Hudson Institute Senior Research Fellow Zeyno Baran testified that **Islamism is a threat to democracy because the Islamist project is a long-term social transformation project** designed to make Muslim communities fearful and thus easier to control. Baran argues that, to counter extremism, the U.S. must adopt a commitment to promoting liberal democracy and the empowerment of women.[22]

The authors of Building Moderate Muslim Networks note that a religious party’s willingness to participate in elections should not be the sole criterion on which to judge whether it merits U.S. engagement and support. U.S. officials should also examine such issues as the party’s support for internationally recognized human rights, the individual right to change religions, protection for equal treatment of religious minorities, and legal systems based on nonsectarian legal principles. The study further notes the importance of examining whether the party or group is aligned with radical groups or receives funding from radical foundations.[23]

However, well-known democracy scholar Tom Carothers cautions against boiling down extremism or radicalism to a lack of democracy. He notes that extremism can result from modernization, conflict between religious traditions, or opposition to U.S. policies in the region. Yet he acknowledges that “absence of democracy is allowing violent extremist movements to fester.” Carothers further argues that **democracy can** either weaken radicals over time or **open the door to greater radicalization when there is pent-up pressure for social change, as in Algeria in early 1990s and in the 2006 Palestinian elections, which brought Hamas to power.** The issue is not cut and dried. Thus, policies to promote democracy need to be tailored to the unique circumstances of individual countries.[24] **The U.S. should do nothing to condone, encourage, or accommodate Islamist forces**, but their activities become a matter of direct U.S. concern only when they threaten fundamental human rights and freedoms. In such cases, it is incumbent on the U.S. to speak up for the principles of democracy and religious freedom.

Traditional Muslims vs. Islamist Extremists

**The rise of Islamism** over the past 40 years has been **facilitated** by several major geopolitical events, **including the Iranian revolution in 1979, the mujahideen war** against the Soviets in Afghanistan **during the 1980s, rising oil prices, and the 9/11 attacks** on the United States and their aftermath.[25] **In Pakistan**, the **war** in Afghanistan **and the Islamization policies of President** General **Zia ul-Haq during the** 19**80s** **strengthened** **Islamist forces** and puritanical Sunni Islamic sects, such as the Deobandis. The Deobandis are closely linked with a religiously intolerant interpretation of Islam and have established several hundred Islamic seminaries in Pakistan, **many of which abet militancy**. The Deobandis receive large amounts of funding from private financiers in Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, who seek to promote versions of Islam that are more puritanical.

Muhammed Ali Jinnah, Pakistan’s founding father, supported the idea of Islam serving as a unifying force in the newly established Pakistani state but envisioned the country functioning as a multireligious and multiethnic democratic state. **The reaction in Pakistan to the recent assassination of** Punjab **Governor** Salman **Taseer reveals that** Pakistan is rapidly moving away from Jinnah’s vision and that **support for extremist ideologies within** Pakistani **society is much deeper and broader than previously understood**. **Taseer’s murderer said that he killed Taseer because of his support for reform of anti-blasphemy laws**, which are often misused against religious minorities. **The day after** Taseer’s assassination, **several hundred** Pakistani **clerics signed a statement condoning the murder and warning other Pakistanis against grieving for the governor.**

#### Aff- Threat of Islamic takeover proves U.S. promo is key:

*(Lisa Curtis [Senior Research Fellow for South Asia in the Asian Studies Center of the Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy at The Heritage Foundation], Charlotte Florance [Research Associate for Economic Freedom in Africa and the Middle East in the Douglas and Sarah Allison Center for Foreign and National Security Policy of the Davis Institute], Walter Lohman [Director of the Asian Studies Center] and James Phillips [Senior Research Fellow for Middle Eastern Affairs in the Allison Center], “Pursuing a Freedom Agenda Amidst Rising Global Islamism,” http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2014/11/pursuing-a-freedom-agenda-amidst-rising-global-islamism, Nov 17 2014)*

The rise of **Islamist parties** over the past few years has occurred **in** the context of **democracy movements throughout the Middle East**, especially in Egypt and Tunisia. This **has raised questions about U.S. democracy promotion** and whether it has helped fuel instability. This report argues that **U.S. democracy promotion activities are more important than ever and will ultimately assist** these nations **in developing** into **stable, democratic societies.** **This will** be a long-term endeavor, and will **require U.S. policymakers to** exercise patience as they **consistently promote the** basic **building blocks of democracy, including regular elections, political party development, protection of minority rights and religious freedom, a constitution that enshrines division of powers and an independent judiciary, and a free media.**

#### Aff- U.S. is uniquely suited for resolving tensions between demos & religion:

*(Thomas O. Melia, Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Walsh School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University, “The Democracy Bureaucracy: The Infrastructure of American Democracy Promotion,” A discussion paper prepared for the Princeton Project on National Security Working Group on Global Institutions and Foreign Policy Infrastructure, https://www.princeton.edu/~ppns/papers/democracy\_bureaucracy.pdf, Sept 2005)*

**A way must be found to incorporate** the treatment of **religion in the promotion of democracy.** This probably needs to be figured out outside of government, though it could eventually be financed in some way by public funds, as ways have been found to support controversial activities such as political party development. **How to reconcile religious devotion with political democracy is the principal issue of the Age**, at home no less than abroad, and yet democracy promoters in and out of government almost universally operate as if it is of no interest or concern. (A rare exception was the kerfuffle of activity in Washington in summer 2005 about the implications for democracy in Iraq of a draft constitution that would enshrine Shari’ a as the “sole source” of legislation in the country. But that was an isolated event, largely apart from the hundreds of millions of dollars currently being invested in Iraq’s potential democracy.) **The heart of this matter is how democracy promoters engage with the observant Muslim** in a country on the cusp of democracy – the undecided ‘voter,’ as it were, who is **trying to discern if** the promise of political **democracy can be reconciled with** his interest in living in a society where respect for **religious values** prevails. Interestingly, as **American democracy promoters** have become adept at utilizing the global storehouse of democratic models (of elections, parties, legislature, constitutions, civil society laws and practices) they **have lost sight of the uniquely American experience of a highly religious population that thrives in a political democracy. No other society has as much of value to share in this regard.**

#### Aff- No Islamist takeover (Autocrats exaggerate threat to discourage dissent):

*(Jeremy M. Sharp, Middle East Policy Analyst [Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division], “U.S. Democracy Promotion Policy in the Middle East: The Islamist Dilemma,” Congressional Research Service, Report for Congress, https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33486.pdf, June 15 2006)*

In addition, analysts have long observed how **some Arab regimes have played on Western fears of political Islamism by attempting to paint all Islamist organizations as radical, thereby positioning themselves as the only moderate alternative likely to support U.S. objectives**. Some Arab governments, such as Egypt, Syria, and Algeria, have a history of violent confrontation with Islamic extremists who have assassinated government officials and launched costly insurgencies against security forces. In some ways, Arab governments have been engaged in their own “war on terror” for many years, and the experience has made them reluctant to recognize non-revolutionary Islamist groups. **Many Arab human rights advocates have asserted that regimes have harnessed the fear of fundamentalist**-inspired **terrorism** and instability in order **to justify continued one-party rule and relieve external pressure for political reform.**

#### Aff- No impact to Islamist takeover (democracy mechanisms check):

*(Chris Forster, The Foreign Policy Centre, “Democracy, Terrorism and the Middle East,” http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/711.pdf, Feb 16 2006)*

**A[n]** second **assumption is that Islamic parties are undesirable for leading governments.** Instead, secular and non-sectarian parties should be favoured and supported by Western governments. **But what is an Islamic party**? Again, **there are many hues** and not all policies will necessarily revolve around the Koran. A certain **hypocrisy** also **arises when looking at political parties outside the Middle East. What of the Christian Democrats in Germany? The Christian Union in the Netherlands? The Christian People’s Party in Norway? The Bharatiya Janata Party (Hindu) and Punjab Popular Front (Sikh) in India? Even the Republican Party in the US has its influential evangelical base. All these parties try to pull on the loyalties people have with their religions; all will have their policies affected by the will of their religious voters. Why are they not received with similar caution? In the Middle East democratically elected Islamic parties functioning within** the context of **a real democracy will not** necessarily promote or **tolerate terrorists** organisations within their midst. **Security and foreign policy interests will prevail in order to remain in power.** Yet the promotion of nationalist, liberal, secular, right- or left-wing parties in Middle East countries should be on the Western agenda for the sake of plurality of choice. A level of competition between political visions is needed so that parties will seek to represent the views of the majority and not just provide the electorate with the choice of choosing the best of a bad bunch. The immediate fears of **Western governments** should not lead to the kind of meddling in the Middle East that has lead to today’s world. Focus should be upon securing themselves from terrorist attacks from international organisations such as al-Qaeda. The incidents of 9/11 in New York, 3/11 in Madrid and 7/7 in London do **demonstrate that democracies are** still vulnerable to attack, but it does not follow that they are not **suitable to** **defeat** it. If anything, the solidarity that emerged in the wake of these attacks has shown the commitment of the citizenry to the democratic cause and exposed those supportive of **terrorist methods.** **The Muslim community in the UK has been able, through the mechanisms existent in democracies, to voice their concern over extremists claiming to represent their faith.** The peaceful rally in London against the cartoon depictions of Mohammed outnumbered the aggressive one that featured mock suicide bombers **and** plaques calling for the massacre and destruction of Europe. The latter were subsequently isolated with some even apologising for their actions. The former were able to **mobilise the mainstream of Muslims in** their protest while evoking their Britishness and **condemning** those tending toward **violence**. **Democracy, in all its** shades, **complexities** and depths, **remains the best means for any country to tackle** the threat of **terrorism**, exported or domestic. **So long as policymakers** and the public **recognise that ‘terrorists’ and their organisations come in all shapes and sizes will progress be made in** addressing and **overcoming them. Teaching** and not just spreading Western values on **freedom will help** fully functioning **democracies** to **bloom** so that people can mould their governments to suit themselves. **Assisting them in the** fragile and dangerous **transition** toward becoming true democratic regimes **will be the role for** those already there. **The West** must resist trying to direct or influence the final outcome to avoid a backlash. **Allowing them to evolve with assistance will be the way to bring democracy to** bear upon terrorism and bring **the Middle East** into the democratic age.

#### Aff- No impact to Islamist takeover (History proves democracy can integrate strong religious ties):

*(Lisa Curtis [Senior Research Fellow for South Asia in the Asian Studies Center of the Kathryn and Shelby Cullom Davis Institute for National Security and Foreign Policy at The Heritage Foundation], Charlotte Florance [Research Associate for Economic Freedom in Africa and the Middle East in the Douglas and Sarah Allison Center for Foreign and National Security Policy of the Davis Institute], Walter Lohman [Director of the Asian Studies Center] and James Phillips [Senior Research Fellow for Middle Eastern Affairs in the Allison Center], “Pursuing a Freedom Agenda Amidst Rising Global Islamism,” http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2014/11/pursuing-a-freedom-agenda-amidst-rising-global-islamism, Nov 17 2014)*

The U.S. has stayed largely on the sidelines as political change has swept through the Middle East and North Africa over the past three and a half years. **With the increasing influence of Islamist parties, the U.S. cannot afford to be a bystander and risk countries backsliding on their commitment to democracy.** The **Obama** Administration initially **distanced** itself **from** the Bush Administration’s policy **of democracy promotion in the Middle East.** This raised concern that the Administration was reversing the decades-old bipartisan policy of promoting and defending democracy as a core component of U.S. foreign policy. President Obama has more recently affirmed that the U.S. will continue to stand up for democracy throughout the world. Still, **the Administration needs to redouble its commitment to championing** the concepts of **individual liberty and freedom. This is especially important in countries where Islamist parties pose a threat to democratic principles** of equality, freedom of religion, freedom of expression, and commitment to non-violence. U.S. officials must accept that Islamism represents a powerful political ideology that is unlikely to burn out or fade away any time soon. While U.S. policymakers need to take the rise of Islamism seriously and develop policies to address the worldwide phenomenon, they also should recognize that **Islamism is not monolithic. Washington needs to develop policies toward Islamist parties within their own social, political, and cultural contexts.** Based on polling **in countries where** large **majorities** of Muslims **favor governing systems that include both democratic and Islamic** values and **practices**, **it is likely that** most Muslim-majority **countries will** not place the same emphasis on secularism and separation of religion and state as Western countries did during their transitions to democracy. Most Muslim-majority countries currently have legal systems that **look both to sharia and secular civil regulations as sources of law.**[39] As Dr. John Owen, professor of politics at the University of Virginia, points out in his forthcoming book, Confronting Political Islam, **liberal democratic development in the West was influenced by both secular and religious concepts, including Catholic conceptions of natural rights and Calvinist ideas of covenant.** That said, there remains a fundamental tension between the Islamist belief that divine law trumps human rights and the foundational basis of democracy, which is rule by the people.[40] It is as yet unclear how this tension might be resolved.

#### Aff- No impact to Islamist takeover (moderate Islamic parties exist):

*(Lisa Curtis, Senior Research Fellow for South Asia in the Asian Studies Center at The Heritage Foundation, “Championing Liberty Abroad to Counter Islamist Extremism,” Heritage Foundation, Backgrounder #2518, http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2011/02/championing-liberty-abroad-to-counter-islamist-extremism, Feb 9 2011)*

**The fight against extremism is** largely **an ideological battle, and the principles of democratic** governance and **rule** by the people **are a powerful antidote to** Islamist **extremists’ message of** intolerance, **hatred, and repression.** Daniel Benjamin, current Coordinator for Counterterrorism at the State Department, noted in a 2008 academic paper that “[t]he U.S. needs a long-term strategy that makes Muslim societies less incubators for radicalism and more satisfiers of fundamental human needs.”[15] **In a joint report** prepared for the 2008 U.S. presidential campaign, **the presidents of the International Republican Institute and the National Democratic Institute emphasized the importance of democratizing societies as a way to reduce extremism by allowing avenues of dissent, alternation of power, and protections for minorities**.[16]

Former Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Douglas Feith, in an academic paper in 2010, also points to the need to promote ideas favorable to individual rights in Muslim societies. Rather than focus solely on messaging Muslim communities, Feith argues that **U.S. policy must** also develop effective ways to **stimulate debate among Muslims themselves on** the **extremist ideologies** **promoted** **by** al-Qaeda and other **terrorist organizations**.[17] More specifically, **the “[k]ey objective is not to induce Muslims to like the U.S. but to encourage them to reject understandings of Islam that condone** and even encourage **violence** and subversion against the U.S. and the West.”[18]

The U.S. needs to implement strategies to counter Islamists who may not publicly condone terrorism but still seek to subvert democratic systems.[19] To do so successfully, **the U.S. will need to engage with Muslim groups and leaders**, but it must navigate this terrain carefully. **The American model of religious liberty includes a favorable view of religious practice**, both private and public, **and assumes that religious leaders will take an active role in society**.[20] While they may participate in the political process, Islamists’ ideology often leads to discrimination against religious minorities and other anti-democratic measures and fuels support for terrorism. After all, Islamist ideology helped to form the basis for the development of al-Qaeda and other terrorist organizations.

Some Muslim academics note that **the American effort to confront Communism included working not only with conservative parties, but also with labor unions, social democrats, and youth movements. Thus**, they argue that **the U.S. should not focus solely on working with secular parties to confront Islamist extremism, but should also recognize that religious groups** and parties **can play a role in encouraging support for democratic principles.**[21] U.S. officials should focus their engagement on those religious groups and parties that reject violence and unequivocally support democratic principles.

#### Aff- No impact to Islamist takeover (moderate Islamic parties exist):

*(Lisa Curtis, Senior Research Fellow for South Asia in the Asian Studies Center at The Heritage Foundation, “Championing Liberty Abroad to Counter Islamist Extremism,” Heritage Foundation, Backgrounder #2518, http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2011/02/championing-liberty-abroad-to-counter-islamist-extremism, Feb 9 2011)*

**U.S. officials should consider engaging with** traditional **religious leaders** in Pakistan as a way **to counter Islamist extremists** pushing a more radical agenda.[26] **Although some of these** traditional Muslim **leaders may be socially conservative, they** are more likely to **reject** the **violent methods** of the Pakistani Taliban **and the Islamist agenda of religious political parties**, such as the Jamaat-i-Islami and the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam.[27]

**The** Sunni Ittehad Council (**SIC**), **an umbrella group representing 60** Barelvi **organizations** that was formed in May 2009, **has held conferences to forge unity among the various schools of Islamic thought against** the Taliban and has issued religious rulings against **extremism**. **For example, after a series of militant attacks** on Sufi shrines in Pakistan, **the SIC** **pushed for a** nationwide ban on extremist Deobandi literature, a **crackdown on extremist groups, and stronger** police and judicial action **against suspected terrorists.**

*(Dr. Hauke Hartmann, “Democracy promotion: definition, priorities, preconditions,” Worldwide promotion of democracy: challenges, role and strategy of the European Union, Proceedings of a conference organised by the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftunghttp://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\_11856-1522-2-30.pdf?110504154444, June 5-6 2007)*

From an analytical point of view, using the universal criteria **for democracy, the best hope for the Maghreb states are the Islamist parties. They represent** the only **serious actors with a broad social basis calling for democracy, good governance and openness of the political system.** But from a cultural point of view, the **western** countries and their **governments tend to be distrustful of Islamist parties**, which are believed to have authoritarian and absolutist agendas. So **it is necessary to differentiate between various Islamist actors, some of which are potential partners in the liberalisation of political regimes**, while others clearly do not sufficiently share the political agenda of democracy based on the rule of law. The starting point in any analysis would then be the universally binding features of democracy, while **potential protagonists have to be assessed taking local and cultural contexts into account.**

#### Aff- A2 Election of Hamas:

*(Natan Sharansky, Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, humans rights activist, former member of the Israeli Knesset & former Soviet dissident, “Is Freedom for Everyone?,” Heritage Foundation, Lecture #960, http://www.heritage.org/research/lecture/is-freedom-for-everyone , Sept 7 2006)*

But if you look at the situation today, it looks like skeptics again have the upper hand. Now **we hear** that **the developments in the Middle East** prove that all this was wrong. **Hamas came to power as result of democratic elections; in Egypt, dissidents are in prison.** What's happening in Iraq and practi­cally every other country in the Middle East raises a lot of questions. **Does it mean that the democratic agenda** has failed, that it **was a mistake**?

I believe not. **I think not.** And it is very impor­tant to understand what really happened. Why on the one hand do we have such strong speeches in support of democracy and at the same time such poor results?

Why **Elections Do Not Democracy Make**

Let me take one area that I have followed more closely than any other, and that is what has hap­pened **with the Palestinian Authority.** It is an ex­ample that proves my point that the **developments taking place have nothing to do with** pursuing **a democratic agenda. Rather, they prove we are failing to defend the agenda** which we ourselves are proclaiming.

**Hamas came to power, and some say it was a big surprise for those who promote a democratic agen­da.** I recommend that you read, that you listen to what **those** of us **who believe in promoting the democratic agenda were** saying a year ago, three years ago, fifteen **years ago**. We were predicting and **warning that the course** the free world had chosen **would inevitably bring Hamas** to **victory**.

**The first stage was**, of course, **the decision to bring a corrupt dictator to the Middle East** and to make him as strong as possible and as corrupt as possible **because it was believed that his** **strength** **and** his **corruption** **were** the best **guarantees that he would be loyal to us and** would **fight Hamas.** As a result, **this created a** unique **system where** this corrupt regime is running the lives of some million people; where **practically every Palestin­ian has to pay protection money** because it's run­ning it like a mafia; **where all the beginnings of civil society and free economy are destroyed.** And the free world is paying for this; the free world is supporting all of this. So, of course, this regime was hated by us because it was inciting a lot of hatred towards us and thousands of prisoners. But it was also hated by Palestinians, who suffered from this.

**As a former Minister of Industry and Trade, I remember how it was impossible to help the Pal­estinians** to create any independent jobs **because the moment Arafat understood that it meant his people would be more independent** from him, **he was not interested. So, there was a regime which Palestinians hated.**

**Second, the free world made** some very strong statements and the leader of the free world, Presi­dent Bush, made very **strong statements about the need of democratic reforms. Then**, under the road­map, **reform number one is** what? It is **elections**. In America, I came here to this city, to this White House to discuss with the Vice President and with everybody who wanted to listen that **you cannot start democratic reforms with elections. You can have elections, but they will have nothing to do with the democracy. Democracy is not elections; democracy is free elections and free society. The test of the democratic state is not elections; there are elections in every dictatorship. The test of dem­ocratic states is** the town square test, where you can **go** to this square to **express your views and** you will **not be punished** for it. **Palestinians** of these elec­tions **had to choose between a hated corrupt dicta­torship, a mafia** which was taking from them protection money for everything on one hand, **and** a few honest **terrorists** who wanted to kill a lot of Jews but **who were taking care of the weak** and poor on the other hand.

When I hear some of the stories from Arab villag­es-from **Christian Arab villages**-that **voted for Hamas,** **their explanations** remind me of a film which I saw as a child, one of the unique cases when the Soviet Union **showed** an "ugly American" film. It was a film called The Magnificent Seven. It was the only American film which I saw, and it was about how noble cowboys came to the village and saved them from the mafia. That's exactly **how these people saw Hamas,** who came to **sav[ing]**e **them from these awful men.** And then after all this, when we decided that there is nobody to talk to, we decided simply to leave Gaza. As I wrote in my let­ter of resignation, there is no way that our one-sid­ed concessions will strengthen moderates. They can strengthen only extremists, only those who are responsible for these terrorist acts.

Just a few days ago in the Knesset, the head of our intelligence service said that the only organiza­tion which benefited from our leaving Gaza was Hamas. They immediately went with the slogan: "You see we killed 1,000 Jews and they leave Gaza. We'll kill 2,000 and they will leave the West Bank; 3,000, they will leave Jerusalem, immediately."

**And then we are told that these elections prove that the democratic agenda doesn't work. Elections are a good thing**-it is always better when they hold elections rather than kill one another. **But if it is not a free society, it's a technical thing, and not more** than this. **It has nothing to do with a democracy.**

**To the contrary, Hamas came to power because** for all these years **we abandoned the policy of pro­moting democracy.** The plan which I proposed in 2002 to Ariel Sharon was that we would leave all those lands on which all the refugee camps will be dismantled, the free economy will prevail, the edu­cation for hatred will stop and, of course, terrorist organizations will be disbanded. **Only** then, when there is a trial period of some years, **when you have implemented** all of these **reforms,** then **you can have** truly **democratic elections.**

Let me go **to another example. Egypt** also **is** very **unfortunate**. On one hand **we see** very **strong speeches of the American administration** and some very strong steps that created important dynamics. On the other hand, **the most important thing** here **is to** continue **strengthen**ing **the** authority of **dissidents** in those countries. I say it from my experience in the Soviet Union. **When Mubarak is arresting the leaders of the democratic opposition** and putting them in prison, when he is sentencing them to five years in prison in mock trials, exactly like the mock trials in the Soviet Union, **and yet** he or **his** members of **family** **and** his **representatives** **are receiving a royal reception in Washington, that's the worst possible message** to the double thinkers. Don't be in a hurry. Your time hasn't yet come. It's not the time to cross this line to become dissidents.

*(Lorne Craner, president of the International Republican Institute & former assistant secretary of state for democracy, human rights, and labor, “Will U.S. Democratization Policy Work?,” The Middle East Quarterly, vol 13, no 3, pp 3-10, http://www.meforum.org/942/will-us-democratization-policy-work, Summer 2006)*

Even as the U.S. government fine-tunes its policies, many foreign policy commentators and pundits second-guess the wisdom of democracy promotion. Leon T. Hadar, a research fellow at CATO, argued in the wake of the Danish cartoon controversy that "liberal democracy … is not an export commodity."[22] **Some see** the recent **election results in Iraq, Egypt, Lebanon, and the West Bank and Gaza as a setback for the U.S.** administration's **agenda of promoting democracy. They argue that holding elections too soon can undercut democratization, empower illiberal forces, and promote instability**. In Iraq, ironically, many commentators argue that Washington did not push elections fast enough.[23] **Washington did not push elections in Egypt, Lebanon, and the Palestinian Authority. The polls had long since been scheduled.** What the Bush administration did was insist that the elections be fair. **The elections did empower Islamists. But many polls suggest that a portion of the Islamist vote** in Egypt and the Palestinian Authority **was more a sign of frustration with the status quo and anger at corruption than an endorsement of Islamism. Both the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and Hamas in the West Bank and Gaza juxtaposed an aura of cleanliness against the established elites' corruption. One poll showed** that the attitude of the Palestine Liberation Organization and Hamas toward **Israel was only the fifth-most important issue among Palestinian voters as they headed to the polls. Reform of corrupt governing institutions**, improved internal security, improved economic conditions, **and** the promotion of **democracy ranked higher**.[24] U.S. policymakers are not pleased with the rise of groups such as Hamas and Hezbollah, but President Bush's willingness to recognize the election results should silence skeptics of U.S. commitment to democratic reform. **After the Hamas victory, regional critics would have difficulty maintaining the theory that democracy promotion is meant to install puppet regimes**. That said, **as with the case of Hamas, accepting the result of a democratic election does not signal U.S. endorsement of the resulting regime.** Winning elections does not alone create democrats. **Even with long established democracies, U.S. relations ebb and flow depending on who is elected.**

#### Aff- A2 U.S. intervention causes election of hostile parties:

*(Chris Forster, The Foreign Policy Centre, “Democracy, Terrorism and the Middle East,” http://fpc.org.uk/fsblob/711.pdf, Feb 16 2006)*

US policy in the region, and not what America stands for, is the major cause of **antiAmericanism in the Middle East**. Gause admits that it **is** this that ‘drives the sentiment’. This strong reaction of people in the Middle East to US policies is perhaps an indication that they are the wrong ones – so the policies themselves are **the problem** and are what need revision. **Yet it is a rather arrogant assumption that** the people of **these countries should be denied** the virtues of **democracy in order to sustain regimes that can be more easily persuaded to accept US foreign policy.** If the US approach to the Middle East was applied to Europe and a similar dissatisfaction arose, it would not be difficult to fathom an overtly anti-American government being elected to Westminster. Gause still doubts, however, that changing tactics would have any effect on public opinion and therefore also elected governments. **Iran is an example where people are favourable toward the US but did not vote for the candidate that wanted rapprochement with America. The flawed** logic that flows from here is that the rise of Islamic parties and groups that are anti-American is independent of US foreign policy. The **assumption is**, of course, **that citizens of Middle Eastern countries vote on single issues and that that issue is the US.** As shown earlier, **they have many greater concerns, including health, corruption, education and employment. These were the main reasons that Hamas came to power, not for its dedication to destroy Israel. For similar reasons Iranians voted for** President **Ahmadinejad**. **His fiery rhetoric did not just heat nationalist pride but focussed on domestic concerns based on** promises to revive **the economy.** Presenting himself as a common man also appealed to the people and his campaign was assisted by members of the Revolutionary Guard that supported his candidature and persuaded others to do so, too.

#### Aff- Benefits outweigh risks of bad regime takeover/will prevail long-term:

*(Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Editor of International Security, "Why the United States Should Spread Democracy", Harvard University’s Center for Science and International Affairs, Discussion Paper 98-07, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/2830/why\_the\_united\_states\_should\_spread\_democracy.html, March 1998)*

C. Promoting Elections may be Harmful or Irrelevant

The Arguments: **One** of the most prominent recent **criticism**s **of attempts to promote democracy claims that** democratic elections often have few positive effects, especially in countries that do not have liberal societies or other socioeconomic conditions such as a large middle class and a high level of economic development. These arguments imply that electoral democracy may be undesirable in many countries and that the United States should not encourage its spread. **Democratically elected governments may turn out to be illiberal** regimes that oppress their citizens.122 The process of holding democratic elections in multiethnic societies can fan the flames of ethnic conflict.123 Democracy does not guarantee economic success and may even hinder it.124 Responses: **These criticisms** of electoral democracy are important reminders that democracy is imperfect and so are democracies. They also call attention to the need to promote the spread of liberal principles, as well as democratic electoral procedures. They **do not**, however, **amount to a persuasive case against U.S. support for elections in other countries,** for the following reasons. First, Zakaria overstates the extent to which new democracies are illiberal or are becoming so. He argues that the Freedom House ratings show that 50% of democratizing countries are illiberal democracies. He classifies countries as "democratizing" if their combined Freedom House scores for political rights and civil liberties (each measured on a 7-point scale with 1 denoting the most freedom and 7 the least) fall between 5 and 10. He regards countries as illiberal if they have a greater degree of political freedom than civil liberties. Zakaria's claim that there is a growing number of illiberal democracies may be correct. After all, there are now more emerging democracies. But whether states have fewer civil liberties than political rights is a problematic way to distinguish between liberal and illiberal democracies. In 65% of the states classified as illiberal democracies by Zakaria, the difference between civil liberties and political rights is only one point on the 7-point Freedom House scale. In no case is the difference greater than 2 points. Moreover, classifying countries as illiberal on the basis of whether they have more civil liberties than political rights leads to some absurd distinctions. For example, Zakaria's criteria would classify France as an illiberal democracy because it scores higher on political rights (1) than civil liberties (2), and Gabon as a liberal democracy because its civil liberties score (4) is higher than its political rights (5). Zakaria notes that he does not rely on Freedom House for classifications of individual states, only for overall statistical measures. Freedom House's 1997 ratings show that civil liberties have improved in 10 of the countries Zakaria identifies as "democratizing" and fallen in only 4. The most recent Freedom House ratings also show that 81 of 117 democracies are now classified as "free" whereas only 76 of 117 were "free" in 1995. Thus there actually seems to be a slight trend toward liberalization, even as the overall number of democracies remains constant.125 In light of the absence of democratic and liberal traditions in many new democracies (particularly in the former Soviet Union and Africa), it is remarkable that freedom continues to flourish to the extent that it does.126 Second, Zakaria and Kaplan overlook the extent to which the **holding of elections is (a) an important way of removing authoritarian leaders, and (b) part of the process of encouraging the growth of liberal values. The principle that leaders should be selected in free and fair elections can become an international norm that can be used to persuade authoritarian leaders to step aside**, sometimes **gracefully**. **Marcos in the Philippines and Pinochet in Chile were removed from power** largely **because of the growing** international **belief in the electoral principle**. It is hard to imagine that elections in Burma, for example, could produce an outcome worse than the current SLORC regime. **Elections** do not only remove unpopular authoritarians, however; they **also encourage the development of liberal habits and principles such as freedom of speech and of the press. Holding a free and fair election requires that these principles be followed.** Elections alone do not guarantee that constitutional liberalism and the rule of law will be adopted, but they do focus the attention of the voting public on the process of freely electing their governments. Third, it is not clear what forms of government the United States should support instead of democracy. Zakaria believes the United States should "encourage the gradual development of constitutional liberalism across the globe."127 Most proponents of promoting democracy would agree that this is a worthy goal, but it is hard to promote liberalism without promoting democracy. There are few contemporary examples of liberal countries that are not democracies. Zakaria cites Hong Kong under British rule as an example, but this experience of a liberal imperial power engaging in a rather benign authoritarian rule over a flourishing free-market economy has already ended and is unlikely to be repeated. Earlier historical examples of liberal nondemocracies include Britain in the early 19th century, and possibly other European constitutional monarchies of that century. As Marc Plattner and Carl Gershman of the National Endowment for Democracy point out, none of the examples is a "practical vision" for the 21st century.128 Zakaria praises East Asian countries on the grounds that they "have accorded their citizens a widening sphere of economic, civil, religious and limited political rights," and suggests that they, much like Western countries around 1900, are on the road to liberty.129 But most observers-including some East Asians-would argue that these countries have curtailed political liberties (and sometimes bragged about it in the debate over "Asian values") and are hardly a model of liberalization that the United States should encourage. Thus it is difficult to see how Zakaria's analysis can support a viable U.S. policy of supporting liberalism without also supporting democratic elections. Fourth, Kaplan and, to a lesser extent, Zakaria, exaggerate the degree to which elections per se are responsible for the problems of new democracies, many of which had the same problems before elections were held. **In the area of ethnic conflict**, for example, **democratic elections** may **ameliorate existing conflicts instead of exacerbating them. The evidence is mixed, but the need to build electoral coalitions and the liberal practices of free speech and freedom of association necessary to hold elections** may **promote ethnic accommodation, not hostility.**130 These arguments suggest that Zakaria, Kaplan, and other critics of electoral democracy have taken the valid point that "elections are not enough" too far. **The U**nited **S**tates **should support democracy and liberalism; supporting only the latter risks not achieving either.**

#### Aff- Benefits outweigh risks of bad regime takeover/will prevail long-term:

*(Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Editor of International Security, "Why the United States Should Spread Democracy", Harvard University’s Center for Science and International Affairs, Discussion Paper 98-07, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/2830/why\_the\_united\_states\_should\_spread\_democracy.html, March 1998)*

C. America's Goal: Liberal Democracy

Given the variety of definitions of democracy and the distinction between democracy and liberalism, what type of government should the United States attempt to spread? Should it try to spread democracy, defined procedurally, liberalism, or both? Ultimately, **U.S. policies should aim to** encourage the **spread** of **liberal democracy**. Policies to promote democracy should attempt to increase the number of regimes that respect the individual liberties that lie at the heart of liberalism and elect their leaders. The United States therefore should attempt to build support for liberal principles-many of which are enshrined in international human-rights treaties-as well as encouraging states to hold free and fair elections. **Supporting the spread of liberal democracy does not, however, mean that the U**nited **S**tates **should give the promotion of liberalism priority over** the growth of **electoral democracy**. **In most cases, support for electoral democracy can contribute to the spread of liberalism** and liberal democracy. Free and **fair elections often remove leaders who are the biggest impediments** to the spread of democracy. In Burma, for example, the people would almost certainly remove the authoritarian SLORC regime from power if they had a choice at the ballot box. **In South Africa, Haiti, and Chile, for example,** elections removed antidemocratic rulers and advanced the process of democratization. In most cases, **the U**nited **S**tates **should support elections even in countries that are not** fully **liberal**. **Elections will** generally **initiate a process of change** toward democratization. American policy should not let the perfect be the enemy of the good by insisting that countries embrace liberal principles before holding elections. Such a policy could be exploited by authoritarian rulers to justify their continued hold on power and to delay elections that they might lose. In addition, **consistent U.S. support for electoral democracy will help** to **bolster the** emerging i**nternational norm that leaders should be accountable to their people. Achieving this goal is worth the risk that some distasteful leaders will win elections** and use these victories at the ballot box to legitimize their illiberal rule. The United States also should attempt to build support for liberal principles, both before and after other countries hold elections. Policies that advance liberalism are harder to develop and pursue than those that aim to persuade states to hold free and fair elections, but the United States can promote liberalism as well as electoral democracy, as I argue below. II. The Benefits of the Spread of Democracy Most Americans assume that democracy is a good thing and that the spread of democracy will be beneficial. Because the virtues of democracy are taken for granted, they are rarely fully enumerated and considered. Democracy is not an unalloyed good, so it is important not to overstate or misrepresent the benefits of democratization. Nevertheless, **the spread of democracy has many important benefits**. This section enumerates how the spread of **democracy will improve the lives of the citizens of new democracies, contribute to international peace, and directly advance the national interests of the U**nited **S**tates.

### Instability & Transition Wars

#### Neg- Transitions worsen sectarianism, intolerance, terrorism & promo doesn’t solve:

*(Walter Russell Mead, editor of The American Interest Online, James Clarke Chace Professor of Humanities and Foreign Policy at Bard College, and Distinguished Scholar in American Strategy and Statesmanship at the Hudson Institute, “The Paradox of American Democracy Promotion,” The American Interest, Vol 10, no 5, http://www.the-american-interest.com/2015/04/09/the-paradox-of-american-democracy-promotion/, April 9 2015)*

There is also a deeper issue. America is the land of historical optimists and determinists. We believe history is heading upward on a certain trajectory; at heart we are still whigs, at least with a small “w.” **American optimism means that** even when history is going our way, **we often underestimate how challenging the journey will be. Americans have made this mistake before**. **Back in 1870 eastern** and **central Europe and the Middle East comprised five or so states, none of them democracies: the Ottoman Empire, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Russian Empire, the new German Empire, and then Greece and a few small others. Many Americans were** morally **certain that democracy was about to transform this region**, and that nationalist movements seeking self-determination would spearhead a movement of democratic change that would bring peace, justice, and freedom to the region **in relatively short order.** Those optimistic Americans were not completely wrong**. Today there are fifty or sixty states there; maybe thirty or forty are democracies. But to get even this far required the deaths of 150 million people, two world wars, and untold episodes of ethnic cleansing and genocide, of which the Holocaust was just the largest and most dramatic. Most of the** ethnically homogenous, happy **democratic states in central Europe are so in part because** in one way or another **they got rid of their pesky minorities**. **There was the ethnic cleansing of millions of Germans from Poland and the Czech Republic**; massive numbers of **Greeks** were **driven out of Turkey** **and Turks and Muslims driven out of Greece**. Of those living in Turkey today at least 5 percent are descended from someone who was forced out as the Ottoman Empire shrank. Very often we like to think history moves from modernization to democracy to a stable democratic peace. **It often turns out,** however, **that** **the rise of democracy is associated with a profound rise in ethnic tension. In American history, too**, Jacksonian **democracy was partly about driving Indian tribes off the land** **so** that the **democratic individuals** and families **could own their own farms. In Austria, some democratic parties were composed** largely **of anti-Semites**, while often it was the aristocrats who resisted vulgar anti-Semitism. **Often, democratic movements were about uniting, say, the Czechs, establishing the right of self-determination for Czechs**, **having rich Czechs take care of poor ones as brothers—but not so much the Germans or the Roma or the Jews. The rise of democracy and the rise of ethnic tension, hatred, and violence are very closely connected historically**; this is still sometimes the case today. We see in Egypt that a vote for the Muslim Brotherhood was not necessarily a vote for a happy life for the Copts, for instance. This is not new, not some surprising distortion or aberration. Yet over and over again democracy proponents are surprised when things that have happened repeatedly, year after year, decade after decade, suddenly and mysteriously happen again. Clearly, while realists may underestimate the profound importance of democracy promotion, true believers underestimate its difficulty. In Africa, for example, it’s likely that in many countries tribal and religious identities will become more important as economic development proceeds. **As states become richer and more effective, people often care more about who controls it**, more **about whether the state is run by people who think like they do, speak like they do, and operate in support of their interests than about the purity of its democratic credentials. So we are likely to continue to see a link between the rise of democracy and the rise of** various forms of **social conflict and tension** within and between countries, and not just in Africa. **Both** the **Bush** **and** the **Obama** Administrations **looked to** the **spread** of **democracy** **in the Middle East as a solution to** critical foreign policy problems; democracy, both presidents believed, was the best cure for the social and economic ills that inflamed **radical jihadi ideology** and hatred of the United States. This may well be true, but **both** Presidents **learned that the Democracy Fairy does not show up on an American timetable.** **If democracy comes to the Middle East, it will come in a time, at a pace, in a form, and in a manner that are driven by local forces.** One can make similar arguments about China, Russia, Central Asia, and many other places in this world. American policymakers need to understand that it is only in exceptional and fortunate circumstances that democracy promotion activities by the United States will affect grave international problems in a policy-relevant time frame. **The idea that the Democracy Fairy can be induced to arrive on an accelerated schedule and will solve intractable foreign policy problems is an attractive one. It is, however**, almost always **an error** to base policy decisions on the immanence of democratic transformation. **Rather than look to a democratic surge to make our** stickiest **problems go away, policymakers would do better to** believe, and to **argue, that democracy will be more likely to arrive** in more places around the world if and **as we solve our** urgent foreign policy **problems**.

#### Neg- Transitions increase terrorism:

*(Erica Chenoweth, “The Inadvertent Effects of Democracy on Terrorist Group Emergence,” Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University’s Kennedy School of Government, î BCSIA Discussion Paper 2006-06, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/chenoweth\_2006\_06.pdf, Nov 2006)*

**The empirical analysis in this paper provides** preliminary **confirmation of** the argument that structural explanations of **democratic terrorism** are incomplete. A more complete explanation concerns the incentives that motivate terrorist groups to escalate their activities, such as competition. As violent forms of more conventional interest groups, **different terrorist groups compete for space on the public agenda. Because such competition results in crowding effects, the groups** then perceive a **need to ‘outdo’ one another** for influence, **resulting in an overall escalation of violence.** **Terrorists do not hate freedom, as is commonly touted** in political rhetoric; **on the contrary, they** seem to **thrive on and exploit it. This seems to be especially true in cases of democratic transitions, during which competition for agenda primacy is fierce.** Most scholars who establish a positive relationship between terrorism and democracy find themselves in an awkward position because of the implications of their resultsónamely, that undermining democracy may also undermine terrorism. Some scholars are obliged to admit that their results suggest that either democracies should forego their institutional constraints in this policy arena and restrict civil liberties, or that terrorism is something that contemporary democracies must learn to live with. The implications of group-level analyses are more hopeful than structural explanations because they suggest that terrorist motivations may actually be more dynamic than structural hypotheses suggest. Moreover, just as structural explanations of terrorism are incomplete, so are structural approaches to counterterrorism. **The** most **obvious implication is that governments cannot eradicate terrorist groups** simply **by implementing democracy. Democracy is permissive to and inadvertently encourages terrorist activity. Moreover, the most vulnerable time for an emerging democracy may be its period of transition-an expectation confirmed by the experiences in Iraq and Afghanistan.** Even if democracies attempted to reduce civil liberties and crush terrorists within their borders, the competitive nature of intergroup dynamics within democracies remains beyond control. Furthermore, the alternative to democracy may be normatively unacceptable, so governments must seek ways to disrupt the intergroup dynamics that cause terrorist groups to constantly escalate their activities. One possibility is to focus counterterrorism efforts on covert infiltration of terrorist groups in an effort to dismantle the groups from the inside out. Promoting group schisms may contribute to the downfall of these groups.59 Though this strategy is supported internationally by governments, intelligence agencies have not yet obtained the necessary resources for this to succeed.

#### Neg- No gradual transition/result of promo is regime collapse:

*(Thomas Carothers [Carnegie Endowment], “Choosing a Strategy,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

Given that many Western **policy makers worry about what** political **forces might take over if Arab governments experienced regime collapse, the gradualist scenario is** undoubtedly much more attractive to most. Presumably, it is **the** overall **goal of** most **Western efforts to promote democracy in the region**. **It must be noted, however, that the collapse scenario has been much more common around the world than the gradual success scenario. Only** a handful of countries—including **Chile, Mexico, Taiwan, and South Korea** (though in South Korea there was much assertive citizen activism along the way) —**have managed to move to democracy through a top-down, gradualist process** of political opening, in which the dictatorial regime gradually changed its stripes and left power through an electoral process. **But dozens of countries in Asia, Eastern Europe, Latin America, the former Soviet Union, and sub-Saharan Africa have seen their attempted democratic transitions of the past twenty years** initially **defined by** a crash—**the crash of the incumbent dictatorial regime. One principal characteristic of the successful gradualist transitions was that they were built on economic success. In each country, growth** and development **created an independent business sector and a growing middle class with an interest in and capacity to fight for a greater political say** in their own affairs. **The economic success also tended to moderate the opposition and undercut extremist alternatives,** thereby giving the ruling elite the self-confidence to keep moving toward greater political openness.

#### Neg- Demo promo= state collapse/anarchy/worse human rights/terrorists fill in power vacuums:

*(Raymond Hinnebusch, a Institute of Middle East, Central Asia and Caucasus Studies and member of the School of International Relations, University of St Andrews, Scotland, “Authoritarian Persistence, Democratization Theory and the Middle East: An Overview and Critique,” Democratization, vol 13, no 3, https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/school-of-international-relations/mecacs/workingpapers/authoritarian\_persistance\_democratization\_theory.pdf, June 1 2006)*

After a decade in which democratization studies were on the cutting edge, the wheel has turned again with growing claims that the ‘third wave’ is exhausted,1 the transition paradigm misguided2 and the democratization bandwagon bogged down in the quicksands of so-called hybrid or semi- or pseudo-democratic regimes.3 **Nowhere would** the relevance of **democratization** theory **seem more questionable than in the Middle East.** Some have always regarded the region as exceptionally culturally resistant to democratization4 and **the Middle East’s early liberal regimes quickly gave way to** seemingly **durable authoritarianism after independence**. Yet, many scholars identified a growing demand for democratization and some movement towards it in the 1990s.5 Since then, however, **the reversal of (timid) democratization experiments**, although not for cultural reasons, **has** been documented by Kienle, and by Ehteshami and Murphy.6 Maye Kassem and William Zartman have **shown how**, paradoxically, **party pluralization can reinforce authoritarian rulers**.7 Pool warned early on that enforcement of economic liberalization and austerity might require authoritarian power.8 I argued some years ago that **authoritarian regimes can adapt to new conditions and** specifically that their political **liberalization or pluralization is, for structural reasons, more likely to be a substitute for democratization than a stage on the way to it.**9 Except in government circles in Washington, **few now believe that if** only **authoritarian rulers are removed democratization is a natural outcome; indeed, an alternative might well be failed** (or destroyed) **states such as civil war Lebanon**, Somalia **and** occupied **Iraq**, **giving credence to the** old Hobbesian10 (and medieval Islamic) ‘**heresy’ that the alternative to tyranny is even worse, namely, anarchy.** The reality of **democratization** **is**, indeed, **much more complicated than** official **Western discourse imagines**, as even a preliminary dissection of the very concept reveals. **Democratization**, Sorensen argues, **must be seen as having two** distinguishable and separable **dimensions**: first, increasing **competitiveness**, that is, political liberalization or pluralization, **and** secondly, increasing political equality, that is, **inclusiveness**. **Full democratization would entail both** competitiveness and inclusion. **However, it is quite possible to increase the scope of competition for some** parts **of the population without increasing inclusiveness (in which case** political **liberalization signifies a move from autocracy to oligarchy** or to limited class ‘democracy’). **Alternatively, inclusiveness can be increased without competitiveness**: mass-mobilizing **anti-oligarchic revolutions**, normally **institutionalized under single party regimes**, **do exactly that** although, without competition, the public tends to be demobilized in the post-revolutionary period.11 **Finally, increased competitiveness can be associated with a shrinking of inclusiveness and there is evidence for this in the Middle East’s** liberalizing **post-revolutionary regimes**.

#### Neg- State collapse causes terrorism:

*(James A Piazza, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, “Do Democracy and Free Markets Protect Us From Terrorism?,” International Politics Journal, http://www.palgrave-journals.com/ip/journal/v45/n1/full/8800220a.html, 2008)*

The fifth and final conclusion involves the relationship between political stability in a country and the incidence of terrorism. The results do not demonstrate that instability in the form of frequent regime changes is a significant predictor of terrorism. But the results do suggest that **countries plagued by state failures are more likely to experience terrorism than countries that do not.** The relationship of state failures to terrorism is not new to policymakers or academics. United States Senator Chuck Hagel (R-NE) argued in an article published in Foreign Policy that **the most severe threat to US security at home and abroad comes from failed states, ‘Terrorism finds sanctuary in** failed or **failing states…’** (Hagel, 2004, 65). **These countries face enormous challenges due to** demographic pressures, **economic and social collapse and** numerous **security challenges arising from** wars and **civil and ethnic conflicts**. Failed and **failing states cannot effectively meet these challenges.** Robert I. Rotberg, director of the Belfer Center's Program on Intrastate Conflict and Conflict Resolution at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government and former advisor to the US Secretary of State, explains that **failed states, ‘can no longer deliver positive political goods to their people,’ lack** strong governing **institutions**, and **cannot** adequately **manage** large conflicts in society such as **sectarian violence and cannot control the movement of people across or within their** own **borders** (Rotberg, 2002, 85). **Failed states lack the capacity to quell criminal activity and** **they cannot provide basic economic stability** for citizens. **This** failure to deliver essential political goods — security, education, economic stability, etc. — **damages the legitimacy of the state and erodes the civil bases on which mainstream political behavior can thrive, propelling individuals into terrorism.** A small, qualitative **scholarly literature further explains** the relationship between failed states and international terrorism. Takeyh and Gvosdev (2002) sketch out a comprehensive explanation for why failed states are attractive as bases of operation for terrorists and terrorist groups. They note that US intelligence reports indicated **that** the **Al-Qaeda** terrorist network, **after being deprived of its home base in Afghanistan with the collapse of the Taliban** regime **in 2001**–2002, **sought to move operations to** Somalia, Indonesia, Chechnya, Bosnia, Lebanon and Kosovo — all of which can be described as failed or **failing states that cannot adequately police** or monitor the activities of militants **and lack** ‘vibrant **civil societies’ that might stymie the influence of militants in mainstream life.** Failed or **failing states provide large amounts of territory for terrorist operations that can be used for training**, arms depots and communications **and revenue-generating activities** that go beyond the limited network of ‘safe houses’ they can construct in countries with stronger states. **This creates the phenomenon of ‘stateless areas’** within countries experiencing state failure **wherein** substantial **regions** of the country **are left unpoliced by the** security forces of the **central government, providing operational and political space** for terrorists, or **where** non-spatially defined segments of a nation's polity cannot be penetrated by state security forces allowing **terrorist activities** to **prosper unhampered.** **The** spatial variety of the stateless area **problem** suffered by failed states **would be exemplified by Colombia, Yemen or Afghanistan**, all of which have substantial amounts of national territory within which the central government cannot project power. The non-spatial variant could be exemplified by Saudi Arabia. The Saudi state, a heavy spender on military equipment since the early 1990s, is able to project power throughout the geographical confines of the Kingdom, but contains a impenetrable network of civil society associations, the waqfs or Muslim charitable funds, protected by powerful Saudi political actors, some of which exhibit a radical political agenda and serve as financiers and assistants to terrorist groups abroad (Kahler, 2002). **Frequently**, **political elites within failed states are willing to tolerate the presence of** large-scale **terrorist operations** within national borders **in exchange for** political **support** or terrorist services **during times of** political **turmoil**. **Failed states**, as previously mentioned, **lack** adequate or consistent **law-enforcement capabilities**, thus **permitting terrorist organizations to develop extra-legal fundraising activities such as** smuggling or **drug trafficking. Failed states**, **which lack** the **economic performance or civil society** to reinforce law-abiding civic life, **also provide reserves of** potential **recruits for terrorists** — which may not be incompatible with some of the neo-conservative hypothesis regarding terrorism. **Finally**, the authors note that **failed states retain, ‘the outward signs of sovereignty’** (Takeyh and Gvosdev, 2002, 100), thus **providing terrorist groups with** the necessary legal documentation (**passports** or end user certificates for arms acquisition) **and legal cover from external policing efforts. All of these make failed states potential precipitants of terrorism.**

#### Neg- Destabilizes entire region:

*(Susan B. Epstein, Nina M. Serafino, and Francis T. Miko, Specialists in Foreign Policy Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, Congressional Research Service, “Democracy Promotion: Cornerstone of U.S. Foreign Policy?,” https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34296.pdf, Dec 26 2007)*

Another concern about **democracy promotion** is that it **can have a destabilizing effect on an entire region.** A 2005 Harvard Study concluded that “[Our] research shows that **incomplete democratic transitions** — those that get stalled before reaching the stage of full democracy — **increase the chance of involvement in international war in countries where governmental institutions are weak** at the outset of the transition.”29 At times, **the region can become unstable because the transitioning country initiates cross-border attacks, or may be the victim of these attacks, particularly if it has weak** democratic **institutions** or a weak military.30

#### Aff- Transition wars unlikely & prove need for external help:

*(Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Editor of International Security, "Why the United States Should Spread Democracy", Harvard University’s Center for Science and International Affairs, Discussion Paper 98-07, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/2830/why\_the\_united\_states\_should\_spread\_democracy.html, March 1998)*

The Argument: **One of the most important arguments against U.S. efforts to promote democracy is the claim that countries engaged in transitions to democracy become more likely to be involved in war**. Edward Mansfield and Jack Snyder make this argument and support it with statistical evidence that shows a correlation between democratization and war. They suggest that several causal mechanisms explain why democratization tends to lead to war. First, old elites play the nationalist card in an effort to incite conflict so that they can retain power. Second, in emerging democracies without strong democratic institutions new rulers compete for support by playing the nationalist card and search for foreign scapegoats for failures.113 This type of electoral competition increases the risk of internal and international conflict. The argument that democratization causes war does not directly challenge the usual form of the democratic peace proposition. Mansfield and Snyder recognize that "It is probably true that a world where more countries were mature, stable democracies would be safer and preferable for the United States."114 Instead, the arguments suggests that attempts to spread democracy have significant risks, including the risk of war. Responses: Mansfield and Snyder have advanced an important new argument, but **even if partially true, it does not refute the case for spreading democracy** internationally. Taken to extremes, **the** Mansfield/Snyder **argument would amount to a case for opposing all political change on the grounds that it might cause instability. Promoting democracy makes more sense** than this course, because the risks of democratization are not so high and uncontrollable that we should give up on attempts to spread democracy. **First, there are reasons to doubt the strength of the relationship between democratization and war. Other** quantitative **studies** challenge the statistical significance of Mansfield and Snyder's results, suggest that there is an even stronger connection between movements toward autocracy and the onset of war, **find that it is actually** unstable transitions and **reversals of democratization that increase the probability of war, and** argue that **democratization diminishes the likelihood of militarized international disputes**.115 In particular, **autocracies are likely to exploit nationalism and manipulate public opinion to launch diversionary wars**-**the** same causal **mechanisms** that Mansfield and Snyder claim are **at work in democratizing states**. Mansfield and Snyder themselves point out **that** "reversals of democratization **are** nearly as **risky** as democratization itself," thereby **bolster**ing **the case for assisting** the consolidation of **new democracies**.116 **In addition**, very few of the most **recent** **additions to the ranks of** **democracies** have engaged **in** wars. In **Central and Eastern Europe**, for example, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and Slovenia have **avoided major** internal and external **conflicts**. Of these countries, only Slovenia was involved in brief series of military skirmishes with Serbia.117 Russia has been involved in a number of small wars on or near its borders, but so far it has undergone a dramatic transition toward democracy without becoming very warlike.118 **There is little evidence of international war in Latin America, which also has witnessed a large-scale transition to democracy in recent years. Countries such as Mongolia and South Africa appear** to have **made the transition to democracy without going to war.** The new democracies plagued by the most violence, including some former Soviet republics and the republics of the former Yugoslavia, are those that are the least democratic and may not qualify as democracies at all. All of this evidence suggests that whatever may have increased the war-proneness of democratizing states in the past may not be present in the contemporary international system. **It may be that states making the transition from feudalism to democracy became more war-prone or that the emerging democracies of the 19th century were** European **great powers that embarked on imperial wars of conquest. These factors will not lead today's new democracies into war. Finally**, if the democratic peace proposition is correct, **the higher proportion of democracies in the current international system may further reduce the risk that new democracies will not engage in war, because they will find themselves in a world of many democracies** instead of one of many potentially hostile nondemocracies. Second, **it is possible to control** any **risks of war posed by democratization.** Mansfield and Snyder identify several useful policies to mitigate any potential risks of democratization. Old elites that are threatened by democratization can be given "golden parachutes" that enable them to at least retain some of their wealth and to stay out of jail.119 **New democracies** also **need external assistance to build up the** journalistic **infrastructure that will support a "marketplace of ideas"** that can prevent manipulation of public opinion and nationalistic mythmaking.120 Finally, an international environment conducive to free trade can help to move new democracies in a benign direction.121

#### Aff- Demos improves stability:

*(Michael Singh, Visiting fellow at The Washington Institute for Near East Policy, "The U.S. Approach to Promoting Democracy in the Middle East", Paper presented at a conference organized by the Euro-Mediterranean Foundation of Support to Human Rights Defenders (EMHRF): Democratic Change in the Arab Region: State Policy and the Dynamics of the Civil Society, Brussels, http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/html/pdf/Singh20110403Brussels.pdf, April 2011)*

**There are** lingering **notions** in Washington **that the U**nited **S**tates **must choose between promoting stability and promoting democracy in the Middle East or, put another way, that the U**nited **S**tates **can either advance its interests or uphold its values, but not both. This is an idea that has now been rejected,** at least in theory if not always in practice, by both the Bush and Obama administrations. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice famously debunked the notion that the United States could purchase stability at the expense of democracy in a 2005 speech at the American University of Cairo in which she delineated a number of specific political reforms the United States was pressing the Egyptian government to make. Then-candidate Obama, in a 2007 presidential debate, echoed Secretary Rice when he said that **human rights and national security “are not contradictory…they are complementary**.”12 **Recent events in the Middle East have demonstrated that the apparent stability offered by dictatorships can be illusory, while history provides ample evidence that democracy reinforces long-term peace and prosperity.** In a recent essay, I illustrated this dichotomy as follows: **In kayaking, you can choose one of two types of stability, but you cannot have both. A flatbottomed kayak has high “initial stability”—it appears to ride smoothly in the water, with little rocking back and forth. But it has low “final stability”—in rough seas, it tends to quickly and catastrophically capsize. An angled-bottom kayak is just the opposite. With low initial stability, it** takes more effort to guide and **is prone to constant shifts from side to side. But** these kayaks are faster and more efficient, and **their high final stability means that they remain upright in stormy seas, and can recover even when turned nearly upside down. Things are not so different with democracies and dictatorships. Democracy is messy—look at the U**nited **S**tates, where in the last five years alone **we** have **experience**d **swings from right to left and back again, and** where **political discourse can often be raucous. Dictatorships, on the other hand,** often **possess** a **superficial stability—until they reach the tipping point**, which often comes more quickly than expected. Such was the case in Tunisia, which seemed an oasis of calm until a small spark quickly grew to consume the longstanding rule of Zine el Abidine Ben Ali. **Dictatorships lack the self-righting mechanisms** and institutions **which provide democracies with their deep stability. Free expression**, free assembly, **multiple** and accountable **political parties,** free and **fair elections, and independent courts**—all of **these** form the vital structure of a democracy and **provide an outlet for people’s grievances. In a dictatorship, people are denied** these **outlets and anger simmers** beneath the surface, **occasionally bursting through** society’s calm veneer **in violent fashion.**13 The analogy is fanciful but fitting. **Real stability comes not with the suppression of political expression, but with its responsible exercise. Democracy promotion, therefore, can over the long term serve** the clear U.S. interest in regional **stability in the Middle East. Beyond cultivating long-term stability, democracy promotion** efforts **can sustain U.S. influence through regime transitions. Entrusting an important bilateral relationship to an individual dictator is not unlike having a one-stock portfolio—it is fraught with risk**, regardless of the promised return. Lorne Craner, president of the International Republican Institute, described this risk in his February 9, 2011, testimony to Congress. He said, “**Being** so closely **tied to authoritarians does not serve U.S. interests when the authoritarians fall from power and a political vacuum ensues**. It is important, when we necessarily have relations with authoritarian governments, to plan for the day when they may no longer be in power, and to cultivate and assist those who may replace them.” Craner observed that **the United States** “assiduously **cultivated the next generation of leaders” in Ukraine, Georgia, and Kyrgyzstan, so that it was well placed for continued good relations after revolutions in those countries**.14 While analysts on the left have, as noted before, criticized past U.S. administrations for connecting democracy promotion with counterterrorism, the Obama administration has rightly maintained that political reform is essential to combating extremism. In her Doha speech, Secretary Clinton observed, “If leaders don’t offer a positive vision and give young people meaningful ways to contribute, others will fill the vacuum. Extremist elements, terrorist groups, and others who would prey on desperation and poverty are already out there, appealing for allegiance and competing for influence.”15 Other analysts have noted that **authoritarian regimes and Islamists are** (as Wollack observed regarding the far left and far right in South America) **sometimes mutually reinforcing: Islamist parties are used cynically by authoritarian regimes to channel popular unrest, while simultaneously being held up to Western governments to defuse external pressure for political reform**.16 This is not to say, of course, that extremists do not pose a real threat to fledgling democracies or could not exploit fragile transitions in the Middle East.

#### Aff- Benefits of demos outweigh risk of transition wars:

*(Shadi Hamid [senior fellow in the Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World in the Center for Middle East Policy & former director of research at the Brookings Doha Center, director of research at the Project on Middle East Democracy (POMED) and a Hewlett Fellow at Stanford University's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law] and Steven Brooke [postdoctoral research fellow at Harvard’s Belfer Center Middle East Initiative], “Promoting Democracy Worldwide Increases US National Security,” Deocracy, Ed. David M. Haugen and Susan Musser, Detroit: Greenhaven Press, 2012)*

Carothers and others are correct that **democracy is not**, nor has it ever been, **some kind of panacea.**

**To embrace** such **lofty expectations will** only **hasten disappointment**. **Promoting democracy is a**

**difficult business with risks** and consequences, **among them the chance that** emerging **or immature**

**democracies might, in the short-term, experience increased political violence and instability**. And lack

of democracy cannot take the blame for those, like the July 7th London bomber Mohammed Siddique

Khan, whose path to terrorism began in [one of] the freest nations in the world. As the histories of

some of these jihadists illustrate, powerful cultural and religious forces cannot be ignored.

**That said, decoupling support for democracy from the broader effort to combat terrorism** and religious

extremism **in the Middle East would be a costly strategic misstep.** If there is indeed a link between

lack of democracy and terrorism—and we will argue that there is—then **the matter of Middle East**

**democracy is** more **urgent** than it would otherwise be. The question of urgency is not an

inconsequential one. **Most policymakers** and analysts **would agree that the region's democratization**

**should, in theory at least, be a long-term goal. But, if it is only considered as such, then it will not**

**figure high on the agenda** of an administration with a whole host of other problems, both foreign and

domestic, to worry about. **However, if the continued dominance of autocratic regimes in the region**

**translates into a greater likelihood of political violence and terrorism, then it becomes an immediate**

**threat** to regional stability **that the U.S. will need to address sooner** rather than later.

Examining the Tyranny-Terror Link

### Democratic Peace Theory

#### Aff- DP prevents war:

*(Mark P. Lagon, Adjunct Senior Fellow for Human Rights, “Promoting Democracy: The Whys and Hows for the United States and the International Community,” Council on Foreign Relations, http://www.cfr.org/democratization/promoting-democracy-whys-hows-united-states-international-community/p24090 , Feb 2011)*

Furthering democracy is often dismissed as moralism distinct from U.S. interests or mere lip service to build support for strategic policies. Yet **there are tangible stakes for the U**nited **S**tates **and** indeed **the world in the spread of democracy**—**namely, greater peace, prosperity, and pluralism**. Controversial means for promoting democracy and frequent mismatches between deeds and words have clouded appreciation of this truth. Democracies often have conflicting priorities, and democracy promotion is not a panacea. Yet **one of the few truly robust findings in international relations is that established democracies never go to war with one another.** Foreign policy “realists” advocate working with other governments on the basis of interests, irrespective of character, and suggest that this approach best preserves stability in the world. However, **durable stability flows from a domestic politics built on consensus and peaceful competition, which** more often than not **promotes similar international conduct for governments.**

#### Aff- DP prevents war:

*(Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Editor of International Security, "Why the United States Should Spread Democracy", Harvard University’s Center for Science and International Affairs, Discussion Paper 98-07, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/2830/why\_the\_united\_states\_should\_spread\_democracy.html, March 1998)*

B. Democracy is Good for the International System

In addition to improving the lives of individual citizens in new democracies, **the spread of democracy will benefit the international system by reducing the likelihood of war. Democracies do not wage war on other democracies. This absence**-or near absence, depending on the definitions of "war" and "democracy" used-**has been called** "one of **the strongest** nontrivial and nontautological **generalization**s **that can be made about international relations."**51 One scholar argues that "**the absence of war between democracies comes as close as anything we have to an empirical law in international relations."**52 **If the number of democracies in the international system continues to grow, the number of potential conflicts that might escalate to war will diminish.** Although wars between democracies and nondemocracies would persist in the short run, in the long run **an international system composed of democracies would be a peaceful world.** At the very least, adding to the number of democracies would gradually enlarge the democratic "zone of peace." 1. The Evidence for the Democratic Peace **Many studies have found that there are** virtually **no historical cases of democracies going to war with one another.** In an important two-part article published in 1983, Michael Doyle compares all international wars between 1816 and 1980 and a list of liberal states.53 Doyle concludes that "constitutionally secure liberal states have yet to engage in war with one another."54 Subsequent statistical **studies have found that this absence of war between democracies is statistically significant and is not the result of random chance.**55 Other analyses have concluded that **the influence of other variables, including geographical proximity and wealth, do not detract from** the significance of **the finding** that democracies rarely, if ever, go to war with one another.56 Most studies of the democratic-peace proposition have argued that democracies only enjoy a state of peace with other democracies; they are just as likely as other states to go to war with nondemocracies.57 There are, however, several scholars who argue that **democracies are inherently less likely to go to war than other types of states.**58 The evidence for this claim remains in dispute, however, so it would be premature to claim that spreading democracy will do more than to enlarge the democratic zone of peace. 2. Why there is a Democratic Peace: The Causal Logic **Two** types of **explanations have been offered for the absence of wars between democracies.** **The first argues that shared norms prevent democracies from fighting one another. The second claims that** **institutional (or structural) constraints make it** difficult or **impossible** for a democracy to wage war on another democracy.

#### Aff- DP prevents war:

*(Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Editor of International Security, "Why the United States Should Spread Democracy", Harvard University’s Center for Science and International Affairs, Discussion Paper 98-07, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/2830/why\_the\_united\_states\_should\_spread\_democracy.html, March 1998)*

a. Normative Explanations

The normative explanation of the democratic peace argues that **norms that democracies share preclude wars between democracies.** One version of this argument contends that liberal states do not fight other liberal states because to do so would be to violate the principles of liberalism. **Liberal states only wage war when it advances the** liberal **ends of increased individual freedom. A liberal state cannot advance liberal ends by fighting another liberal state, because that state already upholds the principles of liberalism. In other words, democracies do not fight because liberal ideology provides no justification for wars between liberal democracies**.59 A **second** version of the normative explanation claims that **democracies share a norm of peaceful conflict resolution.** This norm applies between and within democratic states. **Democracies resolve their domestic conflicts without violence, and they expect that other democracies will resolve** inter-democratic **international disputes peacefully**.60 b. Institutional/Structural Explanations Institutional/structural explanations for the democratic peace contend that **democratic decision-making procedures and institutional constraints prevent democracies from waging war on one another.** At the most general level, **democratic leaders are constrained by the public, which is** sometimes pacific and **generally slow to mobilize for war**. In most democracies, **the legislative and executive branches check the war-making power of each other. These constraints may prevent democracies from launching wars. When two democracies confront one another internationally**, they are not likely to rush into war. **Their leaders** will **have** more **time to resolve disputes peacefully**.61 A different sort of institutional argument suggests that **democratic processes and freedom of speech make democracies better at avoiding myths and misperceptions that cause wars.**62 c. Combining Normative and Structural Explanations Some studies have attempted to test the relative power of the normative and institutional/structural explanations of the democratic peace.63 It might make more sense, however, to specify how the two work in combination or separately under different conditions. For example, **in** liberal **democracies liberal norms and democratic processes** probably **work in tandem to synergistically produce the democratic peace**.64 Liberal states are unlikely to even contemplate war with one another. They thus will have few crises and wars. **In illiberal or semiliberal democracies, norms play a lesser role** and crises are more likely, **but democratic institutions and processes** may **still make wars** between illiberal democracies **rare**. **Finally**, state-level factors like norms and domestic structures may interact with international-systemic factors to prevent wars between democracies. If **democracies** **are** better at information-processing, they may be **better than nondemocracies at recognizing international situations where war would be foolish.** Thus the logic of the democratic peace may explain why democracies sometimes behave according to realist (systemic) predictions.

#### Aff- Experiments prove DPT/control for other possible causes:

*(Michael Tomz [Prof of Political Science at Stanford University] and Jessica L. Weeks [prof of Government at Cornell University], “The Democratic Peace: An Experimental Approach,” https://www.princeton.edu/~pcglobal/conferences/methods/papers/tomz.pdf, Jan 2011)*

**Our experimental design allowed us to distinguish the effects of democracy, alliances, power, and economic ties** on the preferences of citizens. Before analyzing the data, we confirmed that in both countries, **the treatment groups were balanced** on baseline covariates that could affect support for the use of force. In particular, we assessed balance **with respect to demographic variables such as gender, age,** and **education**. We also judged whether groups were politically balanced by exhibiting similar patterns of **ideology, party identification, and interest in politics**. Given that the experiment asked about a preventive military strike, **we also checked for** equality in **attitudes toward internationalism and the use of force**. Due to randomization, the groups were quite similar, on average. Consequently, there is little need for elaborate statistical models with control variables. We can obtain unbiased estimates of the treatment effect via cross-tabulation.10 **As expected,** **citizens were much less willing to attack another democracy than to attack an autocracy.** In the U.K., for example, roughly 34% of respondents wanted to attack a nondemocratic target, whereas only 21% supported strikes against a democratic target (see Table 1). The difference, which we regard as the estimated effect of democracy, was around 13 percentage points, with a 95% confidence interval that stretched from -19.6 to -7.0. We conclude, therefore, that **democracy exerted substantively large and statistically significant effects on public preferences** in the U.K. As Table 1 shows, U.S. respondents were considerably more enthusiastic about military action than their British counterparts. Nonetheless, democracy proved almost as potent in the U.S. as in the U.K. Around 51% of U.S. respondents called for deploying their armed forces against a nondemocratic target. When the target was democratic, though, support for military action fell by more than 10 percentage points. The confidence interval around this treatment effect ran from -15.3 to -5.0. Overall, democracy had comparably large effects on policy preferences in the U.K. and the U.S., despite substantial differences in the militancy of citizens in those two countries. Our experiments also revealed the effect of military **alliances**, which Farber **and** Gowa regarded as markers of shared interests. Among British respondents, support for military action wa5.7 percentage points lower when the target had signed an alliance with the United Kingdom. Alliances had a similar effect in the U.S., where they caused pro-military opinion to decline by 5.6 percentage points. Though noteworthy, these effects were only half as substantial as the ones we observed for democracy, and were only of marginal statistical significance. Respondents also took **the military power of the adversary** into account, but as with alliances, they **gave** power **much less weight than democracy**. In our U.K. study, where we varied military power, around 29% of respondents preferred to strike a country that was half as strong as the U.K. Support fell by around 3 percentage points when Britain and the target were at conventional military parity. Thus, as predicted by theories of deterrence, public enthusiasm for an attack was lower against a strong adversary than against a weak one, but **the difference was relatively small and not statistically significant** at conventional confidence levels. Finally, our experiments provided micro-level evidence for a commercial peace. In the U.S., **where our vignette included information about trade**, only 43% of respondents endorsed preemptive strikes against major trading partners. In contrast, around 49% were willing to attack targets that did not trade extensively with the U.S. **The** 6% **swing in opinion was** substantively and **statistically significant, albeit smaller than the effect of democracy. In** short, our studies provided microempirical support for the democratic peace, while also documenting the influence of alliances, power, and trade on attitudes toward military intervention. Having found a genuine aversion to using force against democracies, we next examined whether the effects of democracy depended on the context. Table 2a summarizes the impact of democracy for each of the four possible combinations of military power and alliances. The table, based on the U.K. sample, indicates that the effect of democracy was strongest when the target was a weak non-ally. In that case, respondents were only half as likely to support military strikes in the democratic condition (20.7%) as in the nondemocratic condition (42.6%). The effects of democracy were smaller in the other conditions, and in some cases not statistically distinguishable from zero at conventional levels of confidence. Nevertheless, **in all scenarios, the** estimated **effect of democracy was negative and substantively large.** **Thus**, it seems likely that **democracy reduces support for the use of force, not only on average but also in a variety of specific circumstances**. Table 2b is similar, but shows the effect of democracy for each of four arrangements of trade and alliances, using the U.S. sample. The effect was highest (13.1 percentage points) when the country had high levels of trade with the U.S. and was not an ally. As in the U.K. sample, the effect of democracy was always negative, though not always statistically different from zero at conventional confidence levels. Again, however, the consistently negative effects indicate that democracy reduces support for military action across a range of conditions**. The effects of the other factors—alliances, power, and trade—were** generally **less consistent across contexts, smaller in magnitude, and less statistically significant than the effects of democracy.**

#### Aff- Demos disincentivizes all wars:

*(Alexander B. Downes, Assistant Professor of Political Science at Duke University, “How Smart and Tough Are Democracies?,” International Security, Vol. 33, No 4, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/IS3304\_pp009-051\_Downes.pdf, Spring 2009)*

The selection effects argument posits that democracies are better than nondemocracies at selecting winnable wars. Two facets of democratic institutions provide the reason: electoral accountability and the marketplace of ideas. The ªrst mechanism, electoral accountability, focuses on the political consequences of policy failure. **In democracies, it is easier to remove leaders than in nondemocracies**: **people simply** have to go to the polls and cast their **vote**s for a competing candidate in sufªcient numbers, and the incumbent is forced out of ofªce. In autocracies, by contrast, it typically takes a violent coup, revolt, or rebellion to oust unpopular leaders because elections are either rigged or nonexistent. Moreover, the argument maintains that **losing a war** is a major policy disappointment that **is likely to turn the public against the leader responsible**. Defeat is costly not only in money expended but also in human terms, namely the nation’s sons and daughters whose lives are lost in a failed cause. National pride may also suffer depending on the depth of the humiliation caused by the adversary. **Public anger is likely to be more intense if the leader who lost the war is also the one who started it. This combination of ease of removal in democracies and the likelihood that** policy failure—in the form of **losing the war**—**will** **turn the public against the leader** and increase the likelihood that he or she will suffer defeat in the next election **induces** a healthy dose of **caution in democratic elites**. As Reiter and Stam put it, “Because **democratic executives** know they risk ouster if they lead their state to defeat, they **will be especially unwilling to launch risky military ventures.** In contrast, **autocratic leaders know that defeat in war is unlikely to threaten their hold on power. As a result, they will be more willing to initiate risky wars that democracies avoid**.... Simply put, compared to other kinds of states, democracies require a higher conªdence of victory before they are will ing to launch a war. . . . The prediction that follows is that democracies are especially likely to win wars that they initiate.”9 The second causal mechanism in the selection effects argument posits that **democratic leaders are able to make better decisions because they have access to high-quality information.** Democratic policymakers’ “estimates of the probability of winning,” in other words, “are more accurate representations of their actual probabilities of victory.”10 **The** main **reason** for this information advantage **is** the freewheeling, competitive marketplace of ideas in democracies. Freedom of speech and **freedom of the press**, for example, permit **the expression of a multiplicity of** voices and **viewpoints on foreign policy,** which in turn **leads to better policymaking**. “The proposition that the **vigorous discussion of alternatives and open dissemination of information in democratic systems produce better decisions**,” write Reiter and Stam, “is an idea at the core of political liberalism.” **An energetic press also limits the ability of the government to misrepresent the facts or purvey “unfounded, mendacious, or self-serving foreign policy arguments,” as does the presence of opposition parties hoping to displace the current regime and gain power for themselves**.11 **The virtues of this public discussion are augmented by the** unvarnished and outstanding **military advice that policymakers receive from a professional and meritocratic** **officer corps.**12 The marketplace of ideas thus improves the overall quality of information available, encourages healthy debate among a variety of alternatives, and places limits on political actors’ ability to mislead the public.

#### Aff- Autocrats invent enemies/conflict to solidify power:

*(Natan Sharansky, Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, humans rights activist, former member of the Israeli Knesset & former Soviet dissident, “Is Freedom for Everyone?,” Heritage Foundation, Lecture #960, http://www.heritage.org/research/lecture/is-freedom-for-everyone , Sept 7 2006)*

**Why are democracies not fighting with one another, and why are dictatorships-even the most friendly-still dangerous? Because dictator­ships, in order to keep** under **control** all these double thinkers, **need external enemies**. And **if external enemies do not exist, they have to be invented. Otherwise dictatorships will never be able to keep** for a long time under their **con­trol** the brains **of hundreds of thousands or millions** or hundreds of millions **of double thinkers.** And then again, **you can find many examples in history of how inventive dictators are in finding or in creating these enemies**, and in keeping the atmosphere of hot war or cold war **in order to control their own people.**

#### Aff- A2 criticisms of DPT:

*(Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Editor of International Security, "Why the United States Should Spread Democracy", Harvard University’s Center for Science and International Affairs, Discussion Paper 98-07, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/2830/why\_the\_united\_states\_should\_spread\_democracy.html, March 1998)*

III. Responses to Criticisms of U.S. Efforts to Promote Democracy

A. The Controversy Over the Democratic Peace Although many political scientists accept the proposition that democracies rarely, if ever, go to war with one another, **several critics have challenged claims of a democratic peace**. By the late 1990s, proponents and critics of the democratic peace were engaged in a vigorous and sometimes heated debate.73 Participants on both sides claimed that their opponents had been blinded by ideology and refused to view the evidence objectively.74 Because of this intense and ongoing controversy, **establishing the case for the democratic peace** now **requires rebutting** some of **the** most prominent **criticisms**. **Critics** have presented several important challenges to the deductive logic and empirical bases of the democratic peace proposition. They **have argued that there is not a convincing theoretical explanation of the** apparent **absence of war between democracies, that democracies actually have fought one another, that the absence of wars between democracies is not statistically significant, and that factors other than** shared **democratic institutions** or values have **caused the** democratic **peace**. The critics of the democratic peace have presented vigorous arguments that have forced the proposition's proponents to refine and qualify the case for the democratic peace. **These criticisms do not**, however, **refute the principal arguments for the democratic peace.** As I argue below, **there is still a compelling deductive and empirical case that democracies are extremely unlikely to fight one another. Moreover, the case for spreading democracy does not rest entirely on the democratic-peace proposition.** Although those who favor promoting democracy often invoke the democratic peace, the debate over whether the United States should spread democracy is not the same as the debate over the democratic peace. **Even if the critics were able to undermine the democratic-peace** proposition, **their arguments would not negate the case for spreading democracy, because there are other reasons for promoting democracy.** More important, **the case for promoting democracy as a means of building peace remains sound if the spread of democracy merely reduces the probability of war** between democracies, whereas "proving" the democratic peace proposition requires showing that the probability of such wars is at or close to zero.

#### Aff- A2 “DPT doesn’t prove causation”:

*(Michael Tomz [Prof of Political Science at Stanford University] and Jessica L. Weeks [prof of Government at Cornell University], “The Democratic Peace: An Experimental Approach,” https://www.princeton.edu/~pcglobal/conferences/methods/papers/tomz.pdf, Jan 2011)*

In this paper, **we use experiments to shed new light on** the existence of **the democratic peace and the mechanisms explaining it.** As we argue below, many theories about the democratic peace have testable implications about the preferences and beliefs of ordinary citizens and political elites. **With survey-based experiments, we** can measure these preferences and beliefs directly, while **avoid**ing **problems of endogeneity, collinearity and over-aggregation that have impeded previous research.** Our experiments, administered to nationally representative samples of British and American voters, involve a foreign policy situation in which a country is developing nuclear weapons. When describing the situation, we randomly and independently varied four potential sources of peace: the political regime, alliance status, economic ties, and military power of the potential adversary. After describing the situation, we asked individuals whether they would support or oppose a preventive military strike against the country’s nuclear facilities. **Consistent with the democratic peace hypothesis, voters in our experiments were substantially less supportive of military strikes against democracies than against otherwise identical autocracies. The effect exists across a wide range of situations** and is most pronounced among the politically active segments of the electorate. Moreover, **because we randomly and independently manipulated the regime type of the adversary, our experiment shows that the observed preference for peace with other democracies is almost certainly causal, rather than spurious. In addition to estimating the overall effect of democracy, we found support for three** broad categories of **causal mechanisms: threat perception, deterrence, and morality. Individuals who faced democratic rather than autocratic countries were less fearful of the** consequences of the **country’s nuclear program, were less optimistic that a preventive strike would succeed, and harbored greater moral reservations about attacking**. These perceptions, in turn, were strongly correlated with preferences about the use of force. Surprisingly, though, participants did not think that attacking a democracy would entail higher costs than attacking an autocracy. Thus, our data support some theories about the causes of the democratic peace, while casting doubt on others.

#### Neg- DPT is wrong (Sample size too small & other causes):

*(Jeff Pugh, assistant professor of conflict resolution in the McCormack Graduate School of Policy and Global Studies at the University of Massachusetts Boston, “Democratic Peace Theory: A Review and Evaluation,” Center for Mediation, Peace, and Resolution of Conflict International, CEMPROC Occasional Paper Series, http://www.cemproc.org/democraticpeaceCWPS.pdf, April 2005)*

**By no means is the liberal peace thesis accepted universally** within the field of international relations. It represents a robust and active research program, but like most such groups of theory, it has attracted energetic criticism from several sides. **One weakness** of liberal peace theory **is that there is a** fairly **small sample from which to draw conclusions. Democracies were quite rare until relatively recently, and combined with the fact that war is actually fairly rare (when considered from the perspective** that **of all interactions betwee**n sets of two **countries**, or dyads, **across time and space**, only a few develop into war), **the data set is quite limited**. Some scholars have alleged that **this creates uncertainty about whether the lack of war between democratic states is** any more **significant** than would be a statistical analysis that revealed a lack of war between states whose names begin with a particular letter. In addition to this criticism, Farber & Gowa concluded from their segmented analysis of historical war periods that **most new democracies emerged during the Cold War, and that liberal peace was only significantly different during this period** (as opposed to earlier periods, when the difference in the occurrence of war between democracies and that between other types of states was not significant).21 **This suggests** the possibility **that** liberal **peace during this period could have been explained by the need to balance against a hostile and threatening Communist bloc. For this reason, liberal states would have avoided going to war against each other for fear of presenting weakness before the greater perceived threat** which was the Soviet bloc. **In other words**, the statistical evidence for **liberal peace could actually be an artifact reflecting alliance factors during the Cold War.**

#### Neg- DPT is wrong (other causes):

*(Sebastian Rosato, PhD candidate in polis ci at University of Chicago, “The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory,” American Political Science Review, Vol 97, No 4, http://www3.nd.edu/~ggoertz/grdir/rosato2003.pdf, Nov 2003)*

**Layne** (1994) **and Rock** (1997) have **found** further **evidence** **that democracies do not treat each other with trust and respect**  **in** their **analyses of diplomatic crises involving Britain, France, Germany, and the U**nited **S**tates. **Layne examines** four prominent **cases in which** rival **democracies almost went to war** with one another **and asks whether the crises were resolved because of mutual trust** and respect. His conclusion offers scant support for the normative logic: “In each of these crises, at least one of the democratic states involved was prepared to go to war. . . **. In each** of the four crises, **war was avoided not because of** **the** ‘live and let live’ **spirit of peaceful dispute resolution at democratic peace theory’s core, but because of realist factors**” (Layne 1994, 38).7 Similarly, **Rock finds little evidence that shared liberal values helped resolve any** of the crises between Britain and the United States in the nineteenth century. In addition, his analyses of the turn-of-the-century “great rapprochement” and naval arms control during the 1920s show that **even in cases where liberal states resolved** potentially divisive **issues in a spirit of accommodation, shared liberal values had only a limited effect.** In both cases peace was overdetermined and “liberal values and democratic institutions were not the only factors inclining Britain and the United States toward peace, and perhaps not even the dominant ones” (Rock 1997, 146).8 In sum, the trust and respect mechanism does not appear to work as specified. Shared democratic values provide no guarantee that states will both trust and respect one another. Instead, and contrary to the normative logic’s claims, when serious conflicts of interest arise between democracies there is little evidence that they will be inclined to accommodate each other’s demands or refrain from engaging in hard line policies.

#### Neg- DPT is wrong (American primacy is the cause, not demos):

*(Sebastian Rosato, PhD candidate in polis ci at University of Chicago, “The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory,” American Political Science Review, Vol 97, No 4, http://www3.nd.edu/~ggoertz/grdir/rosato2003.pdf, Nov 2003)*

**The causal logics that underpin democratic peace theory** cannot explain why democracies remain at peace with one another because the mechanisms that make up these logics **do not operate as stipulated by the theory’s proponents.** In the case of the normative logic, liberal democracies do not reliably externalize their domestic norms of conflict resolution and do not treat one another with trust and respect when their interests clash. Similarly, in the case of the institutional logic, democratic leaders are not especially accountable to peaceloving publics or pacific interest groups, democracies are not particularly slow to mobilize orincapable ofsurprise attack, and open political competition offers no guarantee that a democracy willreveal private information about its level of resolve. In view of these findings there are good reasons to doubt that joint democracy causes peace. **Democratic peace theorists** could **counter** this claim **by pointing out that even in the absence of a good explanation** for the democratic peace, **the fact remains that democracies have rarely fought one another.** In addition to casting doubt on existing explanations for the democratic peace, then, a comprehensive critique should also offer a positive account of the finding. **One potential explanation is that the democratic peace is in fact an imperial peace based on American power.** This claim rests on two observations. First, **the democratic peace is essentially a post-World War II phenomenon restricted to the Americas and Western Europe.** Second, **the U**nited **S**tates **has been the dominant power in both these regions since World War II and has placed an overriding emphasis on regional peace.** There are three reasons we should expect democratic peace theory’s empirical claims to hold only in the post- 1945 period. First, **as even proponents of the democratic peace have admitted, there were few democracies in the international system prior to 1945 and even fewer that were in a position to fight one another.** Since 1945, however, both the number of democracies in the international system and the number that have had an opportunity to fight one another have grown markedly (e.g., Russett 1993, 20). Second, while **members of** double **democratic dyads were not significantly less likely to fight one another than** members of **other types** of dyads **prior to World War II**, they have been significantly more peaceful since then (e.g., Farber and Gowa 1997). Third, **the farther back we go in history the harder it is to find a consensus among both scholars and policymakers on what states qualify as democracies. Depending on whose criteria we use, there may have been no democratic wars prior to 1945, or there may have been several** (see, e.g., Layne 1994; Ray 1995; Russett 1993; Spiro 1994). Since then, however, we can be fairly certain that democracies have hardly fought each other at all. Most of the purely democratic dyads **since World War II** can be found in the Americas and Western Europe. My analysis includes all pairs of democracies directly or indirectly contiguous to one another or separated by less than 150 miles of water between 1950 and 1990 (Przeworski et al. 2000; Schafer 1993). This yields 2,427 double democratic dyads, of which 1,306 (54%) were comprised of two European states, 465 (19%) were comprised of two American states, and 418 (17%) comprised one American state and one European state. In short, **90% of** purely **democratic dyads have been confined to** two geographic regions, **the Americas and Western Europe**. **American preponderance has underpinned**, and continues to underpin **stability** and peace **in both of these regions**. **In the Americas the U**nited **S**tates **has** successfully **adopted a** two-pronged **strategy** **of** driving out the European colonial powers and selectively **intervening either to ensure that regional conflicts do not escalate** to the level of serious military conflict **or to install regimes that are sympathetic to its interests. The result has been** a region in which most **states** are prepared to **toe the American line** and none have pretensions to alter the status quo. **In Europe, the experience of both World Wars persuaded America**n policymakers **that U.S. interests lay in preventing the continent ever returning to** the **security competition** that had plagued it since the Napoleonic Wars. Major initiatives including **the Marshall Plan**, **the North Atlantic Treaty, European integration, and the forward deployment of American troops on German soil should all be viewed from this perspective.** **Each was designed** either **to** protect the European powers from one another or to constrain their ability to act as sovereign states, thereby **prevent**ing a return to multipolarity and eliminating the **security** dilemma **as a factor in European politics.** **These objectives continue** to provide the basis for Washington’s European policy **today** **and explain** its **continued attachment to NATO and** its support for the eastward **expansion of the E**uropean **U**nion**. In sum, the U**nited **S**tates **has been** by far the most **dominant** state **in both the Americas and Western Europe since World War II and has been committed, above all, to ensuring that both regions remain at peace.** 24 **Evaluating** whether **the democratic peace** finding is caused by democracy or by some other factor such as American preponderance **has** **implications far beyond the academy. If peace and security are indeed a consequence of shared democracy, then international democratization should continue** to lie at the heart of American grand strategy. **But if**, as I have suggested, **democracy does not cause peace, then American policymakers are expending valuable resources on a policy that,** while morally praiseworthy, **does not make America more secure**.

#### Neg- DPT is wrong (supportive studies cherry-pick data):

*(Jeff Pugh, assistant professor of conflict resolution in the McCormack Graduate School of Policy and Global Studies at the University of Massachusetts Boston, “Democratic Peace Theory: A Review and Evaluation,” Center for Mediation, Peace, and Resolution of Conflict International, CEMPROC Occasional Paper Series, http://www.cemproc.org/democraticpeaceCWPS.pdf, April 2005)*

Raymond Cohen argues that democracy is not adequate as an explanation for the phenomenon of ‘liberal peace’ that has been noted so extensively by scholars. He argues that, Contrary to received truth, th**e existence of a general law of behaviour that democracies** as a class **do not fight each other has not been demonstrated. Rather**, **the** soundest **conclusion** to draw **from the evidence is that democratic states in the North Atlantic/Western European area, sharing a particular set of historical circumstances and a common cultural heritage, have avoided going to war.** This is in line with Karl Deutch’s 1955 observation that a ‘security community’, a community of nations resolved to settle their disputes peacefully, had come into being in the North Atlantic area. **The finding has not been proved to hold throughout history, outside the North Atlantic area, or for non-Western cultures.**23 Similarly to those mentioned earlier who claim the liberal peace to be an artifact or coincidence attributable to other factors such as time period, Cohen concludes that “**No causal mechanism has been shown to exist providing a** necessary **link between democracies and** mutually **peaceful behaviour. On the contrary, there is reason to suspect that pacific unions** are liable to **occur in particular historical circumstances irrespective of regime type**.”24 If Cohen is correct, **then, democracies are just as likely to go to war with one another as with any other type of regime, given similar circumstances and** controlling for **extraneous variables.** The problem with this criticism, of course, is that democracies have not gone to war against one another, and a number of significant empirical studies that have attempted to control for any variable that seems remotely relevant to international war have found that controlling for the extraneous variables does not negatively affect the statistical significance and importance of the absence of war between democracies.25 **One further weakness exhibited by liberal peace theory is similar** to the scientifically questionable action in **an experiment** of **peeking at data before formulating one’s hypotheses**. It is possible that **some of the power of the empirical support for the liberal peace proposition comes from** the **careful crafting of the criteria used to define concepts like ‘democracies’ and ‘war’.** The Correlates of War project, which has produced **much of the empirical data used by scholars on** all sides of the **liberal peace** debate, **defines** interstate **war as being conflict between two independent states resulting in at least 1,000 battlefield casualties. The definition of a** ‘liberal’ or **democratic state includes** several criteria, such as **external sovereignty, private property and market economies**, juridical rights of citizens and representative government.26 **Both of these definitions are** potentially **controversial**, **and** they have been su**bject to charges that they were shaped to fit existing data**. **The research** on liberal peace **may be driven** to some extent **by** scholars’ **assumptions, which reflect** the **widespread belief** that mutual democratic institutions result in peaceful relations, and that the central research agenda, beyond confirming empirical support for the correlation between peace and liberalism, is to figure out why this phenomenon occurs. Cohen expands on this criticism, saying that “**the only way to eliminate counter-examples of war between democracies is by defining democracy in such a way that it applies only to a handful of states**, but a narrow definition of democracy limits the validity of the generalization to **the North Atlantic/West European area after 1945.** Before 1945 there were few opportunities for democracies to fight. After 1945 many states classified as democratic by early researchers such as Doyle turn out, on closer examination, to possess dubious credentials.”27 **In addition,** Cohen points out that as the international system evolved during the twentieth century, **the concept of war** also **has changed. It is now difficult to define war as** being significant **only** when it is conflict **between two independent states resulting in at least 1,000 battlefield deaths.** **In the wake of World War II, overt war between Great Powers has become essentially nonexistent** (possibly **due to immense increases in violence** interdependence), while **Great Powers and other democracies continue to engage in conflict through proxy wars posing as civil conflicts as well as through less bloody conflicts that are still extremely significant from a political standpoint.** The significance of new types of conflict that do not fall neatly into either the realist or liberal peace paradigms are borne out by a number of scholars, especially those writing on areas of the world outside of Western Europe and the United States.28

#### Neg- DPT is wrong (empirical counter-examples/US destabilized unfriendly elected gov’ts):

*(Sebastian Rosato, PhD candidate in polis ci at University of Chicago, “The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory,” American Political Science Review, Vol 97, No 4, http://www3.nd.edu/~ggoertz/grdir/rosato2003.pdf, Nov 2003)*

The available **evidence suggests that democracies do not have a powerful inclination to treat each other with trust** and respect **when their interests clash**. Instead, **they tend to act like any other pair of states,** **bargaining** hard, **issuing threats, and, if they believe it is warranted, using military force**. Cold War Interventions. **American interventions to destabilize** fellow **democracies in the developing world provide good evidence** that democracies do not always treat each other with trust and respect when they have a conflict of interest. **In each case, Washington’s commitment to containing the spread of communism overwhelmed any respect for fellow democracies**. Although none of **the target states** had turned to communism or joined the communist bloc, and **were led by** what were **at most left-leaning democratically elected governments, American officials chose** neither to trust nor to respect them, preferring **to destabilize them by force and replace them with autocratic (but anticommunist) regimes rather than negotiate** with them in good faith **or secure** their **support by diplomatic means** (Table 2). Three features of these cases deserve emphasis. First, **all the regimes that the U**nited **S**tates **sought to undermine were democratic**. In the cases of **Guatemala, British Guyana, Brazil,** and **Chile** democratic processes were fairly well established. **Iran, Indonesia, and Nicaragua were** fledgling **democracies** but Mossadeq, Sukarno, and the Sandinistas could legitimately claim to be the first proponents of democracy in their respective countries. **Every government with the exception of the Sandinistas was replaced by** a succession of **American-backed dictatorial regimes.** Second, **in each case the clash of interests between Washington and the target governments was not particularly severe. These should, then, be easy cases for democratic peace theory** since trust and respect are most likely to be determinative when the dispute is minor. **None of the target governments were communist, and although some of them pursued leftist policies there was no indication that they intended to impose a communist model or that they were** actively **courting the Soviet Union**. In spite of the limited scope of disagreement, respect for democratic forms of government was consistently subordinated to an expanded conception of national security. **Third, there is good evidence that support for democracy was often sacrificed in the name of American economic interests.** At least some of **the impetus for intervention in Iran came in response to the nationalization of the oil industry, the United Fruit Company pressed for action in Guatemala, International Telephone and Telegraph urged** successive **administrations to intervene in Brazil and Chile, and Allende’s efforts to nationalize the copper industry fueled demands that** the **Nixon** administration **destabilize his government.** In sum, **the record of American interventions in the developing world suggests that democratic trust** and respect **has** often **been subordinated to security and economic interests**. **Democratic peace theorists** generally agree that these interventions are examples of a democracy using force against other democracies, but they **offer** two reasons why covert interventions should not count against the normative logic. The first reason **is that the target states were not democratic enough to be trusted and respected** (Forsythe 1992; Russett 1993, 120–24). **This claim is not** entirely **convincing**. Although **the target states** may not have been fully democratic, they **were more democratic than the regimes that preceded and succeeded them and were democratizing further. Indeed, in every case American action brought more autocratic regimes to power. The second reason is that these interventions were covert**, a fact believed by democratic peace theorists to reveal the strength of their normative argument. It was precisely **because these states were democratic** that successive **administrations had to act covertly** rather than openly initiate military operations. Knowing that their actions were illegitimate, and fearing a public backlash, American officials decided on covert action (Forsythe 1992; Russett 1993, 120–24). **This defense fails** to address some important issues. To begin with, **it ignores the fact that American public officials**, that is, the individuals that democratic peace theory claims are most likely to abide by liberal norms, **showed no respect for fellow democracies**. Democratic peace theorists will respond that the logic holds, however, because these officials were restrained from using open and massive force by the liberal attitudes of the mass public. This is a debatable assertion; after all, **officials may have opted for covert** and limited **force for a variety of reasons other than public opinion, such as operational costs** and the expected international reaction. **Simply because the** use of **force was covert** and limited, **this does not mean that it**s nature **was determined by public opinion.** **But even if it is true that officials adopted a covert policy to shield themselves from a** potential **public backlash, the logic** still has a crucial weakness: The fact remains that the United States did not treat fellow democracies with trust or respect. **Ultimately**, the logic **stands or falls by its predictive power, that is, whether democracies treat each other with respect. If they do, it is powerful; if they do not, it is weak**ened. **It does not matter why they do not treat each other with respect, nor does it matter if** some or all of **the population wants to treat the other state with respect; all that matters is whether respect is extended.** To put it another way, we can come up with several reasons to explain why respect is not extended, and we can always find social groups that oppose the use of military force against another democracy, but **whenever we find** several **examples of a democracy using military force against other democracies, the trust and respect mechanism, and therefore the** normative **logic, fails** an important test.6

#### Neg- DPT is wrong (no public constraint):

*(Sebastian Rosato, PhD candidate in polis ci at University of Chicago, “The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory,” American Political Science Review, Vol 97, No 4, http://www3.nd.edu/~ggoertz/grdir/rosato2003.pdf, Nov 2003)*

Pacific **public opinion does not** appear to **place a** fundamental **constraint on the willingness of democracies to go to war.** **If it did, then democracies would be more peaceful in their relations with all types of states, not just other democracies. However**, instead of being more peaceful, on average **democracies are just as likely to go to war as nondemocracies** (Farber and Gowa 1995). **There are three reasons why publics are unlikely to constrain democratic war proneness. First, the costs of war typically fall on a small subset of the population that will likely be unwilling to protest government policy.** Excluding the two World Wars, democratic fatalities in war have exceeded 0.1% of the population in only 6% of cases. In 60% of cases, losses represented less than 0.01% of the population or one in 10,000 people. **Most democratic citizens**, then, **will never be personally affected** by war or know anyone affected by military conflict. Adding the many militarized disputes involving democracies strengthens this finding. Both **the U**nited **S**tates and Britain have **suffered fewer than 100 battle casualties in approximately 97% of the militarized disputes in which they have been involved** (Singer and Small 1994). **Moreover, modern democracies** have **tend**ed **to have professional standing armies. Members of the military**, then, **join** the armed forces **voluntarily**, accepting that they may die in the service of their countries. **This** in turn **means that their families and friends**, that is, t**hose who are most likely to suffer the costs of war, are unlikely to speak out against a government that** chooses to go to **war** or are at least less likely to do so than are the families and friends of conscripts. In short, the general public has little at stake in most wars and those most likely to suffer the costs of war have few incentives to organize dissent. **Second**, any public **aversion to** incurring **the costs of war may be overwhelmed by** the effects of **nationalism**. In addition to the growth of democracy, one of the most striking features of the modern period is that **people** have come to **identify themselves**, above all, **with the nation state. This identification has been so powerful that ordinary citizens have repeatedly demonstrated a willingness** to fight and **die** **for** the continued existence of **their state** and the security of their co-nationals. There are, then, good reasons to believe that **if the national interest is thought to be at stake, as it is in most interstate conflicts, calculations of costs will not figure prominently in the public’s decision process**. **Third, democratic leaders are as likely to lead as to follow public opinion. Since nationalism imbues people with** **a** powerful **spirit of self-sacrifice, it is actively cultivated by political elites** in the knowledge that only highly motivated armies and productive societies will prevail in modern warfare (e.g., Posen 1993). **Democratically elected leaders are** likely to be **well placed to cultivate nationalism**, especially **because their governments are** often **perceived as** more representative and **legitimate** than authoritarian regimes. **Any call to defend or spread “our way of life,”** for example, **is likely to have a strong resonance in democratic polities**, and indeed **the historical record suggests that wars have** often **given democratic leaders** considerable **freedom** of action, allowing them **to drum up nationalistic fervor, shape public opinion, and suppress dissent** despite the obligation to allow free and open discussion. Events in the United States during **both World Wars highlight the strength of nationalism and the ability of democratic elites to fan its flames**. Kennedy (1980, 46) notes that during the First World War, President Wilson lacked “the disciplinary force of quick coming crisis or imminent peril of physical harm” but turned successfully to “the deliberate mobilization of emotions and ideas.” At the same time his administration turned blind eye to, or actively encouraged, the deliberate subversion of antiwar groups within the United States. The **Roosevelt** administration **was** equally **successful at generating prowar sentiment** during World War II. Early in the war the president spoke for the nation in asserting that the German firebombing of population centers had “shocked the conscience of humanity,” and yet, remarkably, **there was no** sustained **protest in the U**nited **S**tates **against the bombing of Japanese cities that killed almost a million civilians** a few years later. **This** abrupt transformation, notes Dower (1986), **was made possible by a massive propaganda campaign**, condoned **by the political elite, describing the Japanese as subhuman and untrustworthy “others.”** In stark contrast, America’s allies were forgiven all their faults “Russian Communists were transformed into agrarian reformers, Stalin into Uncle Joe . . .” (Ambrose 1997, 150). Sentiments like these are not aroused only in the victims of aggression. Although Lord Aberdeen’s government was reluctant to go to war with Russia over the Crimea in 1854, “There was no doubt whatever about the enthusiasm of British public opinion, as expressed by every conduit open to it.” The protests of Cobden and Bright, leaders of the British Peace Movement, “were howled down in the House of Commons, in the Press, and at meeting after public meeting. . . . [They] were thus the first liberal leaders, and by no means the last, to discover that **peace and democracy do not go hand in hand**; that public opinion is not an infallible specific against war; **and** that ‘**the people**,’ for whatever reasons, **can be very bellicose indeed**.” The next generation of pacifists, the opponents of the Boer War, “were vilified in the popular press, had their meetings broken up, [and] were subjected to physical attack” (Howard 1978, 45–46, 68). These are not isolated examples. **The world’s most militarily active democracies—Britain, France, India, Israel, and the U**nited **S**tates—**have gone to war 30 times since 1815**. **In** 15 cases, they were the victims of attack and therefore we should not be surprised that publics reacted in a nationalistic fashion or were persuaded to support decisions for war. There are, however, **15** other **cases** in which one could plausibly argue that it was not obvious to the public that war was in the national interest because **there was no immediate threat to the homeland or vital national assets.** **In 12 of these** cases, **the** outbreak of **war was greeted by** a spontaneous and **powerful nationalistic response** or, in the absence of such a reaction, policymaking elites successfully persuaded a previously unengaged public to acquiesce to, and in some cases support, the use of force. In only three cases—the French and British attack on Egypt(1956) and the Israeli attack on Lebanon (1982)—did publics not spontaneously support the war and remain opposed to it despite policymaking elites’ best efforts to influence their opinions. 15 One way to try and rescue the public constraint mechanism would be to combine constraints with respect for fellow democratic polities (e.g., Mintz and Geva 1993). This new argument would hold that democracies have formed a separate and joint peace because democratic citizens are only averse to costs in their relations with other democracies. There are, however, several cases that belie this claim.16 There are, then, good reasons to believe that pacific public opinion does not significantly reduce the likelihood that democracies will go to war. In the majority of cases, the public is likely to be unaffected by war and therefore adopt a permissive attitude towards the use of force. Moreover, in those cases where the national interest or honor is at stake, democratic publics are as likely as any other to disregard the costs of war and democratic leaders have considerable opportunities both to encourage and to exploit nationalistic fervor.

#### Neg- DPT doesn’t prove causation:

*(Michael Tomz [Prof of Political Science at Stanford University] and Jessica L. Weeks [prof of Government at Cornell University], “The Democratic Peace: An Experimental Approach,” https://www.princeton.edu/~pcglobal/conferences/methods/papers/tomz.pdf, Jan 2011)*

Few findings from the political science literature have received as much attention as the “democratic peace,” the discovery that democracies almost never fight against other democracies. To some, the absence of military conflict among democracies is so consistent that it approaches the status of an “empirical law” (Levy 1988). Nonetheless, **scholars continue to debate** two fundamental aspects of the **democratic peace. First**, skeptics argue that **the apparent correlation between democracy and peace is spurious.** They maintain that **peace among democracies is not a consequence of democracy itself, but is instead a product of other factors that happen to coincide with democracy, such as military alliances** (Farber and Gowa 1995, 1997; Gowa 1999), **economic interdependence** (Gartzke 2007), **American hegemony** (Rosato 2003), **or the absence of territorial disputes** (Gibler 2007). **The inter-democratic peace may, therefore, be a happy** historical **accident**, **rather than the result of a causal relationship** between political institutions and international relations. **Second, even among those who believe that democracy causes peace, disagreement remains over the mechanisms driving this relationship**. For example, some attribute the democratic peace to institutional features of democracy, including elections through which voters can punish leaders for taking their country to war, or checks and balances that slow the pace of mobilization, thereby affording parties time to negotiate. Others emphasize democratic norms, such as the tendency to compromise with political opponents (Russett 1993), or the willingness of soldiers to fight harder because they view their democratically elected leaders as legitimate (Reiter and Stam 2002). But despite volumes of research about the democratic peace, little consensus has emerged about which causal mechanisms are most important (Lektzian and Souva 2009). Three obstacles have prevented previous researchers from resolving these controversies satisfactorily. The first obstacle, **endogeneity, has vexed** both **proponents** and opponents of the democratic peace. **Although proponents contend that democracy causes peace, the relationship may** (also) **run in reverse: peace may contribute to the creation** and maintenance **of democratic regimes.** And although critics attribute peace to shared interests, the alignment of economic and political interests among democracies is itself endogenous, and could well be the result of democracy. **These and other problems of endogeneity** **have made it difficult to separate cause from effect**, and therefore to answer fundamental questions about the democratic peace. **The second obstacle is collinearity**. **To test hypotheses about the democratic peace, we need datasets in which democracy is not strongly correlated with other potentially pacifying factors**. At least in recent decades, though, **democracy has coincided with many other prospective sources of peace**. Recognizing this problem, researchers have probed deeper into the past for evidence. Farber and Gowa, for example, turn to the nineteenth century because democracies at that time did not have a shared interest in containing communism. Critics respond that the nineteenth century, when democracies were unstable and rare, tells us little about how the world works today. Researchers need what nature has not delivered: modern-day data in which democracy is not strongly correlated with potentially confounding variables. **The third obstacle concerns aggregation. Existing data about the democratic peace are highly aggregated: the unit of observation is** typically the country or **the dyad, measured over time. But to investigate some of the most common hypotheses, we need complementary data about the individuals who shape policy. Other factors equal, are voters and democratically elected leaders less likely to approve of using military force against a democracy than against an autocracy**? Under what conditions would voters support military action against a democracy, and for what reasons? **Existing datasets are not** well **suited to answering these** micro-**foundational questions.**

#### Neg- Turn- Authoritarians more likely to avoid wars:

*(Alexander B. Downes, Assistant Professor of Political Science at Duke University, “How Smart and Tough Are Democracies?,” International Security, Vol. 33, No 4, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/IS3304\_pp009-051\_Downes.pdf, Spring 2009)*

A measure of how tremendously influential Reiter and Stam’s work has been in the field is the substantial amount of criticism it has elicited. Several **critics** of the selection effects argument, for example, **cite** evidence from **the** George W. **Bush administration’s decision to attack Iraq** in 2003 **to argue that the democratic marketplace of ideas** does not operate as theorized and **is incapable of providing much of a constraint on powerful executives**.17 **Others** target the electoral accountability mechanism, **argu[e]**ing that **authoritarian leaders may actually be more cautious about going to war than democrats because autocrats who lose wars are sometimes exiled or killed, whereas democrats may be removed from office but are rarely punished.**18 Indeed, **one statistical study finds no evidence that defeat in** crisis or **war raises democratic leaders’ risk of losing office**, or that prevailing in such conºicts lowers the risk of removal.19 Case **studies** have **also** turned up tepid support for electoral accountability, **find**ing instead **that democratic leaders often** keep their own counsel and **initiate wars that lack** broad **public support.**20

#### Neg- Turn- Authoritarians more likely to avoid wars:

*(Sebastian Rosato, PhD candidate in polis ci at University of Chicago, “The Flawed Logic of Democratic Peace Theory,” American Political Science Review, Vol 97, No 4, http://www3.nd.edu/~ggoertz/grdir/rosato2003.pdf, Nov 2003)*

**Autocratic leaders** typically represent themselves or narrow selectorates and these groups **have powerful incentives to avoid war.** The first reason for avoiding war is that **wars cost money and** solving **the problem of war finance** ultimately **poses a threat to an autocrat’s hold on power**. The argument here is straightforward. The costs of war have risen exponentially since the middle of the nineteenth century and governments have had to figure out how to meet these costs. Although the money can theoretically be raised with or without the consent of those from whom itis demanded, in practice “**non-consensual sources of revenue have generally proved less elastic than taxation based on consent**.” Participation in war has, therefore, tended to go hand in hand with expansion of the franchise (Ferguson 2001, 32–33, 77, 80; see also Freeman and Snidal 1982). **This being the case, autocrats have a powerful incentive not to go to war for fear of triggering social and political changes that may destroy them**. The nature of **civil military relations in civilian-led authoritarian states provides another incentive** for ruling groups **to avoid war.** **Since** **civilian control of the military is often more tenuous in autocracies than in democracies**, nonmilitary **leaders of autocratic states have a powerful incentive to maintain weak militaries for fear of** domestic **coups**. The problem, from a foreign policy standpoint, is that states with weak militaries are vulnerable to foreign aggression. Thus an absolute ruler faces a “dual problem” according to Gordon Tullock (1987, 37): “[H]e may be overthrown by his neighbor’s armies, or by the armies he organizes to defend him against his neighbors.” Because they recognize this problem, civilian authoritarian leaders will generally prefer to avoid rather than wage war. A **different** set of **factors** can **inhibit the war proneness of military dictators.** First, **since they must devote considerable time and energy to repressing popular dissent at home, they have fewer military resources to devote to external wars. Second, because the military is used for internal repression it is unlikely to have a great deal of societal support** and will be ill equipped to deal with external enemies. **Third, leaders** who assume control of the army **run the risk of being held personally responsible** **for** any subsequent **failures** and may not be prepared to take that risk. **Finally, time spent organizing military campaigns is time away from other governmental duties on which a dictator’s tenure also depends**(Andreski 1980; Tullock 1987, 37;see also Dassel 1997). In sum, it is not clear that states behave as the group constraint mechanism suggests. Although democracies and autocracies have selectorates of differing size and allow social groups different levels of access to the policymaking process, they may nevertheless adopt similar policies. **Not only are democratic governments able to resist the influence of antiwar groups, but they are** in fact **subject to capture by prowar groups. Autocracies, on the other hand**, **often** represent groups that **have a vested interest in avoiding foreign wars** (see, e.g., Peceny, Beer, and Sanchez-Terry 2002).

#### Neg- Turn- Demos incentivizes unnecessary war:

*(Alexander B. Downes, Assistant Professor of Political Science at Duke University, “How Smart and Tough Are Democracies?,” International Security, Vol. 33, No 4, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/IS3304\_pp009-051\_Downes.pdf, Spring 2009)*

**The case study investigates** this anomalous case for selection effects and the puzzle of U.S. escalation to develop new theories of **how democracy affects leaders’ choices to go to war**.6 First, I brieºy make the case for coding the United States as either the initiator or a joiner of the Vietnam War. Although Reiter and Stam code the Vietnam War as being initiated by North Vietnam, in fact the United States was the ªrst state to use interstate force when it began the bombing of North Vietnam in February 1965.7 More important, **Vietnam was a war of choice for the U**nited **S**tates, meaning that **the war did “not result from an** overt, **imminent**, or existential **threat** **to a state’s survival**.”8 **The choice to intervene in Vietnam, in other words, was** the same type of decision as **the choice to initiate war**, and thus should be governed by the same factors highlighted in the selection effects argument. Second, I document the prevailing pessimism about the likelihood of victory in Vietnam among the key decisionmakers in Johnson’s administration in 1964 and 1965. These men, including the president himself, were deeply pessimistic about the military and political situation in South Vietnam. Moreover, they were not optimistic that bombing the North or introducing U.S. ground troops in the South would coerce Hanoi to stop supporting its Vietcong allies or allow U.S. and South Vietnamese forces to defeat the insurgency. Civilian and military ofªcials alike warned that the war would require several years and hundreds of thousands of U.S. troops with no guarantee of victory. Despite this widespread pessimism in Washington, the president chose to take the United States into Vietnam. Third, I argue that **democratic politics was an important factor in explaining why Johnson decided to fight in Vietnam even though victory appeared unlikely**. The case suggests that under certain circumstances **democratic processes can compel leaders to embark on wars** even when the prospects of winning are uncertain. **In Vietnam**, for example, President **Johnson appeared to believe that he had more to lose from not fighting than from entering a costly and protracted war** in Southeast Asia. **Johnson judged that his** treasured **domestic reform agenda**, the Great Society, **would be killed if he did not stand firm** and prevent the “loss” of South Vietnam. **Leaders of democracies may** thus **face pressure to fight abroad to protect their legislative agendas or programs at home.** **The recent case of Iraq suggests a second mechanism whereby democracy can lead to risky war choices: it may prompt leaders to downplay** or minimize **the** potential **costs of conflict to obtain public consent for wars they want** to ªght **for other reasons**. **Leaders of democracies have incentives not to plan for the postwar era if the costs of regime change, occupation, and nation building** are potentially **high** **because** **divulging** **those** costs **to the people** beforehand **might dampen public ardor for war**. **Failing to plan** for the day after the initial victory, **however, increases the likelihood that things will go wrong** later **and** that **democracies** **will** **blunder** **into** costly **quagmires**.

#### Neg- Turn- Even if DPT is right, promo kills it (doesn’t work when it’s coercive):

*(Jonas Wolff [head of the research department "Governance and Societal Peace" at Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF) and prof at Goethe University Frankfurt and Kassel Universit]& Iris Wurm [Chair of International Relations at Goethe University Frankfurt], “Towards a Theory of External Democracy Promotion?,” Paper prepared for the 51st Annual Convention of the International Studies Association (ISA), https://www.academia.edu/2766281/Towards\_a\_Theory\_of\_External\_Democracy\_Promotion\_Approximations\_from\_the\_perspective\_of\_International\_Relations\_theories, Feb 17-20 2010)*

Second, a comprehensive strategy of **promoting democracy does not fit** neatly **into the** general international **attitude attributed to** democracy by normative approaches to **the Democratic Peace**. In a world that is not only made of democracies, **a** democratic **foreign policy that aims at establishing mutual trust and maintaining international peace has to build international relations of cooperation** and partnership also with all those states whose representatives are not or not sufficiently (from one's own perspective) democratically legitimized (Czempiel 1996a: 97-98; cf. Müller 2008). **A strategy that aims at disempowering** the counterpart, supports oppositional groups against **the "partner" government and/or makes cooperation conditional on self-defined political standards systematically produces conflict and mutual distrust. Democracy promotion, then, reinforces processes of international exclusion and in-group/out-group dynamics that, instead of contributing to peace** and collective welfare, **increase the risk of war** (cf. Kahl 1999: 127; Risse-Kappen 1994a: 178, 1995: 506-507).

### U.S. Interests

#### Aff- Good for U.S. interests (laundry list):

*(Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Editor of International Security, "Why the United States Should Spread Democracy", Harvard University’s Center for Science and International Affairs, Discussion Paper 98-07, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/2830/why\_the\_united\_states\_should\_spread\_democracy.html, March 1998)*

C. The Spread of Democracy is Good for the United States

**The United States will have an interest in promoting democracy because further democratization enhances the lives of citizens of other countries and contributes to a more peaceful international system.** To the extent that Americans care about citizens of other countries and international peace, they will see benefits from the continued spread of democracy. **Spreading democracy also will directly advance the** national **interests of the U**nited **S**tates, **because democracies will not launch wars or terrorist attacks against the U**nited **S**tates, **will not produce refugees** seeking asylum in the United States, **and will tend to ally with the U**nited **S**tates.

1. Democracies Will Not Go to War with the United States

**First, democracies will not go to war against the U**nited **S**tates, provided, of course, that the United States remains a democracy. **The logic of the democratic peace suggests that the U**nited **S**tates **will have fewer enemies in a world of more democracies.** If democracies virtually never go to war with one another, no democracy will wage war against the United States. Democracies are unlikely to get into crises or militarized disputes with the United States. **Promoting democracy may usher in a more peaceful world; it also will enhance the national security of the U**nited **S**tates **by eliminating potential military threats. The U**nited **S**tates **would be more secure if** Russia, China, and at least some **countries in the Arab** and Islamic **world**s **became** stable **democracies**.

2. Democracies Don't Support Terrorism Against the United States

**Second, spreading democracy is likely to enhance** U.S. **national security because democracies will not support terrorist acts against the U**nited **S**tates. **The world's** principal **sponsors of international terrorism are harsh, authoritarian regimes, including Syria, Iran, Iraq,** North Korea, **Libya**, and Sudan.65

Some skeptics of the democratic-peace proposition point out that democracies sometimes have sponsored covert action or "state terrorism" against other democracies. Examples include U.S. actions in Iran in 1953, Guatemala in 1954, and Chile in 1973.66 This argument does not undermine the claim that democracies will not sponsor terrorism against the United States. In each case, the target state had dubious democratic credentials. U.S. actions amounted to interference in internal affairs, but not terrorism as it is commonly understood. And the perpetrator of the alleged "state terrorist" acts in each case was the United States itself, which suggests that the United States has little to fear from other democracies.

3. Democracies Produce Fewer Refugees

**Third, the spread of democracy will serve American interests by reducing the number of refugees** who flee **to the U**nited **S**tates. T**he countries that generate the most refugees are usually the least democratic. The absence of democracy tends to lead to internal conflicts, ethnic strife, political oppression, and rapid population growth-all of which encourage** the flight of **refugees**.67 **The spread of democracy can reduce** refugee flows to the United States by removing **the political sources of decisions to flee.**

**The results of the 1994 U.S. intervention in Haiti demonstrate how U.S. efforts to promote democratization can reduce refugee flows. The number of refugees attempting to flee Haiti for the U**nited **S**tates **dropped dramatically after U.S. forces** deposed the junta led by General Raoul Cedras and **restored the democratically elected government** of Jean-Bertrand Aristide, **even though Haiti's economic fortunes did not immediately improve**.68

**In addition** to reducing the number of countries that generate refugees, **the spread of democracy is likely to increase the number of countries that accept refugees**, thereby reducing the number of refugees who will attempt to enter the United States.69

4. Democracies will Ally with the United States

**Fourth, the global spread of democracy will advance American interests by creating more potential allies** for the United States. **Historically**, **most of America's allies have been democracies.** In general, democracies are much more likely to ally with one another than with nondemocracies.70 Even scholars who doubt the statistical evidence for the democratic-peace proposition, agree that "**the nature of regimes** **... is an important variable in** the understanding **the composition of alliances** ... democracies have allied with one another."71 **Thus spreading democracy will produce more and better** alliance **partners** for the United States.

5. American Ideals Flourish When Others Adopt Them

**Fifth, the spread of democracy internationally is likely to increase Americans' psychological sense of well-being about their own democratic institutions.** Part of the impetus behind American attempts to spread democracy has always come from the belief that American democracy will be healthier when other countries adopt similar political systems. To some extent, **this** belief reflects the conviction that democracies will be friendly toward the United States. But it also **reflects the fact that democratic principles are an integral part of America's national identity. The U**nited **S**tates **thus has a special interest in seeing its ideals spread.**72

6. Democracies Make Better Economic Partners

**Finally, the United States will benefit from the spread of democracy because democracies** will **make better economic partners.** Democracies are more likely to adopt market economies, so **democracies** will tend to **have more prosperous** and open **economies**. **The U**nited **S**tates generally **will be able to establish mutually beneficial trading relationships with democracies. And democracies provide better climates for American overseas investment, by virtue of their political stability** and market economies.

#### Aff- Good for U.S. interests (laundry list):

*(Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Editor of International Security, "Why the United States Should Spread Democracy", Harvard University’s Center for Science and International Affairs, Discussion Paper 98-07, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/2830/why\_the\_united\_states\_should\_spread\_democracy.html, March 1998)*

Third, improvements in the lives of individuals in other countries matter to Americans because **the United States cannot insulate itself from the world. It** may be a cliché to say that the world is becoming more interdependent, but it is undeniable that changes in **communications technologies, trade flows, and the environment have opened borders and created a more interconnected world.** **These trends give the U**nited **S**tates a **greater stake in the fate of other societies,** because widespread **misery abroad may create political turmoil, economic instability, refugee flows, and environmental damage that will affect Americans.** As I argue below in my discussion of how **promoting democracy serves U.S. interests,** the spread of democracy will directly advance the national interests of the United States. **The** growing **interconnectedness of international relations means that the U**nited **S**tates also **has a**n indirect **stake** **in the well-being of** those in **other countries, because developments overseas can have unpredictable consequences for the U**nited **S**tates.

#### Aff- Demo promo is key to domestic faith in American ideals:

*(Walter Russell Mead, editor of The American Interest Online, James Clarke Chace Professor of Humanities and Foreign Policy at Bard College, and Distinguished Scholar in American Strategy and Statesmanship at the Hudson Institute, “The Paradox of American Democracy Promotion,” The American Interest, Vol 10, no 5, http://www.the-american-interest.com/2015/04/09/the-paradox-of-american-democracy-promotion/, April 9 2015)*

But **the grim reality is that democracy is in retreat in much of the world**. China and Russia are less free than they were a decade ago. **The Arab Spring failed to bring** liberal **democracy** almost without exception. In Africa, Central Asia, and Latin America it is easier today to find countries falling back from democratic reforms than countries striding forward to make new ones. Authoritarian populism in Turkey, “illiberal democracy” in Hungary, and the rise of radical parties in many member countries of the European Union testify to the weakening appeal of democratic values.

**There are some who think that, given so many disappointing results, democracy promotion has no place in American policy.** Self-described “**realists**” are eager to make this point and **long for the day when American foreign policy will be liberated from** **the** messy, **ideological baggage** that **it currently carries. But that is an unrealistic aspiration. The promotion of values has always been an important part of American foreign policy.** There have certainly been ups and downs in political fashion, but there simply are no long periods in American history during which values-promotion was not an integral part of the U.S. foreign policy template. **Successful and politically sustainable American foreign policy must address the moral convictions** and aspirations **of the American people. The question isn’t whether we must carry this burden; the question is how we can carry it well.**

Values-promotion remains embedded in American foreign policy because **American political culture is moral by origin and character** or, as some would say, moralistic. Some believe this to be a singular product of the Puritan or early Protestant cultural foundations of American life. **Our democratic politics at home rests on assumptions and beliefs about human nature, about how humans ought to behave toward one another, and about how institutions ought to relate to the citizens of a country. The political legitimacy of our domestic institutions rests on these values, and Americans constantly judge the performance of our politicians with reference to them.**

**By their nature, these beliefs cannot be limited simply to Americans. If one really believes that all people are created equal, and are endowed** by their Creator **with inalienable rights, it becomes very hard to believe that by “all people” we mean merely “all citizens of the U**nited **S**tates of **A**merica.” There is a sense in which **the legitimacy of American domestic institutions rests on a set of assumptions about what world society should be like, how all human beings should live. We could not escape this universalism even if we** decided we **wanted to. We cannot ignore the fundamental philosophical beliefs that shape our foreign policy without also giving up on things that make our domestic politics what they are.** That has been true for more than two centuries and it is likely to remain true for a long time to come.

#### Aff- Demo promo is key to domestic faith in American ideals:

*(Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Editor of International Security, "Why the United States Should Spread Democracy", Harvard University’s Center for Science and International Affairs, Discussion Paper 98-07, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/2830/why\_the\_united\_states\_should\_spread\_democracy.html, March 1998)*

Second, **Americans have a particular interest in promoting the spread of liberty. The U**nited **S**tates **was founded on the principle of securing liberty for its citizens. Its founding documents and institutions all emphasize that liberty is a core value.** Among the many observers and political scientists who make this point is Samuel Huntington, who argues that **America's "identity as a nation is inseparable from its commitment to** liberal and **democratic values**."20 As I argue below, **one of the most important benefits of the spread of democracy**-and especially of liberal democracy-**is an expansion of human liberty. Given its** founding principles and **very identity, the U**nited **S**tates **has a large stake in advancing its core value of liberty.** As Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott has argued: "**The U**nited **S**tates **is uniquely and self-consciously a country founded on a set of ideas**, and ideals, **applicable to people everywhere. The Founding Fathers declared that all were created equal-not just those in** Britain's 13 **America**n colonies-**and that to secure the 'unalienable rights' of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, people had the right to establish governments that derive 'their** just **powers from the consent of the governed**.'"21

#### Aff- Demos reduces threats, creates allies:

*(Natan Sharansky, the director of the Adelson Institute for Strategic Studies at The Shalem Center in Jerusalem, “Is Spreading Democracy in Middle East a Bad Idea?,” NPR, Intelligence² Debates, http://www.npr.org/2007/09/26/14569417/is-spreading-democracy-in-middle-east-a-bad-idea, Originally published Sept 26 2007, updated Nov 23 2012, accessed March 15 2016)*

"**When you defeated Germany and Japan in the Second World War, you spent enormous efforts** — economical, intellectual, financial — to support, **to promote democracy, and today Japan and Germany is not a threat.** **Take Russia.** When Russia was part of **the totalitarian Soviet system,** it **was your worst enemy. When Soviet Union fell apart and Russia went towards freedom, it almost became your ally. Today, when freedom is there in** retreat, in a **big retreat, it becomes again a threat to America. ... You take North Korea, you take Iran ... whenever there is a threat to America it means that democracy is** there, **in retreat."**

#### Neg- No way to balance demo promo w/ interests (dooms both):

*(Katerina Dalacoura, Lecturer in International Relations at the London School of Economics, “US Foreign Policy and Democracy Promotion in the Middle East: Theoretical Perspectives and Policy Recommendations,” Ortadoğu Etütleri, Volume 2, No 3, pp. 57-76, http://www.orsam.org.tr/en/enUploads/Article/Files/201082\_katerina.orsam.oetut.pdf, July 2010)*

Barack Obama’s liberal internationalist principles **attempt to steer a middle course between the Scylla of a realist abandonment of democracy and the Charybdis of promoting democracy** as a neo-conservative ideal.29 This middle course **will always be problematic**. A liberal internationalist approach promotes democratic principles within a universalist moral context for their own sake. However, **the hard reality in international relations is that no government can ignore the national interest**. The compromise between values and interests will be partial and haphazard. **A reconciliation of democracy promotion with US interests in the Middle East** (or anywhere else) **will always be a half-way house** and no policy will be successful unless it takes stock of these limitations.

#### Neg- Demo promo is expensive, trades off with domestic spending priorities:

*(Susan B. Epstein, Nina M. Serafino, and Francis T. Miko, Specialists in Foreign Policy Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, Congressional Research Service, “Democracy Promotion: Cornerstone of U.S. Foreign Policy?,” https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34296.pdf, Dec 26 2007)*

**The high** military and opportunity **cost of** some activities currently associated with **democracy promotion is criticized by many** observers, especially when democracy is imposed by outsiders rather than initiated by local citizens.27 **Democracy promotion expenditures compete with domestic spending priorities.** Critics note that using **the** various **tools to promote democracy abroad** — **foreign aid, military intervention, diplomacy, and public diplomacy — can be very expensive and** may **provide little assurance that real long-term gains will be made.** They add that **it involves a high probability of sustaining costly long-term nation-building programs** down the road. U.S. funding obligations supporting **America’s democracy promotion** effort **in Iraq, for example, are** estimated to be **about $10 billion per month**.28 **Is spending this amount of money for democracy promotion rather than for domestic programs worth it to American taxpayers? Many Americans** have come to **view the** military and opportunity **cost of funding democracy promotion activities overseas rather than spending those funds on domestic programs** or other pressing global concerns, such as infectious disease and extreme poverty, **as being too great.**

#### Neg- Demo promo is expensive:

*(Thanassis Cambanis, fellow at The Century Foundation, “How can America really promote democracy abroad?,” Boston Globe, https://www.bostonglobe.com/ideas/2014/04/26/how-can-america-really-promote-democracy-abroad/3IxMLiJHdEnaIolNkeOGuK/story.html, April 27 2014)*

In policy terms, the conventional wisdom on **democracy promotion has translated into billions of** cumulative **foreign-aid dollars** earmarked **for programs that train everything from** young **journalists to labor organizers to** members of **parliament**. The underlying assumption is that even when they don’t lead directly to democracy, these efforts are good for society, and from time to time they’ll yield a great leap forward in freedom. While it started with national governments and intergovernmental organizations, **democracy promotion has grown into an industry of its own. High profile groups funded by the US government, like the National Endowment for Democracy and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, have became ubiquitous** on the international scene. They help design elections, train political parties, and give advice to student groups and labor unions. **A plethora of** less-well-known **organizations fund workshops and international travel for lawyers, human rights advocates, and community organizers. Although** George W. **Bush talked about democracy more pointedly than** Barack **Obama**, **the amount of money invested in democracy promotion has steadily grown** even under the current administration, according to Thomas Carothers, a democratization expert at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. **Today**, Carothers estimates, about **$10 billion a year is spent** worldwide **promoting democracy** in countries from Iraq to Mongolia, from Honduras to Pakistan.

#### Neg- Gov’ts have obligation to prioritize their citizens’ interests over others:

*(Kim R. Holmes, former assistant secretary of state, member of the Council on Foreign Relations, Distinguished Fellow at the Douglas and Sarah Allison Center for Foreign and National Security Policy of The Heritage Foundation, & PhD in History from Georgetown, “Egypt Aid: Elections versus Democracy,” http://www.heritage.org/research/commentary/2013/10/egypt-aid-elections-versus-democracy, Oct 22 2013)*

That’s why **we have to be careful about** defining **the promotion of democracy** solely in terms of supporting elections. Ever since Woodrow Wilson said, “the world must be made safe for democracy,” Americans have been arguing over how important promoting democracy really is. Many people think the question is settled. It isn’t. **The** inevitable **contradictions between democratic idealism and stability continue** to exist—and **not just in Egypt**. Look at the outcome **in Gaza** where **Hamas, after winning elections, has been wreaking havoc on regional stability. It’s not a settled philosophical matter** either. Certainly the progressive idea of promoting democracy is part of the American tradition. But so, too, is the tradition inherited from the Founders that **the government’s most sacred duty is to preserve the independence and security of the American people.** **When there’s no contradiction between the two, as when the U.S. helped reconstruct democracy in Europe after World War II, there is harmony between the principle of democracy and American interests. But when elections produce results harmful to American security**, then **the harmony disappears. No matter how free or fair an election is, if it produces anti-Western** Islamist **victories or other antidemocratic dictatorships, then the right of the American people to be protected by their government** comes into play. That right **trumps all else, because that was why the government was created in the first place.**

### Human Rights, Liberalism, & Misc. Value-Based Stuff

#### Aff- Rights & Tolerance:

*(Center for American Progress and Center for Strategic and International Studies, “Why Promoting Democracy is Smart and Right,” https://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/StatementofPrinciples-2.pdf, 2013)*

**Of particular importance are** sustained **investments to support political pluralism in the Arab World.** Free elections are going to have a variety of outcomes, and whatever those outcomes are, governments need to support human rights and respect international agreements. **If individual and collective rights are to be protected, international norms** and agreements **to be respected** and held accountable, **and pluralist institutions to be created**, **the international community must remain engaged and invest in the** individuals and **institutions that will form the backbone of** emerging **democratic societies.** **Helping parliamentarians become more responsive to citizen concerns,** professionalizing **civil society, building** modern, moderate **political parties, supporting independent media and think tanks, and improving** the **institutions** that create the rules of the game for trade and investment **are all critically important undertakings. Protection of ethnic and religious minorities is also important** to U.S. policy, **as** **support for tolerance and diversity will help ensure that the tenets of democracy are not broken** by those seeking to impose their beliefs on others.

#### Aff- Individual liberty/freedom:

*(Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Editor of International Security, "Why the United States Should Spread Democracy", Harvard University’s Center for Science and International Affairs, Discussion Paper 98-07, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/2830/why\_the\_united\_states\_should\_spread\_democracy.html, March 1998)*

1. **Democracy Leads to Liberty and Liberty is Good**

The first way in which the spread of **democracy enhances** the **lives** of those who live in democracies is **by promoting individual liberty, including freedom of expression, freedom of conscience, and freedom to own private property**.22 Respect for the liberty of individuals is an inherent feature of democratic politics. As Samuel Huntington has written, liberty is "the peculiar virtue of democracy."23 A democratic political process based on **electoral competition depends on freedom of expression** of political views and freedom to make electoral choices. Moreover, **governments that are accountable to the public are less likely to deprive their citizens of human rights. The global spread of democracy is likely to bring greater individual liberty to more and more people. Even imperfect and illiberal democracies tend to offer more liberty than autocracies**, and liberal democracies are very likely to promote liberty. Freedom House's 1997 survey of "Freedom in the World" found that 79 out of 118 democracies could be classified as "free" and 39 were "partly free" and, of those, 29 qualified as "high partly free." In contrast, only 20 of the world's 73 nondemocracies were "partly free" and 53 were "not free."24

#### Aff- Value of liberty outweighs in both util. & deontological frameworks:

*(Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Editor of International Security, "Why the United States Should Spread Democracy", Harvard University’s Center for Science and International Affairs, Discussion Paper 98-07, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/2830/why\_the\_united\_states\_should\_spread\_democracy.html, March 1998)*

**The case for the maximum possible amount of individual freedom can be made on the basis of utilitarian calculations or in terms of natural rights. The utilitarian case** for increasing the amount of individual liberty **rests on the belief that increased liberty will enable more people to realize their full human potential, which will benefit not only themselves but all of humankind.** This view holds that **greater liberty will allow the human spirit to flourish, thereby unleashing greater intellectual, artistic, and productive energies** that will ultimately benefit all of humankind. **The rights-based case for liberty**, on the other hand, does not focus on the consequences of increased liberty, but instead **argues that all men and women, by virtue of their common humanity, have a right to freedom. This argument is** most **memorably expressed in the** American **Declaration of Independence:** "We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness ..." The virtues of greater individual liberty are not self-evident. **Various political ideologies argue against** making **liberty** the paramount goal of any political system. **Some do not deny that** individual **liberty is** an **important goal, but call for limiting it so that other goals may be achieved.** **Others place** greater **emphasis on** obligations to **the community**. The British Fabian Socialist Sidney Webb, for example, articulated this view clearly: "The perfect and fitting development of each individual is not necessarily the utmost and highest cultivation of his own personality, but the filling, in the best possible way, of his humble function in the great social machine."25 To debate these issues thoroughly would require a paper far longer than this one.26 **The short response to** most **critiques of liberty is that there appears to be a universal demand for liberty among human beings. Particularly as socioeconomic development elevates societies above subsistence levels, individuals desire** more choice and **autonomy** in their lives. More important, **most political systems** that have been founded on principles explicitly **opposed to liberty have tended to devolve into tyrannies or to suffer economic, political, or social collapse.**

#### Aff- Government oppression & genocide:

*(Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Editor of International Security, "Why the United States Should Spread Democracy", Harvard University’s Center for Science and International Affairs, Discussion Paper 98-07, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/2830/why\_the\_united\_states\_should\_spread\_democracy.html, March 1998)*

2. **Liberal Democracies are Less Likely to Use Violence** Against Their Own People.

Second, **America should spread** liberal **democracy because** the **citizens of** liberal **democracies are less likely to suffer violent death in civil unrest or at the hands of their governments**.27 **These** two **findings are supported by many studies**, but particularly by **the work of** R.J. **Rummel**. Rummel **finds that democracies**-by which he means liberal democracies-between 1900 and 1987 **saw only 0.14% of their populations (on average) die annually in internal violence. The corresponding figure for** authoritarian regimes was 0.59% and for **totalitarian regimes 1.48%.**28 **Rummel also finds that citizens of liberal democracies are far less likely to die at the hands of their governments. Totalitarian and authoritarian regimes have been responsible for the overwhelming majority of genocides and mass murders** of civilians in the twentieth century. **The states that have killed millions of their citizens all have been authoritarian or totalitarian: the Soviet Union**, the People's Republic of **China**, **Nazi Germany**, Nationalist China**, Imperial Japan, and Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge**. **Democracies have** virtually **never massacred their own citizens on a large scale,** although they have killed foreign civilians during wartime. The American and British bombing campaigns against Germany and Japan, U.S. atrocities in Vietnam, massacres of Filipinos during the guerrilla war that followed U.S. colonization of the Philippines after 1898, and French killings of Algerians during the Algerian War are some prominent examples.29 **There are two reasons for the** relative **absence of civil violence in democracies**: (1) Democratic political systems-especially those of liberal **democracies constrain the power of governments, reducing their ability to commit mass murders of their own populations.** As Rummel concludes, "Power kills, absolute power kills absolutely ... **The more** freely **a political elite can control** the power of **the state** apparatus, **the more** thoroughly **it can repress and murder its subjects.**"30 (2) **Democratic polities allow opposition to be expressed** openly **and have regular processes for the peaceful transfer of power**. If all participants in the political process remain committed to democratic principles, **critics of the government need not stage violent revolutions and governments will not use violence to repress opponents.**31

#### Aff- Key to human rights, dignity (moral/philosophical justification):

*(Samantha Besson, European Law Institute, University of Fribourg, Fribourg, Switzerland, “Human rights and democracy in a global context: decoupling and recoupling,” Ethics & Global Politics, Vol 4, No 1, http://www.ethicsandglobalpolitics.net/index.php/egp/article/viewFile/6348/7957, 2011)*

One of the first questions one should ask about human rights pertains to their nature, especially if their function is political and **there is a close relationship between human rights and democracy.**12 In this section, I start by arguing that **human rights can be understood as** moral propositions and, more specifically, as **a subset of universal moral rights that ground moral duties.** When the fundamental interests that found human rights are legally recognised, I explain how human rights ought also be described as legal rights and how those legal rights relate to the universal moral rights they recognise, modulate, or create. The morality of human rights Human rights are a sub-set of universal moral rights (1) that protect fundamental and general human interests (2) against the intervention, or in some cases non-intervention of (national, regional, or international) public institutions (3). Those three elements will be presented in turn. First of all, **a human right exists qua moral right when an interest is** a **sufficient** ground or reason **to hold someone else (the duty-bearer) under a (categorical** and exclusionary) **duty to respect that interest vis-a`-vis the right-holder**.13 For a right to be recognised, a sufficient interest must be established and weighed against other interests and other considerations with which it might conflict in a particular social context.14 Rights are, on this account, intermediaries between interests and duties.15 Turning to the second element in the definition, **human rights are moral rights of a special intensity**, in that the interests protected are regarded as fundamental and general human interests **that all human beings have by virtue of their humanity and not of a given** status or **circumstance**. They include individual interests when these constitute part of a person’s well-being in an objective sense. The fundamental nature of the protected interests has to be determined by reference to the context and time rather than established once and for all.16 What makes it the case, secondly, that a given individual interest is regarded as sufficiently fundamental or important to generate a duty and that, in other words, **the threshold of** importance and point of passage from a general and fundamental interest to **a human right** is reached, **may be found in the** normative **status of each individual qua equal member of the moral-political community**, i.e. their political equality or equal political status.17 A person’s interests merit equal respect in virtue of her status as a member of the community and of her relations to other members in the community; **those interests are recognised** as social-comparatively important **by members of the community** and **only then can they be recognised as human rights**.18 **The recognition of human rights is done mutually** and not simply vertically and, **as a result, human rights are not externally promulgated** as such **but mutually granted by members of a given political community.**19 Of course, human rights are not merely a consequence of individuals’ equal status, but also a way of actually earning that equal status and consolidating it. Without human rights, political equality would remain an abstract guarantee; through human rights, individuals become actors of their own equality and members of their political community.20 Human rights are powermediators, in other words:21 they enable political equality. Borrowing Arendt’s words: ‘we are not born equal; we become equal as members of a group on the strength of our decision to guarantee ourselves mutually equal rights’. 22 In short, the proposed account of the nature of human rights follows a modified interest-based theory: it is modified or complemented by reference to considerations of equal moral-political status in a given community.23 This relationship between human rights and political equality bridges the sterile opposition between the individual and the group.24 Under a purely status-based or interest-based model, the manichean opposition between the individual and the group, and between his private and public autonomy would lead to unjustifiable conclusions that are tempered in the proposed account.25 It is important to pause at this stage and clarify what is meant by political equality or inclusion into an organised political society.26 This will then enable me to clarify how it is neither a parochial nor an exclusive criterion and can account for both the universality and the generality of human rights. Political equality is a normative idea according to which a person’s interests are to be treated equally and taken into consideration in a given political group’s decision. Human rights protect those interests tied to equal political membership and whose disrespect would be tantamount to treating them as outsiders. Of course, some human rights, such as civic and political rights, are more closely tied to actual political membership, while others such as the right to life, for instance, are closer to basic demands of humanity and, hence, to access to political membership. Even the latter rights, however, constrain what equal membership can mean if it is to be legitimate and the kind of interests it must protect. By submitting individuals to genocide, torture, and other extreme forms of cruel treatment, a community excludes them and no longer treats them as equal members, thus violating the threshold of recognition of human rights: political equality.27 This is in line with the republican idea of the political community qua locus of rights.28 **This idea of equal political status** or membership **may also be referred to as democratic membership**, as will be the case in the remainder of the present article**. Democracy is indeed morally required by the commitment to the equal political status of persons**. And one may even add that, just as human rights, democracy enlivens and enables political equality. **Their common grounding in political equality** actually **confirms the mutual relationship between human rights and democracy.** Of course, just as human rights, democracy implies more than political equality. Scope precludes discussing it extensively, but democracy qua political regime also implies egalitarian deliberation and decision-making procedures. True, one may object to the parochial dimension of democratic equality and accordingly of the proposed account of human rights and its dual grounding in fundamental interests and political equality. It is here that the proposed minimalist approach to equal political status qua principle of transnational justice becomes most interesting. Its institutional and political dimension and its need for contextual specification enable it to escape overspecification and parochialism.29 Of course, there may be many overlapping political communities (e.g. international organisations [IOs], regional organisations, and states) and the present argument is not limited to the national polity and to the state. Nor is the argument limited to formal citizens30 only or at least to those citizens who are also nationals; membership ought to include at varying degrees all those normatively subjected to the activities of political authorities and who are therefore subjects to the laws or decisions of the community.31 This includes asylum seekers, economic migrants, stateless persons, and so on. As we will see, human rights work as political irritants and mechanisms of gradual inclusion that lead to the extension of the political franchise and in some cases of citizenship itself to new subjects in the community. Nor, finally, does the argument imply that human rights apply within national borders only; if national political authorities subject the fundamental interests of individuals to domestic law and decisions outside its borders, those individuals deserve equal protection both in the decision-making process and the application of those decisions. This includes individuals and groups subjected to law-making and decision-making abroad.32 This brings me to the third element in the definition of human rights: **human rights** are entitlements against public institutions (national, regional, or international). They **generate duties on the part of public authorities** not only **to protect** **equal individual** interests but also individuals’ **political status** qua equal political actors. Public institutions are necessary for collective endeavour and political selfdetermination but may also endanger them. **Human rights enable the functioning of those institutions in exchange for political equality and protection from abuse of political power.** **This is why one can say that human rights both are protected by public institutions and provide protection against them;** they exist because of collective endeavour in order both to favor and constrain it. Of course, other individuals may individually violate the interests protected by human rights and ought to be prevented from doing so by public institutions and in particular through legal means.33 This ought to be the case whether those individuals’ actions and omissions may be attributed to public authorities or not qua de jure or de facto organs. However, **public institutions remain the primary addressees of human rights claims and, hence, their primary duty-bearers**.34 **In short, the proposed account is moral in the justification it provides for human rights and political in the function it sees them vested with: they are** indeed regarded **both** as **shields against political authorities and** as **guarantees of political inclusion.** In terms of justification, its moral-political dimension differs not only from accounts based on a purely ethical justification of human rights, but also from accounts that seek a political form of minimalist justification of human rights.35 In other words, the proposed moral-political account of human rights can salvage the political role of human rights without diluting their moral justification.36

#### Aff- Key to human rights, dignity (moral/philosophical justification):

*(Timothy K. Kuhner, Associate Professor at Georgia State University College of Law “The Democracy to Which We Are Entitled: Human Rights and the Problem of Money in Politics,” Harvard Human Rights Journal, vol 26, http://harvardhrj.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/V26-Kuhner.pdf, 2013)*

Interest group and market-based approaches tend to violate Habermas’ prescription for an inclusive and egalitarian processof opinion and willformation. Notions of inclusivity and accessibility remind us of famous articulations, both new and old. **As** Thomas **Jefferson put it, “the true foundation of republican government is the equal right of every citizen.**”211 This understanding led Robert Dahl to call democracy those “processes by which ordinary citizens exert a relatively high degree of control over leaders.”212 **These formulations signal a linkage between democracy and human rights**. Part of the answer to why **the inherent dignity of the human person is furthered by an accessible and inclusive political process** comes from Ronald Dworkin, who writes that **“[m]oral membership [in political community] involves reciprocity: a person is not a member unless** he is **treated as a member by others**.”213 The fact of **membership honors a person’s equal dignity and** equal **status**. **Self-governance does this by determining that nobody, not high leaders nor notable citizens, should dominate anyone.** This refers to human dignity in the static sense. The other part of the answer relates to human dignity’s dynamism. Take Walt Whitman’s explanation of this point, calling **democracy [is] a “formulator**, general caller-forth, [**and] trainer” for a most notable purpose**: “to become an enfranchised man, and now, impediments removed, **to stand and start without humiliation, and equal with the rest; to commence**, or have the road clear’d to commence, **the grand experiment of development, whose end** . . . **may be the forming of a full-grown man or woman**.”214

#### Aff- Moral imperative:

*(Center for American Progress and Center for Strategic and International Studies, “Why Promoting Democracy is Smart and Right,” https://www.americanprogress.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/StatementofPrinciples-2.pdf, 2013)*

**A freer and more democratic world helps create a virtuous circle of improved security, stronger economic growth, and durable alliances**—all of which better serve the longterm interests of the United States. Accountable, effective, and **democratic governments make** better and **more reliable trading partners and provide the cornerstones of international stability. Given their** modest scale and **numerous benefits, America’s** official **investments in promoting democracy** and governance **abroad deserve to be sustained** even as we deal with very real budget challenges in this current era of fiscal austerity. Because of their benefits to and strong reflection of America’s longest-standing values, international democracy and governance programs have historically enjoyed bipartisan support. In the past decade, however, this support has undergone strain in the wake of the war in Iraq. Given the recent democratic openings in the Middle East, Africa, and Southeast Asia, however, we are again reminded of the value of people-driven programs to assist civil society and accountable governance. **Assistance from the U**nited **S**tates and others in the international community **is an important tool in helping countries to achieve their** own **aspirations for** more **representative governance. As Nobel Prize-winning economist Amartya Sen and others have noted, economic and political freedoms are mutually reinforcing, and** broader d**emocratic promotion can have a powerful effect in making overall development efforts more effective.** A number of important **studies** further **substantiate the central importance of political freedom** and good governance **in promoting long-term economic prosperity** while advancing U.S. priorities. **A variety of countries are seeking to transition to democracy and are actively seeking America’s help** to establish free media; attack corruption; manage public resources effectively; establish property rights; protect the rights of individuals, religious groups, and minorities; ensure the right to petition their elected officials; organize political campaigns; ensure free and fair elections; and establish think tanks. **Other newer democracies are trying to deliver on the promise of democracy** by governing justly and in ways that promote meaningful economic opportunities and growth. **If they fail, the cause of democracy will be set back, and we will live in a darker world. Women, minority, and religious groups are seeking our help to ensure that their voices are heard.** Finally, there are a number of countries that continue to repress their own citizens in ways that are almost unthinkable in the 21st century. **We need to work with labor unions, church groups, civil society organizations, the private sector, dissident groups, and diasporas to ensure that positive change happens and that societies can create governments that are responsive, accountable, and respectful of human rights.** As we move forward under a second Obama administration, there is an opportunity to reincorporate democracy and governance into the development dialogue in a more central way, and we look forward to helping to do so. **Promoting free and accountable governance is both morally and substantively imperative**. We, the undersigned, fully support a responsible approach to America’s budget challenges that preserves our important and longstanding leadership in nurturing democracy around the globe. With continuing fiscal austerity all programs are at risk, but democracy and governance assistance should be protected in this process. These expenditures are not only good for the recipients, but they also support the American national interest as well.

#### Aff- Key to human moral development:

*(Dr. Cor Van Beuningen, “Democracy: features and fundamentals,” Worldwide promotion of democracy: challenges, role and strategy of the European Union, Proceedings of a conference organised by the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftunghttp://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\_11856-1522-2-30.pdf?110504154444, June 5-6 2007)*

Morality matters Similarly, **one might wonder whether a democratic state is viable without** a substantial part of its citizens sharing a certain degree of **moral sensitivity**, of basic beliefs or convictions about how we should live together, expressed in values such as decency, tolerance, respect, recognition and care. **Moral sensitivity differs from complying with the rules by obedience or out of prudence**; as **it differs as well from calculation involved in reciprocity**, do ut des or quid pro quo, **and the calculated matching of** individual with collective **interests**. **Moral sensitivity goes beyond rational discourse, but reaches personal, emotional layers involving empathy, generosity and care for the other, even for the unknown other.** The soft side of democracy To paraphrase Robert Putnam: **it is moral sensitivity, civic engagement, trust and social capital that make democracy work**. The viability of the democratic and constitutional state depends on the extent to which **citizens** are prepared and willing to **cooperate**, both among themselves and with their government. The degree in which the great majority of the population is willing to more or less voluntarily comply with the most important societal rules is related to the volume of their social capital, their civic engagement and horizontal and vertical trust; and this, again, to the degree in which they share a sense of identity and of a common fate, as well as a moral sensitivity and a set of basic beliefs and values – **as members of a moral community**. In the longer run, democracy is about moral attitudes and the moral capacities of the people, of the individual persons both in society and in the government (moral leadership); **it is about their willingness and ability to transcend the immediate me/ here/now and to care for others, the common good, the environment and the future**. One wonders **how do these moral attitudes come about?** This question has been raised in Western philosophy since the days of Socrates. **Socrates** **defended** the thesis **that** with regard to good and evil, **the** **individual** person - in the end - **has the final say**. **Moral** attitudes cannot be organised; empathy and generosity cannot be produced and respect**, recognition and care cannot be imposed. Moral insights can only be found through reflection and consent of the person involved.** Moral sensitivity cannot be enforced; it can only be guided or supported. Thus, what makes for the vitality of a society and for the viability of the democratic state cannot be produced on purpose. If moral attitudes are to come about, they come about only as a by-product of social interaction. **Government is meant to** serve and **facilitate** this interaction and **the coming about of these moral attitudes. But government can also frustrate the coming about of moral attitudes and propel a downward spiralling movement.** Too much and **wrongly directed government intervention may frustrate meaningful social interaction**, substitute social ordering mechanisms **and block the coming about of moral sensitivity** (cf. subsidiarity).

#### Aff- Cosmopolitanism:

*(Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Editor of International Security, "Why the United States Should Spread Democracy", Harvard University’s Center for Science and International Affairs, Discussion Paper 98-07, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/2830/why\_the\_united\_states\_should\_spread\_democracy.html, March 1998)*

A. Democracy is Good for the Citizens of New Democracies

**The U**nited **S**tates **should** attempt to **spread democracy because** **people** generally **live better lives under democratic governments**. Compared to inhabitants of nondemocracies, **citizens of democracies enjoy greater individual liberty, political stability, freedom from governmental violence, enhanced quality of life, and a much lower risk of** suffering a **famine**. Skeptics will immediately ask: Why should the United States attempt to improve the lives of non-Americans? Shouldn't this country focus on its own problems and interests? There are at least three answers to these questions. First, **as human beings, American should** and do **feel** some **obligation to improve the well-being of other human beings**. **The bonds of common humanity do not stop at** the **borders** of the United States.19 To be sure, **these** bonds and **obligations are limited by the** competitive **nature of the international system**. In a world where the use of force remains possible, no government can afford to pursue a foreign policy based on altruism. The human race is not about to embrace a cosmopolitan moral vision in which borders and national identities become irrelevant. **But there are many possibilities for action motivated by concern for individuals in other countries**. In the **U**nited **S**tates, continued **public concern over human rights** in other countries, as well as governmental and nongovernmental efforts to relieve **hunger**, **poverty**, **and suffering overseas, suggest that Americans accept** some bonds of common humanity and feel some obligations to foreigners. The emergence of the so-called "CNN Effect"-the tendency for Americans to be aroused to action by television images of suffering people overseas-is further evidence **that cosmopolitan ethical sentiment**s exist. **If Americans care about improving the lives of the citizens of other countries,** then **the case for promoting democracy grows stronger to the extent that promoting democracy is an effective means to achieve this end.**

#### Aff- A2 “demos causes moral decline”:

*(Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Editor of International Security, "Why the United States Should Spread Democracy", Harvard University’s Center for Science and International Affairs, Discussion Paper 98-07, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/2830/why\_the\_united\_states\_should\_spread\_democracy.html, March 1998)*

Responses: Each of these arguments for the undesirability of democracy is seriously flawed. **The** first **argument-that democracy causes moral decline and social disintegration-is not persuasive, because not all** liberal **democracies suffer such ills. Canada and most European countries demonstrate that** liberal **democracy does not cause social collapse.** **These countries are indisputably democratic, but** they **are far less violent than the U**nited **S**tates, **and** they **do not have America's social problems.** In 1995, the Population Reference Bureau reported that Americans kill each other at a rate 17 times higher than in Japan and Ireland, 10 times the rates in Germany and France, and five times the rate in Canada. The United Nations Demographic Yearbook shows homicide rates per 100,000 population for several countries in 1991, the most recent year available. Canada's was 2.2, Japan's 0.6, Austria's 1.3, the Netherlands' 1.2, and Norway's 1.9. Portugal and Spain came in at 1.6 and 0.9, respectively, while Italy's was 2.9 The United Kingdom's was 4.8 versus 10.4 for the United States.136 **These differences** between the United States **reflect** deep-seated **cultural differences. The American culture of individualism**, **not** more universal liberal and **democratic values, is responsible for many U.S. social problems.**

#### Neg- Autocrats can protect rights/liberal values:

*(Daniel Brumberg [Carnegie Endowment], “Liberalization vs. Democracy ,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

Is this gradualist approach the right remedy? And, if not, should the United States press for the grander vision of radical change that some in the administration advocate? Before we can even begin to answer these questions**, before we write out the prescription, we must** carefully **examine the patient**. We need to understand how Arab autocracies actually work, and, in how the "liberalized autocracies of the region endure despite frequent prediction of their imminent death. Such regimes do not conform to the American media's portrayal of Arab politics. **When we think of the region, we usually envision dictatorships** or, as I prefer to call them, "full autocracies." Such regimes have zero tolerance for free debate or competitive politics. Indeed, in full autocracies, **dissent warrants jail, or** worse, **execution**. **By contrast, the** liberal **autocracies of the Arab world temper authoritarianism with pluralism. They are liberal in the sense that their leaders not only tolerate but promote a measure of political openness in civil society, in the press, and even in the electoral system of their country. Elections give opposition leaders a chance to compete, to enter parliaments, and**, what is more, **occasionally to serve as ministers. But they are autocratic in that their rulers always retain the upper hand. They control the security establishment, dominate the media, and dole out economic rewards** to their favorite clients. With their ultimate reliance on the supreme authority of the monarch or president, **liberalized autocracies provide a kind of virtual democracy.**

#### Neg- Liberal autocracies good/alternative is repressive Islamist takeover:

*(Daniel Brumberg [Carnegie Endowment], “Liberalization vs. Democracy ,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**One of the main obstacles to democracy in the Arab world is the absence of consensus regarding national identity, particularly as it relates to** the controversial question of **Islam's place in public life. Many** Islamists, including mainstream activists in parliaments and civil society, **believe the state should enforce** or even impose **Islamic laws**, whereas nominal or secular Muslims and non-Muslims want the state to protect their right to practice—or not practice—their religion. **Ethnic groups (such as** Sunni Muslim **Kurds** in Iraq and Syria, the **Berbers** in Morocco **and** Algeria, **Christian minorities such as** Egypt's **Copts**) **and myriad civil society groups** (such as women's rights organizations, labor unions, and professional syndicates) **often fear Islamist domination.** Lacking the capacity for mobilization that Islamists command via the mosque, **such nonlslamist groups have** sometimes tacitly **backed autocracies rather than press for open elections**. After all, many of **these would-be democrats are not ready to give Islamists a "democratic mandate** **to** limit or even **obliterate their** civil and **human rights** in a truly competitive political game. Yet, if **conflicts over national identity hinder democratization, they do not necessarily lead to total autocracy.** **Liberalizing autocracies** can sometimes reduce or **contain conflict between Islamists and nonlslamists through** a process of partial and **controlled inclusion that allows** mainstream **Islamists**, Arab **nationalists, and liberals to enter parliament** as independents or as a formal political party. This happened in Algeria in 1992, when secularists in the labor unions and professional associations backed the coup that prevented the FIS from winning a majority of seats in the countlY's parliament. **From the perspective of** these **secularists**, full **autocracy was preferable to the risks of** a invariably make major gains when regimes allow them to compete in such semicompetitive elections. This occurred in Jordan in 1989, Yemen in 1993, Algeria in 1997, and Bahrain and Morocco in 2002. But these victories have their limits**. By funneling patronage to ruling parties** and bureaucracies, to state-controlled organizations such as labor unions and professional associations, to or traditional tribes **or ethnic groups** such as Kurds or Berbers, **liberal autocracies** mobilize their own allies and thus **make it hard for Islamists to attain electoral majorities**. From the vantage point of regimes, state-controlled power sharing can make sense. But why, one might ask, should Islamists accept such an arrangement? They do so because the alternatives—**a rush into full democracy** or a return to full autocracy—**can be much worse for both the regime and its opposition**. **Algeria's sad experience illustrates this lesson. The 1992 coup** that **prevented**  the **Islamists** **from winning a majority** in the parliament hardly provided an enduring solution to Algeria's profound political and ideological conflict. On the contrary, **as the subsequent seven-year civil war clearly shows, when the military tries to** re-impose a full autocracy that completely **shut**s **Islamists out** of the political system, **new horrors can emerge that** eventually **engulf the entire society**. **Given the drawbacks of both full democracy and full autocracy, the remaining solution is a state-enforced power-sharing formula that** favors regimes but **does not exclude any group that accepts the ultimate authority of the regime** itself. **So long as both sides play by these quasi-autocratic rules** of the game, some measure of **coexistence between Islamists and nonlslamists seems possible.**

#### Neg- Demo promo undermines self-determination/turns liberal values/is itself undemocratic:

*(Jonas Wolff [head of the research department "Governance and Societal Peace" at Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF) and prof at Goethe University Frankfurt and Kassel Universit]& Iris Wurm [Chair of International Relations at Goethe University Frankfurt], “Towards a Theory of External Democracy Promotion?,” Paper prepared for the 51st Annual Convention of the International Studies Association (ISA), https://www.academia.edu/2766281/Towards\_a\_Theory\_of\_External\_Democracy\_Promotion\_Approximations\_from\_the\_perspective\_of\_International\_Relations\_theories, Feb 17-20 2010)*

**The normative explanation**, on the one hand, simply reinforces the utilitarian argument in favor **of** democracy promotion: The interest that established democracies should have in enlarging the community of democratic states is obvious. On the other hand, to peacefully support democracy can be seen as a moral high road, as universally conceived values are spread in a way that corresponds to one's own peaceful preferences (Czempiel 2005). **Democracy promotion** is then embedded in the democratic culture **as** the morally right thing to do, **a liberal mission** (Sørensen 2006: 259; cf. T. Smith 1994). In addition, this **implies** that democratic governments and societies have a "natural" normative affinity to democratic (opposition) forces and movements in other countries — **a moral impetus** that suggests supporting them against oppressive governments. Again, **such an inference** of a clear-cut orientation **in favor of promoting democracy can be** contrasted by three arguments that equally draw on liberal-democratic norms but render the external interference in processes of political change as **intrinsically problematic**. The fundamental problem here is that **the promotion of democracy, even if it avoids any use of force, is by definition an offensive intervention** in the political regime of another state (Czempiel 2000). **This clashes**, firstly, **with** the norm of **self-determination, a basic principle in democratic thinking.** The **respect for self-determination** and every society's right to an autonomous process of political evolution **suggests a policy of** restraint and **non-intervention** (cf. Doyle 2009: 352-354; Rawls 1999: 62; Sørensen 2006: 258-259). A**ny active engagement in the internal political affairs of other states — which can never be neutral — violates a fundamental liberal-democratic norm.** Accordingly, in the US tradition of "exemplarism" the aim was to spread the (US) model of democracy around the world, but not by using an activist foreign policy, but through the force of its example (Monten 2005: 113; cf. Brands 1998).

#### Neg- Turn- Demo promo causes authoritarian backlash/clamp down on rights & freedoms:

*(Susan B. Epstein, Nina M. Serafino, and Francis T. Miko, Specialists in Foreign Policy Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division, Congressional Research Service, “Democracy Promotion: Cornerstone of U.S. Foreign Policy?,” https://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/row/RL34296.pdf, Dec 26 2007)*

Some view **democracy programs** as inappropriately interfering in the domestic politics of foreign countries, **often produc[e]**ing a **backlash** (sometimes citing Russia) against the organizations — both foreign and domestic — that carry them out. In recent years, **the U**nited **S**tates has **invested** effort and money **in democracy promotion in Russia, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East. The recent backlash against democratic reform in Russia, the elections of anti-American governments in the Palestinian Territories, and the rise to elected office of Hezbollah in Lebanon have caused some to question the value of U.S. democracy promotion** investments. While a recent USAID-commissioned study concluded that U.S. democracy and governance assistance does have a positive effect on democracy growth worldwide, the democracy gains were modest.33 **At the same time, U.S. government and NGO assistance for civil society strengthening can lead to human rights repercussions, triggering some governments to react by clamping down** on NGO activities and **on** the **local citizens.**

#### Neg- Human rights promotion & demo promo are distinct/conflating them harms both causes:

*(Bastiaan Bouwman, Humanity in Action Senior Fellow, doctoral candidate in the international history of human rights at the London School of Economics & research MA in history from the University of Amsterdam, “Uncomfortable Bedfellows: Why Human Rights and Democracy Promotion Are Better Off Separate,” HIA, http://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/579-uncomfortable-bedfellows-why-human-rights-and-democracy-promotion-are-better-off-separate, 2015)*

In this essay I explore the hypothesis that **human rights and democracy promotion are better off in separation**, whereas in recent decades **they have** increasingly **been conflated.** **The convergence of human rights and democracy promotion has** in part **been responsible for a global phenomenon of ‘pushback’ against democracy and rights assistance.** I show how **human rights came about as an apolitical**, minimalist **project**, as embodied by Amnesty International in the 1970s **but has since become** increasingly **politicized**. **The** increasingly **close association between human rights and democracy promotion has** **been** an **important** contributor **in this** regard, especially from the 1990s on, after the end of the Cold War. During the 2000s, the unilateral, **interventionist policies** of the Bush administration **and the association** of non-governmental organizations **with military humanitarian intervention put increasing pressure on the legitimacy of both human rights and democracy promotion.** I suggest that **both** human rights and democracy promotion **would be best served by being once again conceived of and implemented as** relatively **separate.** I argue that policies for the protection of human rights defenders are an especially promising avenue in this regard.

#### Neg- Human rights promotion & demo promo are distinct/conflating them harms both causes:

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**Combining democracy**, development **and human rights into one** overarching **project**, to be implemented by a like-minded ‘international community’, **suggested that state sovereignty was** increasingly **conditional**. Although it was still considered to be primarily the responsibility of the state to increase the wellbeing of its people, international standards, formal and informal, **sanctioned interference** when it fell short of expectations or rejected the very standards themselves. This **exacerbated** what Thomas Carothers has described as the central tension underlying the phenomenon of **pushback against democracy and rights assistance**, that ‘between the traditional norm of sovereignty and the idea that an emergent global consensus on certain political norms, rights, and values permits action across borders to support these principles’. (6) **Human rights promotion had, of course, always served to limit the scope of state sovereignty. But it had originated as a way of merely curbing excesses of state power. It had meant to** place, as it were, a ring fence around the political arena, **avoid**ing immediate **interference with the political process inside but protect**ing **any** single **individual from egregious injury.** (7) **By conflating human rights and democracy, however, Western states made the political process itself the object of change. This represented a far greater intrusion on state sovereignty than the promotion of human rights had been.** For instance, the ‘Bulldozer Revolution’ in Serbia in 2000, which led to the downfall of Slobodan Milosevic, benefited substantially from **Western assistance**. Between $50 and $100 million was funneled into the country in the lead-up to the 2000 elections, in addition to more immaterial forms of assistance. The subsequent ‘color revolutions’ in Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan likewise **encouraged fears among authoritarian leaders that Western states intended to overturn their regimes by giving support to or mobilizing domestic activists**. (8) **Human rights defenders increasingly came to be seen as advance agents of the West. The response has been to clamp down** **on international support as well as domestic organizations.** In this essay, I outline how this convergence of human rights and democracy promotion took place, and discuss its repercussions. I should note at the outset that the purpose of this paper is not to give a comprehensive account – for instance, it omits the relationship to development cooperation, a worthwhile topic but requiring separate treatment – but rather to explore a hypothesis, namely that the project of **human rights benefits from being conceived of as clearly distinct from democracy promotion**. **The** intention is to stimulate reflection on a **topic** that **can** easily **be obscured by** the size of **its moral stakes**, **ultimately** in the hope that the fields of **both human rights and democracy promotion might benefit.**

#### Neg- Conflating U.S. demo promo with human rights promo causes backlash/undermines universal moral authority for concept of human rights:

*(Bastiaan Bouwman, Humanity in Action Senior Fellow, doctoral candidate in the international history of human rights at the London School of Economics & research MA in history from the University of Amsterdam, “Uncomfortable Bedfellows: Why Human Rights and Democracy Promotion Are Better Off Separate,” HIA, http://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/579-uncomfortable-bedfellows-why-human-rights-and-democracy-promotion-are-better-off-separate, 2015)*

**Combining democracy**, development **and human rights into one** overarching **project**, to be implemented by a like-minded ‘international community’, **suggested that state sovereignty was** increasingly **conditional**. Although it was still considered to be primarily the responsibility of the state to increase the wellbeing of its people, international standards, formal and informal, **sanctioned interference** when it fell short of expectations or rejected the very standards themselves. This **exacerbated** what Thomas Carothers has described as the central tension underlying the phenomenon of **pushback against democracy and rights assistance**, that ‘between the traditional norm of sovereignty and the idea that an emergent global consensus on certain political norms, rights, and values permits action across borders to support these principles’. (6) **Human rights promotion had, of course, always served to limit the scope of state sovereignty. But it had originated as a way of merely curbing excesses of state power. It had meant to** place, as it were, a ring fence around the political arena, **avoid**ing immediate **interference with the political process inside but protect**ing **any** single **individual from egregious injury.** (7) **By conflating human rights and democracy, however, Western states made the political process itself the object of change. This represented a far greater intrusion on state sovereignty than the promotion of human rights had been.** For instance, the ‘Bulldozer Revolution’ in Serbia in 2000, which led to the downfall of Slobodan Milosevic, benefited substantially from **Western assistance**. Between $50 and $100 million was funneled into the country in the lead-up to the 2000 elections, in addition to more immaterial forms of assistance. The subsequent ‘color revolutions’ in Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan likewise **encouraged fears among authoritarian leaders that Western states intended to overturn their regimes by giving support to or mobilizing domestic activists**. (8) **Human rights defenders increasingly came to be seen as advance agents of the West. The response has been to clamp down** **on international support as well as domestic organizations.** In this essay, I outline how this convergence of human rights and democracy promotion took place, and discuss its repercussions. I should note at the outset that the purpose of this paper is not to give a comprehensive account – for instance, it omits the relationship to development cooperation, a worthwhile topic but requiring separate treatment – but rather to explore a hypothesis, namely that the project of **human rights benefits from being conceived of as clearly distinct from democracy promotion**. **The** intention is to stimulate reflection on a **topic** that **can** easily **be obscured by** the size of **its moral stakes**, **ultimately** in the hope that the fields of **both human rights and democracy promotion might benefit.**

#### Neg- Conflating U.S. demo promo with human rights promo causes backlash/undermines universal moral authority for concept of human rights:

*(Bastiaan Bouwman, Humanity in Action Senior Fellow, doctoral candidate in the international history of human rights at the London School of Economics & research MA in history from the University of Amsterdam, “Uncomfortable Bedfellows: Why Human Rights and Democracy Promotion Are Better Off Separate,” HIA, http://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/579-uncomfortable-bedfellows-why-human-rights-and-democracy-promotion-are-better-off-separate, 2015)*

**The crackdown that human rights defenders have experienced** since the late 1990s and especially since the mid-2000s **was**, in part, **a response precisely to the amalgamation of human rights and democracy promotion** into an increasingly far-reaching project **on the part of Western states.** **As sovereignty has become more and more conditional on compliance with** the values and **norms** of human rights and democracy, **states disputing those** international **standards** **have pushed back against** international **rights and democracy assistance as well as domestic individuals and organizations representing these causes**. While to a significant extent this was a matter of authoritarian leaders striving to maintain power, the widening **of the agenda of human rights and democracy promotion and especially its deployment as a justification for military interventions** also **generated legitimate objections. The association of human rights with democracy promotion has politicized the former, and their association with war has done substantial damage to the legitimacy of both concepts. Measures to** protect human rights defenders have largely been a response to the challenge of crackdown by authoritarian regimes. Yet it might be in precisely this area that the promotion of human rights might **reclaim** its relatively **apolitical status**. The minimalism **of** policies that protect **human rights** defenders – aiming simply to keep endogenous voices for change from being silenced – **gives them greater legitimacy than** more ambitious forms of human rights and **democracy promotion**. Insofar as these specific policies have become a priority, they signal **a return to a less politicized way of promoting human rights**, more in line with the original ethos of Amnesty International than with the zeal of the NED. This **could** provide a way in which to **separate human rights and democracy promotion** from each other once again, **for the betterment of both.** Policies aimed at protecting human rights defenders must be reconciled with the legacy of Western states elevating civil and political rights over social, economic and cultural rights – to an important extent a legacy of the Cold War. The phrase ‘human rights defender’ in effect leads to a just such a focus on a set of civil and political rights, such as the right to freedom of opinion and expression, the right to freedom of association, and the right to protest. Since the end of the Cold War, however, Western states have subscribed to the indivisibility and interdependency of human rights. (61) Amnesty has embraced the full spectrum of human rights. Nevertheless, a tendency to focus on civil and political rights has persisted. It is, then, all the more important to ensure **that** the individual human rights defenders that states focus their efforts on are engaged in furthering not only civil and political rights, but **also** social, economic and cultural rights. These rights may not resonate as strongly among the Western public, but are widely affirmed as equal in importance. Moreover, aiding human rights defenders in raising an issue like land rights **will help to counter the notion that Western rights and democracy assistance goes hand in hand with the promotion of corporate interests that hurt local populations.** For instance, by aiding activists who work against expropriation of local farmers, Western actors can prove that their concern extends across the full array of human rights. UN Special Rapporteur Margaret Sekaggya provided an important impetus in this direction in her 2012 report, which noted ‘Defenders working on land and environmental issues’ as one of the most at-risk groups of human rights defenders and called for their protection. (62)

#### Neg- Conflating U.S. demo promo with human rights promo causes backlash/undermines universal moral authority for concept of human rights:

*(Bastiaan Bouwman, Humanity in Action Senior Fellow, doctoral candidate in the international history of human rights at the London School of Economics & research MA in history from the University of Amsterdam, “Uncomfortable Bedfellows: Why Human Rights and Democracy Promotion Are Better Off Separate,” HIA, http://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/579-uncomfortable-bedfellows-why-human-rights-and-democracy-promotion-are-better-off-separate, 2015)*

**Human rights defenders** – a term generally taken to extend not only to human rights professionals but to anyone taking action in defense of any human right – as a category **became subject to new measures designed to suppress their activities.** Especially **from the mid-2000s**, **countries like Russia, Ethiopia and Venezuela developed new legal and other measures to stifle civil society, in part because the ‘color revolutions’ and the Arab Spring demonstrated just how dangerous civil society could be**, in particular **with the onset of new communications technologies**. (55) **They specifically targeted** international rights and **democracy assistance by cutting domestic organizations off from foreign funding and forcing international organizations to register as ‘foreign agents’, among other measures.**

#### Neg- Human rights defender organizations are good/eroding trust for them is bad:

*(Bastiaan Bouwman, Humanity in Action Senior Fellow, doctoral candidate in the international history of human rights at the London School of Economics & research MA in history from the University of Amsterdam, “Uncomfortable Bedfellows: Why Human Rights and Democracy Promotion Are Better Off Separate,” HIA, http://www.humanityinaction.org/knowledgebase/579-uncomfortable-bedfellows-why-human-rights-and-democracy-promotion-are-better-off-separate, 2015)*

**An area that may have the potential to steer human rights and democracy promotion around** these **objections is the protection and assistance of human rights defenders and their organizations. Human rights defenders represent**, in principle, **endogenous change**. Although support for them may well have broader goals in mind, as long as supporting actors guard against selectivity in terms of recipients and use a wide-ranging definition of what constitutes a human rights defender, **they have a strong claim to impartiality**.

**Human rights defenders began receiving** serious **attention** as a category of their own about a decade and a half ago. **In** 1998, the General Assembly of **the** **U**nited **N**ations adopted its ‘**Declaration on Human Rights Defenders**’, a document that had been in production since 1984. In large part, **its adoption was spurred by worries over the plight of human rights defenders in countries that** had recently become democracies but now **seemed to be receding into authoritarianism.** By 1997, ‘what enthusiasts at the start of the decade were calling “the worldwide democratic revolution”’ had ‘cooled considerably’. (53) Many new democracies became ‘hybrid regimes’ that had some features of democracies – such as elections – and some of authoritarian rule – such as concentration of power. In 2003, a UN expert noted that of the 81 countries that had democratized during the 1980s and 1990s, only 47 were now considered ‘fully democratic’, while problems persisted in the remaining 34. (54)

#### Neg- Turn- Demos worse for human rights:

*(Courtenay R. Conrad, Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of California, Merced , “Why democracy doesn’t always improve human rights,” The London School of Economics and Political Science, LSE European Institute, http://blogs.lse.ac.uk/europpblog/2014/09/05/why-democracy-doesnt-always-improve-human-rights/, Sept 5 2014)*

**Democracy promotion** – a key tenant of European Union and United States foreign policy **– is frequently justified in terms of** improving government respect for **human rights.** This focus on democracy is for good reason. Scholarly research on government repression consistently finds that democracies violate the human rights of their citizens less frequently and less violently than non-democracies. The relationship between democracy and improved human rights is so consistent that scholars often refer to it as the “domestic democratic peace.” **But democracy is not a panacea for stopping human rights violations.** My **research** on government torture (with Will H. Moore) **suggests that democratic institutions** intended to limit state repression **do not always constrain human rights violations and may even make them worse.** The United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT) defines torture as the purposeful inflicting of extreme mental or physical pain by government officials or their agents. Under this definition, torture includes everything from beatings to electrocution to water boarding to the deprivation of food and water. Of individual rights to physical integrity – the right not to be tortured, killed, disappeared, or politically imprisoned by your government – torture is the most common and is reported to have increased in the last three decades. Although democratic institutions generally improve government respect for rights, there are three reasons why these institutions often fail to stop torture. **First, institutions like contested elections, freedom of expression, and** the institutional **separation of powers do not have any limiting effect** on torture **when a government faces violent dissent. When governments face dissent, they** almost always **respond by violating the rights of their citizens.** When we consider some of the reasons that governments turn to torture – to obtain information from and to intimidate the opposition – it might not be surprising that such violations occur more frequently when leaders feel threatened. But it is surprising that the positive effect of democracy on torture prevention completely goes away when governments face dissent. **One** potential **explanation is that ordinary citizens are less likely to hold the government accountable for human rights violations when they feel threatened.** My preliminary survey **research** (with Sarah E. Croco, Brad T. Gomez, and Will H. Moore) **suggests that Americans** are more **accepting** **of** government **torture when an individual has an Arabic name, for example. Second**, torture is difficult to stop once it gets off the ground. Once a country starts to torture, it is alarmingly likely to continue to do so, even when it faces domestic and international criticism for its behaviour. From 1981 to 1999, over 90 per cent of countries that used torture in one year continued to use it in the following year. Institutional **separation of powers – a key component of democracy – can make stopping human rights violations** even **more difficult.** **Executives** do not have full control over the use of torture because they **delegate** its implementation **to repressive agents like** members of the **military** **and** the **police**. To eliminate the use of torture at the national level, **government executives would need to monitor and control every member of the military**, every **police officer, and** every **intelligence agent.** **Maintaining that level of oversight** (and the training that often accompanies such oversight) **is very difficult**; it means that executives need to implement policies to prevent even one random, bad apple, rogue police officer from hitting a criminal suspect in an interrogation room. **Democracies face another hurdle** that makes stopping the use of torture more difficult. During his initial presidential campaign **in 2008,** United States President Barack **Obama** **ran** for office in part **on a promise to close** the prisoner detention camps in **Guantanamo** Bay, Cuba. Although **those camps have not** yet **been closed**, it is **not** necessarily **because** President **Obama** personally **wants to keep them open.** The president may prefer to halt the operation of such detention camps, and **if he were a dictator, he would** be able to do **make that decision unilaterally. But in a democracy, other** institutional **actors** – **like** the US **Congress**, **for example** – **have a say** in policymaking. **The more** people and **institutions** **that** **participate** in making a policy, **the** **harder** **it** **becomes** **to make changes** to that policy. **As a result, once human rights violations** like torture **begin**, **they are more likely to continue in countries with separation of power.** **Separation of power** is something we prize as part of democracy, but **in this case**, it **can have a negative effect on the protection of human rights. It makes policies that are already going on** – like government torture or the presence of detention facilities at Guantanamo – **more difficult to stop. Third**, countries with effective domestic courts are less likely to repress than countries with ineffective judiciaries. But my **research** (with Daniel W. Hill and Will H. Moore) **suggests that effective courts** also **encourage executives and their agents to hide** torture **rather than stop** it completely. Torture techniques fall broadly into one of two categories. Scarring torture – like beating – marks the victim’s body, while stealth torture – like water boarding – is executed so as not to leave visible marks on the victim. Allegations of scarring torture are hard for states to deny. But **stealth** torture **provides the government with plausible deniability** because it does not leave marks to substantiate victim claims. Unlike elections that protect the majority, **courts** are anti-majoritarian institutions, **protect**ing even **the** most **marginalised** individuals **in a society** who are often the people being tortured. **As such, when states have effective courts, they want to repress so they do not get caught**. While **courts** may indeed make governments less likely to torture, they also **encourage** government **leaders** and their agents **to develop better ways to hide violations of human rights.**

#### Neg- util./cost-benefit analysis frameworks conclude neg:

*(Jonas Wolff [head of the research department "Governance and Societal Peace" at Peace Research Institute Frankfurt (PRIF) and prof at Goethe University Frankfurt and Kassel Universit]& Iris Wurm [Chair of International Relations at Goethe University Frankfurt], “Towards a Theory of External Democracy Promotion?,” Paper prepared for the 51st Annual Convention of the International Studies Association (ISA), https://www.academia.edu/2766281/Towards\_a\_Theory\_of\_External\_Democracy\_Promotion\_Approximations\_from\_the\_perspective\_of\_International\_Relations\_theories, Feb 17-20 2010)*

**A** closer look at the **cost-benefit-analyses** that one could expect from democratic governments **reveals**, however, **that there are** also **important reasons to refrain from engaging in democracy promotion** (cf. Bueno de Mesquita/Downs 2006: 631-632). The fundamental problem is that **promoting democracy implies promoting democratization, and democratization is** a complex and **conflict-ridden** process of political change. This results first in a time-consistency problem: Democratization and, thus, democracy promotion is a middle- to long-run endeavor and (potential) rewards do not come quickly, but costs are immediate. In a rationalist framework, however, a democratic government does only aim at being re-elected (cf. Ray 2003; Bueno de Mesquita u.a. 1999), and in his electoral decision **the utilitarian** citizen **weighs tangible costs and benefits.** To invest in the long-term project of democracy promotionbecomes even less rational when, second, rewards are not only delayed, but highly insecure. Yet, research on democratization tells us that **democratization processes** can **have diverse outcomes, and a stable liberal democracy is** only one, **an**d perhaps rather **unlikely, result** (cf. Carothers 2002; Schmitter 1995). Third, **potential rewards from successful democratization have to be weighed against the** potential **costs** that evolve **from the risks inherent to democratization** processes. **Even if democracy should in fact** have all the benefits mentioned above and reliably **contribute to peace and security**, cooperation and welfare, **this instrumental value of democracy is heavily disputed for countries undergoing** a process of **regime change or remaining "stuck" in a gray zone between autocratic and democratic rule** (cf. Goldsmith 2008; Spanger/Wolff 2007a). As regards intra- and inter-state peace, **research has** even **pointed towards a** possible **conflict-enhancing effect of democratization** (cf. Snyder 2000; Mansfield/Snyder 2005).6 Fourth, **a utilitarian approach to democracy promotion presupposes that the external actor** has the capacity to achieve, with appropriate efforts, tangible results — tangible results that can be "sold" to the domestic audience in the respective democracy promoting country. **Yet, given democratization's character as a largely internally driven process of political change, "the net impact of** external DPP I **Democracy Promotion** and Protection) **upon democratization is** likely to be only **marginal** in determining the outcome — **and, hence, singularly difficult to measure** **and predict**" (Schmitter/Brouwer 1999: Il; cf. Goldsmith 2008: 136-44). The difficulties of evaluating democracy promotion confirm this skeptical judgment (cf. Crawford 2003). The necessity to achieve tangible results refers, fifth, to the importance of relative power (cf. Monten 2005: 118). Having significant influence on political change from the outside with appropriate efforts depends on drastic asymmetries in relative power capabilities between "donor" and "recipient country". Sixth, every national decision to engage (or not) in democracy promotion encounters the well-known free-rider problem: The successful democratization of a given country is a global public good any country can benefit from (by cooperating politically and economically, by not being threatened anymore). Democracy promotion then requires either selective incentives (side payments) or close international coordination (burden sharing) that largely inhibits free riding. In the end, **the instrumental value of democracy** suggested by Democratic Peace research implies that a democratic state prefers for any given international "partner", other things being equal, a democratic instead of a non- or semi-democratic regime. This, however, **does not mean that utilitarian cost-benefit-analyses** of individual citizens or democratic governments **lead to a**n unambiguous and invariant **preference for** external democracy promotion. **On the contrary, democracy promotion is rational only under very specific conditions: good and relatively short-term prospects of success, low risks,** high asymmetries in relative power, **and** selective incentives or **close international coordination.**

### Women’s Rights/Gender Equality

#### Aff- Women’s programs are demo promo:

*(Tara McKelvey, esearch fellow at NYU School of Law's Center on Law and Security & senior editor at the Prospect, “Is Democracy a Dirty Word?” The American Prospect, http://prospect.org/article/democracy-dirty-word-0, Nov 19 2009)*

Democracy has a very straightforward definition: a government by the people, along with a respect for human-rights and justice. **The definition of democracy promotion**, however, **is** nothing if not **contentious**. **Activists in the field** have long **debate**d how **much emphasis should be placed on elections and how much** should be placed **on** **issues such as women's rights** **and** judicial independence. Traditionally, the tendency on the right has been to put more stock in the elections, which are a shaky measurement of a nation's level of democracy because results can be fraudulent (case in point: Afghanistan). People also can, and do, elect tyrants. In contrast, experts on the left have argued that a more reliable metric can be found by examining **a nation's civic institutions and** its **system of justice.** Obama's scaled-back approach to democracy promotion has cost him little or no political capital among Democrats, who feel burned by Bush's disastrous approach and are significantly less likely than Republicans to support democracy promotion. A 2007 Pew survey shows that 54 percent of Democrats believe it should be featured in U.S. foreign policy, compared to 74 percent of Republicans. Opinion polls show that across the board conservatives are more likely than liberals to say that the United States should help establish democracies in other countries. Americans at both ends of the ideological spectrum acknowledge that everyone in the world wants to live in a free society. The rift is over how -- or whether -- we should help them. Historically, American efforts to promote democracy abroad have been tied in with our economic or strategic interests. "To insist that the liberation of others has never been more than an ancillary motive of U.S. policy is not cynicism," says Andrew J. Bacevich, a Boston University professor and author of The Limits of Power: The End of American Exceptionalism. "It is a prerequisite to self-understanding." Decades ago, President Ronald **Reagan** made ridding the world of communism a core mission of the United States. He **placed democracy promotion high on the** foreign-policy **agenda** and helped establish the National Endowment for Democracy. Meanwhile, he maintained friendly relations with pro-American autocracies because he believed that they, unlike communist dictatorships, could someday make the transition to democracy. In the years since, **both Democrats and Republicans have spoken about democracy promotion with exuberance, often turning to the military for help** in achieving their goals. In 1989, President **George H.W. Bush sent** 22,500 U.S. **troops to Panama** to oust Manuel Noriega and, Bush declared, **to defend democracy**. At times, President Bill Clinton approached the issue in the same way. He announced in the 1992 presidential campaign that he believed in "an American foreign policy of engagement for democracy," and while he was in office he worked to expand the worldwide base of liberal democracies through a policy known as "enlargement." **Clinton put stock in** various **areas of democracy promotion, such as** **helping to develop independent legal programs** in other countries, rather than mainly focusing on elections as Republican presidents had done. "It became not just a moral thing but a commonsense thing because it was going to promote global prosperity," explains Simon, who served as one of Clinton's counterterrorism aides. **Like Reagan**, however, **Clinton was also willing to use force**: The U.S. effort in Haiti to reinstate President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was known as Operation Uphold Democracy. **George W. Bush took military-enforced "democracy" to a new level**. After failing to find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, Bush declared it was our national obligation to help Iraq become a democracy. "Our struggle is similar to the Cold War," he said in a 2002 graduation speech at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point. "America confronted imperial communism in many different ways -- diplomatic, economic, and military. Yet moral clarity was essential to our victory in the Cold War. When leaders like John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan refused to gloss over the brutality of tyrants, they gave hope to prisoners and dissidents and exiles, and rallied free nations to a great cause." Bush added that "America cannot impose this vision." But under his so-called Freedom Agenda, the United States sought to establish democracy at gunpoint and trampled on the rights of prisoners and terrorism suspects. Bush's language had "a self-righteous and theological flavor," as James Traub writes in his book The Freedom Agenda. According to Lt. Gen. Ricardo Sanchez, Bush's top commander in Iraq at the time, Bush said during the Fallujah battle in April 2004, "If somebody tries to stop the march to democracy, we will seek them out and kill them! ... Our will is being tested, but we are resolute. We have a better way. Stay strong! Stay the course!" In Obama's speeches that mention democracy, he is careful to set himself apart from Bush's vision. In a Sept. 23 address to the United Nations, **Obama said**, "Democracy cannot be imposed on any nation from the outside. Each society must search for its own path, and no path is perfect. Each country will pursue a path rooted in the culture of its people, and -- in its past traditions -- **America has too often been selective in its promotion of democracy**. But that does not weaken our commitment; it only reinforces it." Most of the **people who work in the field of democracy promotion** in Washington agree with Obama's positions. But they have made clear that one of the hallmarks of Bush's approach -- the promotion of free elections -- is not the most important way to foster democracy in other countries. In fact, they are quick to point out that free elections are often illusory because autocratic leaders rig the vote count. Instead, democracy advocates **argue, the U.S. government should** help **provide assistance for other forms of democracy-building, such as resources for women's groups, public-health initiatives, agricultural projects, and other ways to help strengthen a nation so that democracy may someday take root.** Indeed, this is basically what Obama wants to do. However, the people who work in democracy assistance would like Obama to restore the role of democracy promotion as a central part of the foreign policy -- minus the hysteria and warfare of the Bush administration. For the past three years, democracy has been on the decline in dozens of countries, according to Freedom House. In countries like Russia, Uzbekistan, Egypt, and Venezuela, "representatives of democracy assistance NGOs have been harassed, offices closed, and staff expelled," according to a report by the National Endowment for Democracy. The situation is worse for people who are living in other countries and have received U.S. grants for democracy promotion, since some of them "have been threatened, assaulted, prosecuted, imprisoned, and even killed." Democracy activists in Islamabad, Cairo, Addis Adaba, and in other cities around the world are justly concerned about whether they will continue to have the support of the United States as they push for reform. While the budget for democracy promotion has increased overall, funding for important regional projects, such as independent civil-society groups in the Middle East and North Africa, has been reduced by 29 percent. In Egypt, where bloggers and journalists have been arrested, imprisoned, and even raped, U.S. funding for democracy programs has been cut by approximately 50 percent, to roughly $22 million. Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak has imposed restrictions on American funds for democracy groups. Only those organizations that have been approved by the Egyptian government are eligible for the money, providing Mubarak with "a local veto over U.S. aid," according to a June 6 op-ed in The Wall Street Journal. Bush pushed back against these restrictions, but Mubarak demanded they be reinstated earlier this year, and U.S. State Department officials accepted the change. Several U.S. Embassy officials "have sought to distance themselves from civil society and human rights leaders who were not favored by the host government," according to a July 2009 report by Freedom House. Without the explicit support of the United States, these local leaders could be jailed, beaten, or worse. A Kabul-born psychologist who lives in Washington says that if Americans do not support the Afghan women who took to the streets earlier this year in order to secure rights, whether through government grants or public statements of solidarity, then "they will be lost." The Obama administration has made a deliberate decision to focus on the overall relationship that the United States has with countries like Egypt, placing an emphasis on areas such as trade and terrorism and downplaying troublesome issues like democracy. "Look, I think it's an issue," says Steven A. Cook, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations. "I think we should not allow the country in question to dictate how we spend our taxpayer dollars, but it shows that the Obama administration wants to see a relationship in its entirety. They're making these kinds of compromises." Obama's more culturally sensitive approach to democracy promotion is clearly better than the cowboy stance that was favored by Bush. Some advocates defend Obama, explaining he has not turned his back on democracy promotion, just adopted a subtler way of discussing it. Administration officials understand that simply granting people the right to vote does not guarantee a free society, and they seem to believe that it is better to eschew symbols in favor of carrying out pragmatic work on the ground. And yet the pendulum may have swung too far in the other direction, say other democracy advocates. Obama has become so restrained that he has allowed autocrats like Mubarak to get away with extraordinary demands on the awarding of U.S. aid, sending a signal to leaders of repressive nations that democracy abroad is not a fundamental concern of his administration. **Democracy promotion is an art, not a science**. There is no empirical data that shows that authoritarian regimes respond to U.S. pro-democracy programs by scaling back repressive policies or that humanitarian missions are less effective at helping a country make progress toward democracy. As Michael McFaul, who is currently serving on the National Security Council, points out, "If the domestic conditions aren't ripe, there will be no democratic breakthrough, no matter how crafted the technical assistance or how strategically invested the small grants." That does not mean that U.S. democracy assistance is worthless -- just that the metrics for it are a bit fuzzy. **People** like Marks **who are experienced in on-the-ground democracy promotion know that sometimes it's better to take the long view.** Over the past five years, Marks has visited Chad, Congo, and other countries in Africa **and watch**ed **people take incremental steps toward** more **democratic societies**. On one of his visits to Congo, as he recalls, he saw a clunky old car, a Peugeot that was built in the 1960s, on a highway, not far from the capital city of Kinshasa. A stick of wood was propping up the hood of the car, bags and people were piled inside, and it could "hardly putter along."

#### Aff- Demo helps women (health, wellness, & rights):

*(Jalil Safaei, fellow of the Royal Society for Public Health in United Kingdom, affiliate with the Center for Health Services and Policy Research at the University of British Columbia & associate professor of economics at the University of Northern British Columbia in Canada, “Democracy, Human Rights and Women's Health,” Mens Sana Monographs, vol 10, no 1, http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3353593/, Jan 2012)*

Despite some advances in gender equality over the past several decades, **women have taken the brunt of human rights violations and endured disproportional suffering** as a result. **They have paid** dearly **with** their health and **their lives**. **The heavy toll on women's health** and well-being **is** mostly **attributed to** their **unique vulnerabilities which include, among other things, risks of sexual** exploitation and **violence** (UNICEF, 2003[13]; WHO, 2005[16]; Sen et al.,2006[11]; Gross et al.,2006[5]; Naved et al.,2006[8]; Dasgupta, 2007[3]; Castro et al.,2008[1]); **reproductive health risks** (WHO, 2004[15]; Mathers and Loncar, 2005[7]); **child rearing and domestic work; discriminatory socio-cultural practices and attitudes toward women; and economic dependency and poverty** in many parts of the developing world (Pogge, 2005[9]; Sen et al.,2006[11]; Singh and Singh, 2008[12]; Safaei, 2009[10]).

To get a sense of the magnitude of women's ill-health and suffering worldwide, the WHO's Report on Women and Health (WHO, 2009[17]) indicates that, as late as 2008, about 1000 women died every day due to complications of pregnancy and child birth, including severe bleeding, after delivery, infections, hypertensive disorders, and unsafe abortions. Of the 1000 deaths, 570 were in Sub-Saharan Africa, 300 in South Asia and only five in high-income countries. As well, every year some 9 million children under 5 years, including 4.3 million girls, die mainly due to low-birth weight, neonatal infections, diarrhea-related diseases and pneumonia with a vast majority of it being neonatal deaths (WHO, 2009,[17] p.19).

**It is** now **well known that morbidity and mortality are** deeply **rooted in** the **socio-economic conditions** in which people live and work. What is often ignored is the fact that **socio-economic conditions are** very much **defined by the political structures that frame those** socio-economic **conditions**. **Moreover, the political environment and institutions directly interact with human conditions through respecting or violating human rights, promoting or repressing political freedoms and civil liberties, encouraging or discouraging civic engagement and self-determination, and creating or preventing an environment of hope and optimism for the future. Given the above-mentioned** vulnerabilities and the historical **evidence, women stand** a much larger chance **to gain from democracy** and respect for human rights **and lose from dictatorship and neglect of human rights.**

**In an earlier study** (Safaei, 2009[10]) **the direct and indirect effects of democracy** and respect for human rights **on women's health were outlined** using a conceptual model. **The present study complements the former by providing empirical evidence on the links between democracy** and human rights **on women's** and children’ **health while controlling for other confounding factors such as income, education, fertility and expenditure on healthcare using a large sample of countries around the world.**

#### Neg- Women aren’t deprived of education:

*(Marina Ottaway [Carnegie Endowment], “The Limits of Women’s Rights,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

Educational Rights **Access to education varies widely among Arab countries for both boys and girls.**  For example, among primary school age children, **98 percent attend school in Tunisia, but only 57 percent in Saudi Arabia. In most countries, more boys attend primary school than girls, but the difference is quite low** in some countries —two percentage points in Tunisia and three in Algeria—but dramatic in others —44 percent of girls and 76 percent of boys are in primary school in Yemen, for example. **In Bahrain, the UAE, and Qatar, more girls than boys attend primary school. When it comes to secondary education, the enrollment rate for women is higher than for men in Algeria, Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Qatar, Tunisia, and the UAE. In tertiary education, more women than men attend school in six countries**.5 In cases, the difference is some considerable: In Kuwait 13 percent of men and 30 percent of women are enrolled in tertiary education. Except in a few countries, **thus, Arab women are no more education-deprived than Arab men.**

#### Neg- Women’s rights programs aren’t demo promo:

*(Marina Ottaway [Carnegie Endowment], “The Limits of Women’s Rights,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**Support for women's rights in the Arab world is seen in the U**nited **S**tates **as part of the effort to promote democracy in the region. Yet, the relationship between women's rights and democracy is not simple. The idea that working for women's rights is an integral part of the struggle for democracy is** in part a tautology and in part **simply wrong.** The statement is tautological in the sense that democracy entails equality for all citizens, thus promoting women's rights means promoting democracy. But **democracy** also **entails** creating **institutions that are accountable to** the **citizens** **and curb** one another's **power through** a system of **checks and balances.** **The existence of such institutions does not depend on the rights of women. These institutions** can thrive, and **have thrived historically, even when women do not enjoy the same** political and civil **rights as men. Conversely, states that did not have accountable institutions or** a system of **checks and balances have recognized the equality of women**, historically and even now. **Socialist countries** in particular **emphasized** that they promoted **the equality of women** better than Western countries, **while in practice curtailing the political and civil rights of all citizens. In countries that started developing democratic systems before World War Il,** **democratic** political **institutions were established over a hundred years before** the political rights of women were recognized or even before **women's rights emerged as an issue.** The United States and Great Britain started developing democratic strong institutions without the benefit of women's suffrage or even of universal male suffrage. Political participation in both countries was originally quite limited. Over the course of the nineteenth century, participation expanded to include the male population—at least the white male population in the United States. Resistance to women's participation continued unabated until 1918 in Great Britain and 1920 in the United States. The battle for women's suffrage was quite difficult in both countries. Although in retrospect the outcome seems inevitable, it did not appear so at the time. Social values and customs prevented the recognition of equal rights for women, in the same way as they once prevented the recognition of equal rights of racial minorities in the United States. Once women became mobilized, however, the democratic nature of the political system made the outcome inevitable because only a degree of repression untenable in a democratic system could have stopped women from demanding equal rights. Despite widespread social prejudice against women's rights, democratic principles left no other choice. The inclusion of women was part and parcel of democratic consolidation, as was the inclusion of racial minorities in the United States forty years later. The existence of democratic institutions and of a democratic culture and tradition made the inclusion of women and ethnic minorities inevitable in the long run. After World War Il, and in some countries even earlier, the recognition of women's political and civil rights has become routine everywhere, including in countries that did not or do not embrace democracy. What has been historically a dramatic breakthrough toward democratic consolidations has turned almost everywhere into an idea to which almost all countries in the world pay homage, although in reality politics and governance remain a male prerogative almost everywhere. But **recognition of women's rights has not automatically made political systems more** pluralistic or more **likely to develop democratic institutions**. This is quite clear in the Arab world today. Those Arab states that recognize some political rights of citizens—such as being able to elect legislative assemblies —also recognize the political rights of women. Kuwait, which does not recognize political rights for women, is a real anomaly in this regard. **What keeps Arab countries from being democratic is not the exclusion of women, but the fact that** elected **institutions** have very little power and **impose no** effective **checks on monarchs** who govern as well as rule and on presidents whose power base is in the security forces or a strong party. **The struggle for women's rights and** **the** core **struggle to achieve democracy** that is, to reduce the excessive and arbitrary power of the executive—**must be seen as separate processes** in the Arab world today. Progress toward democracy in the Arab world depends on the emergence of countervailing forces and organized groups that the government cannot ignore and that have to be accommodated in the political system. **Simply including women in a hollow political process does nothing** to create such countervailing forces. **This does not mean that the promotion of equal rights for women has to wait** until countervailing forces emerge or political institutions that curb the excessive power of the executive are put in place. Certainly, the two battles can be waged simultaneously. **There should be no illusion, however**, either **that promoting women's rights will lead to democracy** or that the emergence of institutions of checks and balances will automatically solve the problem of equality for women. President Bush has declared that **the United States** "will consistently challenge the enemies of reform," but there is no challenge to the real opponents of democracy in MEPI's **projects**, particularly projects **that target** **women**. Generally small contributions to the democratization of the region, programs of this kind are unlikely to make a difference. While innocuous, the projects do not affect the distribution of power and **do nothing to make it more difficult for governments to contain political liberalization** and prevent the development of true opposition groups. The very concept of "partnership" with governments and civil society organizations on which MEP I is based precludes the enactment of that incumbent programs governments do not like. **Instead, there is a real risk that** authoritarian or semiauthoritarian **governments may use** MEPI **projects as a means to bolster their reformist credentials without** substantially **increasing** **political**, economic, or social **space**. **In conclusion, it is difficult to see** MEPI **projects that focus on women** **as** part, **even a modest part, of a strategy of democracy promotion.**

#### Neg- Conflating women’s rights & demo promo hurts both goals:

*(Marina Ottaway [Carnegie Endowment], “The Limits of Women’s Rights,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**Advancing women's rights in the Arab world is an important goal**, and the United States should continue to pursue it **in the name of** equity and **justice**. Improving the position of women might also have a favorable impact on economic growth, children's welfare, and fertility rates, as has been the case in other countries**. There should be no illusion, however, that pressuring Arab governments to recognize the rights of women** and undertaking projects to improve their lives **addresses** the most fundamental **obstacles to democracy: the unchecked power of strong executives.** **Promoting democracy and promoting women's rights** need to be recognized as tasks that **require different approaches. Whether and how the U**nited **S**tates **could contribute to the democratic transformation of the Middle East** at present **is an issue** that goes **beyond the scope of this chapter. It is clear, however, that it cannot do so through programs that advance the rights of women and opportunities for them.** **Confusing the advancement of women and the advancement of democracy is not only incorrect but also dangerous in the atmosphere of deep distrust of the U**nited **S**tates **that already exists in the Middle East. Conflating democracy and the advancement of women encourages liberal Arabs, who are already doubtful about the U.S. commitment to democracy, to become even more skeptical**—**the U**nited **S**tates **has chosen to teach girls to read instead of confronting autocratic governments. Conservative Arabs,** who already tend to **interpret the moral degeneration** (in their eyes) **of the West to be a result of democracy, worry even more when U.S. officials talk about democracy and trying to change the position of women in their societies. The identification of democracy and women's rights leads to sinister** interpretations and unintended **consequences in the Arab world**. **There is great need for the U.S. government** not only **to rethink the nexus of democracy and the promotion of women**, but also to become more sensitive to the great gap that separates what U.S. officials say and what different Arab constituencies hear.

#### Neg- U.S. programs targeting M.E. women aren’t demo promo & are counterproductive:

*(Marina Ottaway [Carnegie Endowment], “The Limits of Women’s Rights,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

In view of the above considerations, it is clear that **overgeneralizations about the conditions of women in the Arab world**, their empowerment and rights, **are dangerous**. **Such generalizations risk making U.S. assistance ineffective. The curtailing of political rights in the Arab world is not primarily a women's issue and should not be treated as if it were.** **Putting in place programs to get more women elected to** powerless **parliaments neither empowers women nor promotes democracy.** Access to education remains a serious problem for women **in some countries**, but in others **women are already better educated than men**, and the real problem for them is the absence of opportunities to use their education and knowledge once they graduate. **Educated** urban **women** in North Africa or Egypt **encounter problems that are quite similar to those women confront**ed **everywhere** until recently—**the slow breakdown of the barrier separating women's and men's roles, traditions that curtail the freedom of women under the guise of protecting them, and men's resistance the professional to advancement of women. They know a lot better than outsiders what are the real problems they face and what they can do about them**. Rural women in Yemen, deprived of access to education and any public role, face completely different problems and probably need more outside support. **Thus, it is not sufficient to talk about promoting the position of women in the Arab world, or increasing educational opportunities for them.**  Different countries, and **different groups of women, need different reforms,** including some **in which U.S. agencies should not meddle.**

#### Neg- Turn- U.S. involvement is worse for women (backlash):

*(Marina Ottaway [Carnegie Endowment], “The Limits of Women’s Rights,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**Reforms of family status laws are likely to emerge as the major battleground for women in the Middle East. Such reforms are crucial to improving the conditions of women. New laws do not change social attitudes instantaneously;** indeed, **in some cases they make** the **conservative elements more combative**, but in the long run they help create more opportunities for women. However, **these reforms are politically and culturally sensitive, and involvement** or, in the eyes of some, interference **by the U**nited **S**tates **could create** a **serious backlash. Already, the more conservative Islamist organizations condemn U.S. efforts to promote greater social and political participation by women, claiming** that **it would eventually lead to** social **promiscuity** and license **as** happened **in the U**nited **S**tates.

### Economic Reforms/Development/Free Markets

#### Aff- Development programs are demo promo:

*(Thomas Carothers, Vice President for Studies at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, “Democracy Assistance: Political vs. Developmental,” Journal of Democracy, http://carnegieendowment.org/2009/01/01/democracy-assistance-political-vs.-developmental, Jan 1 2009)*

**The divide between the political and developmental approaches to assisting democracy** is quite basic. It **starts from contrasting ideas about** both democracy and **democratization and leads to** very **different configurations of** assistance **programs**. **Yet** this division need not represent a rift in the world of democracy aid. **There is more than enough room for both approaches. Both have a significant place in U.S.** and European **efforts in supporting democracy around the world.** In fact, given the ever more challenging international context for democracy assistance, the need for diverse approaches is only growing. **The division** between the political and developmental approaches **should be understood as** part of a larger process of **strategic diversification** that has been somewhat slow to develop in the field of democracy aid. From here, further strategic refinements should follow.

#### Aff- Economic reforms are demo promo & they solve:

*(Thomas Carothers [Carnegie Endowment], “Choosing a Strategy,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

On the basis of the record of experience, it is evident that although the gradualist scenario is clearly more attractive to most Western policy makers, it is difficult and has been only rarely achieved around the world. **Nevertheless, the most likely alternative in the Arab world**— semiauthoritarian **regimes** continuing to remain politically stagnant, **breeding increasingly radical** and empowered **opposition forces, leading to eventual regime collapse and ensuing political turbulence—is unattractive enough that a gradualist strategy of promoting Arab democracy needs to be** clearly identified and **seriously pursued**. So far, it appears that the **U.S. government's efforts** to promote gradualist transitions in the Arab world **fit into one of three different strategies**: focusing on **economic reform, indirectly promoting democracy, or directly supporting democracy.** officials—especially Some U.s. **specialists who have worked in** or followed **the region for many years**—are wary of more direct political approaches and instead **recommend an "economics- first" strategy**. In this view, **the core driver of** positive **political change is** most likely to be **economic progress. Such progress would help a truly independent private sector emerge and shrink the corporatist states that predominate in the region, which would** in turn **bolster a more independent**, vital **civil society and media as well as competing political elites less vulnerable to cooptation** and less prone to base their appeal on the widespread sense of societal failure and frustration. **Greater wealth would also spawn a larger, more independent middle class with access to more travel and education and a wider range of political ideas.** In this view, **therefore, the U**nited **S**tates **should concentrate** **its** proreform **energies in the economic domain.** The prescribed economic reforms are the standard market-oriented measures that the United States and the international financial institutions advocate around the world— **more privatization, fiscal reform, banking reform, tax reform, investment liberalization, and so forth.** In this vein, the Bush administration decided to make a major push on free trade with Arab agreements governments and articulated the vision of a U.S.—Middle East free trade area. The economics-first approach has several significant points of attraction. The underlying rationale is solid—**there is no question that economic success does tend to make democratization more likely. Moreover, such an approach does not put the U**nited **S**tates **in the** **awkward**, **and** usually **resented**, **position of having to exert political pressure on friendly Arab governments. Economic reform is a message that is** somewhat more **palatable to Arab elites, and it is a subject on which the U**nited **S**tates, **due to its own economic success, has** some **credibility**—in contrast to the serious problem of credibility plaguing U.S. declarations regarding democracy. At the same time, it should be noted that pushes for structural Western adjustment and other neoliberal reforms have been controversial and unpopular in some Arab societies (especially in those without a cushion of oil production).

#### Aff- Economic reforms are demo promo & they solve:

*(Thomas Carothers, Vice President for Studies at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, “Democracy Assistance: Political vs. Developmental,” Journal of Democracy, http://carnegieendowment.org/2009/01/01/democracy-assistance-political-vs.-developmental, Jan 1 2009)*

As the field of international democracy assistance ages and to some extent matures, it is undergoing a process of diversification — in the actors involved, the range of countries where it operates, and the kinds of activities it comprises. Strategic differentiation is an important element of this diversification—**democracy-aid providers are moving away from** an early tendency to follow a **one-size-fits-all** strategy **toward** exploring **varied strategies aimed at the** increasingly **diverse array of political contexts in the world**. **A defining feature** of this process of differentiation **is the emergence of two distinct** overall **approaches to assisting democracy: the political approach and the developmental approach. The political approach proceeds** from a relatively narrow conception of democracy—**focused**, above all, **on elections and political liberties** — and a view of democratization as a process of political struggle in which democrats work to gain the upper hand in society over nondemocrats. **It directs aid at core political processes and institutions** — **especially elections, political parties, and politically oriented civil society groups** — often at important conjunctural moments and with the hope of catalytic effects. **The developmental approach rests on a broader notion of democracy**, one **that encompasses** concerns about **equality and justice and the concept of democratization as a slow**, **iterative process of change involving** an interrelated set of **political and socioeconomic developments. It favors democracy aid that pursues incremental, long-term change in a wide range of political and socioeconomic sectors, frequently** emphasizing governance and the **building** of **a well-functioning state.** This basic division between the political and developmental approaches has existed inchoately in the field of democracy support for many years.It has come into sharper relief during this decade, as democracy-aid providers face a world increasingly populated by countries not conforming to clear or coherent political transitional paths. Such a context impels greater attention to choices of strategy and method. Moreover, **with the overall enterprise of democracy promotion** now **coming under stress**—as evidenced by the growing backlash against both democracy promotion and democracy more generally—**the democracy-aid community is** more **actively debating the relative merits of different approaches.** Some **adherents of the developmental approach criticize the political approach as** too easily turning **confrontational vis-`a-vis “host” governments and producing unhelpful counterreactions.** Some adherents of the political approach, meanwhile, fault the developmental approach for being too vague and unassertive in a world where many leaders have learned to play a reform game with the international community, absorbing significant amounts of external political aid while avoiding genuine democratization.

#### Aff- Demos= economic growth (empirical proof):

*(Sean M. Lynn-Jones, Editor of International Security, "Why the United States Should Spread Democracy", Harvard University’s Center for Science and International Affairs, Discussion Paper 98-07, http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/2830/why\_the\_united\_states\_should\_spread\_democracy.html, March 1998)*

3. **Democracy Enhances** Long-Run **Economic Performance**

**A** third **reason for promoting democracy is that democracies** tend to **enjoy greater prosperity** over long periods of time. **As democracy spreads, more individuals** are likely to **enjoy greater economic benefits**. Democracy does not necessarily usher in prosperity, although some observers claim that "**a close correlation with prosperity" is one of the "overwhelming advantages" of democracy**.32 Some democracies, including India and the Philippines, have languished economically, at least until the last few years. Others are among the most prosperous societies on earth. Nevertheless, over the long haul democracies generally prosper. As Mancur Olson points out: "**It is no accident that the countries that have reached the highest level of economic performance across generations are all stable democracies**."33 **Authoritarian regimes often compile impressive short-run economic records**. For several decades, the Soviet Union's annual growth in gross national product (GNP) exceeded that of the United States, leading Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev to pronounce "we will bury you." China has posted double-digit annual GNP increases in recent years. **But autocratic countries rarely can sustain these rates of growth for long**. As Mancur Olson notes, "**experience shows that** relatively poor countries can grow extraordinarily rapidly when they have a strong dictator who happens to have unusually good economic policies, **such growth lasts only for the ruling span of one or two dictators**."34 **The Soviet Union** **was unable to sustain its rapid growth; its economic failings** ultimately **caused the country to disintegrate in** the throes of **political and economic turmoil.** Most experts doubt that China will continue its rapid economic expansion. Economist Jagdish Bhagwati argues that "no one can maintain these growth rates in the long term. Sooner or later China will have to rejoin the human race."35 Some o**bservers predict that the stresses of high rates of economic growth will cause political fragmentation in China.**36 **Why do democracies perform better than autocracies over the long run**? Two reasons are particularly persuasive explanations. **First, democracies**-especially liberal democracies-**are more likely to have market economies**, and market economies tend to produce economic growth over the long run. Most of the world's leading economies thus tend to be market economies, including the United States, Japan, the "tiger" economies of Southeast Asia, and the members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Two recent **studies suggest** that there is **a direct connection between economic liberalization and economic performance**. **Freedom House** conducted a World Survey of Economic Freedom for 1995-96, which evaluated 80 countries that account for 90% of the world's population and 99% of the world's wealth on the basis of criteria such as the right to own property, operate a business, or belong to a trade union. It **found that** the **countries rated "free" generated 81% of the world's output even though they had only 17% of the world's population.**37 A second recent study confirms the connection between economic freedom and economic growth. The Heritage Foundation has constructed an Index of Economic Freedom that looks at 10 key areas: trade policy, taxation, government intervention, monetary policy, capital flows and foreign investment, banking policy, wage and price controls, property rights, regulation, and black market activity. It has found that countries classified as "free" had annual 1980-1993 real per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (expressed in terms of purchasing power parities) growth rates of 2.88%. In "mostly free" countries the rate was 0.97%, in "mostly not free" ones -0.32%, and in "repressed" countries -1.44%.38 Of course, some democracies do not adopt market economies and some autocracies do, but liberal democracies generally are more likely to pursue liberal economic policies. **Second, democracies** that embrace liberal principles of government are likely to create a **stable foundation for long-term economic growth. Individuals** will **only make long-term investments when they are confident that their investments will not be expropriated.** These and other **economic decisions require assurances that** private property will be respected and that **contracts will be enforced**. **These conditions are** likely to be **met when an impartial court system exists** and can require individuals to enforce contracts. Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan has argued that: "The guiding mechanism of a free market economy ... is a bill of rights, enforced by an impartial judiciary."39 **These conditions** **also** happen to be those that **are necessary to maintain** a stable system of **free and fair elections** and to uphold liberal principles of individual rights. Mancur Olson thus points out that "**the conditions** that are **needed to have** the individual rights needed for **maximum economic development are exactly the same conditions that are needed to have** a lasting **democracy**. ... **the same court system, independent judiciary, and respect for law and individual rights** that are needed for a lasting democracy are also required for security of property and contract rights."40 **Thus** liberal **democracy is the basis for long-term economic growth. A third reason may operate in some circumstances: democratic governments** **are more likely to have the political legitimacy necessary to embark on difficult** and painful **economic reforms**.41 This factor is particularly likely to be important in former communist countries, but it also appears to have played a role in the decisions India and the Philippines have taken in recent years to pursue difficult economic reforms.42

#### Aff- Demos= economic growth/solves poverty/decreases terror:

*(Mark P. Lagon, Adjunct Senior Fellow for Human Rights, “Promoting Democracy: The Whys and Hows for the United States and the International Community,” Council on Foreign Relations, http://www.cfr.org/democratization/promoting-democracy-whys-hows-united-states-international-community/p24090 , Feb 2011)*

There has long been controversy about whether democracy enhances economic development. The dramatic growth of China certainly challenges this notion. Still, **history will** likely **show that democracy yields the most prosperity**. Notwithstanding the global financial turbulence of the past three years, **democracy’s elements facilitate long-term economic growth. These** elements **include** above all **freedom of expression and** learning to promote **innovation**, **and rule of law to foster predictability for investors and stop corruption from stunting growth. It is for that reason that the UN Development Programme** (UNDP) and the 2002 UN Financing for Development Conference in Monterey, Mexico, **embraced good governance as the enabler of development. These elements have unleashed new emerging powers such as India and Brazil and raised the quality of life for impoverished peoples. Those who argue that economic development will eventually yield political freedoms may be reversing the order of influences**—or at least discounting the reciprocal relationship between political and economic liberalization. **Finally, democracy affords all groups equal access to justice—and equal opportunity to shine as assets in a country’s economy. Democracy’s support for pluralism prevents human assets**—including religious and ethnic minorities, women, and migrants—**from being squandered.** Indeed, **a shortage of economic opportunities** and outlets for grievances **has contributed significantly to the ongoing upheaval in the Middle East.** Pluralism is also precisely what is needed to stop violent extremism from wreaking havoc on the world.

#### Aff- Demos is a prerequisite to growth & development:

*(Anette Hubinger, “The EU approach: targets, expected results, instruments (II),” Proceedings of a conference organised by the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftunghttp://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\_11856-1522-2-30.pdf?110504154444, June 5-6 2007)*

**Proper governance of a country and** its level of **development are intertwined. It is clear that the existence of democratic processes is a prerequisite for sustainable development. These considerations have led to discussion**s in the framework of Germany’s development aid, **over whether** or not German **development aid should be tied to democratisation, in order to increase** the **sustainability** of development aid over the long-run. **Democratisation plays an important role in determining development** in some countries, whereas others do not develop.

#### Neg- Economic reforms aren’t demo promo:

*(Thomas Carothers [Carnegie Endowment], “Choosing a Strategy,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**Advocates of** the **economic reform** approach **are** often **skeptical of the** **whole idea that the U**nited **S**tates **should promote democracy in the Arab world.** Economic reform is their choice because it puts the day of political reckoning comfortably far off in the future and seems the least risky approach. They are usually willing to tolerate indirect democracy aid programs because they figure that such activities are unlikely to make much difference and are also relatively low risk. But **they are** skeptical of or **actively opposed to direct efforts to promote democracy**. Enthusiasts of the indirect approach accept that economic reform can have complementary value but warn against relying solely on it. They are often wary of the direct approach but are usually not opposed to at least giving it a try in limited circumstances. **Advocates of the direct approach are** sometimes **doubtful about the economic route, seeing it as** a cover for **little real engagement with democracy.** But they are usually favorable to indirect programs, viewing them as a natural partner of direct methods.

*(Judith Large, International IDEA, “Democracy and Terrorism: The Impact of the Anti ,” Madrid Summit on Democracy, Terrorism and Security, http://www.idea.int/publications/dchs/upload/dchs\_vol2\_sec4\_2.pdf, June 2005)*

**Current problems for democracy worldwide include the confusing of democratization**

**with economic liberalization, with its attendant flow of commercial goods, media**

**influence and images, cultural extremes as part of foreign investment penetration,**

**inequalities related to privatization and liberalization**, and the notion of ‘market

democracy’.

**Exporting markets does not democratize**, nor does armed occupation. **Democratization**

**can be impeded by the conditions related to a claimed ‘liberation’**, differing perceptions

of the occupier on the part of the occupied, unresolved grievances and severe basic

needs. **It cannot be gifted or imposed, but depends on the aspirations and goals of a**

**given people, many of whom historically have struggled** (by resorting to arms) **for their**

**independence, the United States, Israel, El Salvador and Kenya being cases in point.**

**Others have used mass movements, education and peaceful protest** and political means

for democratic change, as in Indonesia, East Germany, Hungary and the Philippines, to

name but a few**. In the USA and in Europe it has taken centuries to evolve democratic**

**forms. It is more productive to nurture home-grown forms based on indigenous culture**

**and institutions than to export attempts at a ‘one size fits all’ model. These processes**

**must not be confused with an international security agenda motivated primarily by**

**fear.**

#### Neg- Economic reforms fail to create demos:

*(Kristina Kausch, “Worldwide promotion of democracy: challenges, role, and strategy of the European Union,” Worldwide promotion of democracy: challenges, role and strategy of the European Union, Proceedings of a conference organised by the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftunghttp://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\_11856-1522-2-30.pdf?110504154444, June 5-6 2007)*

**There is** an ongoing **debate** in Europe **on how explicit democracy support should be**. Democracy promotion policies are motivated not only by the value of democracy in its own right, but also by its instrumental role in advancing a broad range of other policy goals. Where democracy is seen as a goal in itself, **the argument that investing resources in economic cooperation and development**, military cooperation, administrative reform and so on is the best way to provide a more favourable context for democratisation, is central to European policies. While **in theory** this **is a good approach, evidence suggests that a spillover from development or economic liberalisation to democracy, can often be elusive**. Moreover, **no** regular, **systematic** and independent EU-wide **audits** are compiled that **show the ‘democracy impact’ of these indirect measures.** More work is needed in this area. **Beyond the** very common n**otion of there being a link between political and economical liberalisation, there is nothing that shows** the exact nature of **this link: it is not clear in what way economic development and poverty reduction are actually helping democratic dynamics, and vice versa.**

#### Neg- Economic reforms fail to create demos, backfire, & any possible success would take too long:

*(Thomas Carothers [Carnegie Endowment], “Choosing a Strategy,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

Yet this approach has several serious potential limitations beyond the frequent public unpopularity of the recommended economic reform measures. **The U**nited **S**tates **has already been pressing many Arab governments for** years or even **decades** (for example, Egypt) **to carry out market reforms, with only very limited success.** Some governments have made progress on macroeconomic reforms, such as reducing fiscal deficits, but almost all have fallen badly short on the necessary institutional and microeconomic reforms, such as banking reform, tax reform, and modernization of the state. **Carrying out such reforms would entail a major reshaping of the way Arab states operate and their relationship with their own societies. These states have failed to follow through** on such reforms **out of a lack of will to confront deeply entrenched, politically protected, antireformist interests and a lack of desire to give up the political levers of control that statist economic structures provide. Although the idea that economic change should precede political change is** very **appealing, the** sticky **fact remains that governments lack the will to undertake far-reaching economic** structural **reform. Moreover, even if** Arab **governments actually implemented the full set of** recommended market **reforms,** **there is no guarantee that** high growth and sustainable **economic development would result. Many countries throughout the developing world have attempted** to achieve the East Asian— style economic breakthroughs (which themselves were not really built on the political reform accountability is undermines efforts and political precisely what to motivate Arab kind of market reform prescriptions contained in the "Washington Consensus"). **Very few have succeeded. South America is a sobering example of a region that in the 1990s** accepted and **implemented** a significant number of the recommended **market reforms yet has experienced only modest growth and is**  now **facing political turmoil and decay rather than democratic consolidation. Even if** Arab governments actually did get serious about market reforms and those **reforms led to growth** and development, **the** positive **political payoff might be at least decades away.** In East Asia, the link between economic success and political change took twenty to thirty years to develop. **Many observers concerned about the political viability of stagnant Arab regimes doubt that, given the rising demographic pressures and consequent political pressures, these regimes will be able to hold out that long.**

#### Economic liberalization solves terror:

*(James A Piazza, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, “Do Democracy and Free Markets Protect Us From Terrorism?,” International Politics Journal, http://www.palgrave-journals.com/ip/journal/v45/n1/full/8800220a.html, 2008)*

**Addressing the hypothesis that terrorism thrives in economically illiberal societies**, Li and Schaub (2005) devised a series of pooled time-series multiple regression analysis **models using a sample of terrorist incidents** in 112 countries between 1975 and 1997, and **determined that international trade and investment** (foreign direct and portfolio) **were negative predictors of terrorism** in as much **as** increased **globalization** of trade and investment **spurs economic development.** These findings are only a partial vindication of the contention that lack of economic freedom promotes terrorism because the investigators only consider one element of free market economic policy — state policies restricting international trade and investment and the global integration of national economies. Li and Schaub, it is important to note, also included a control variable measuring democratic governance, derived from the POLITY IV database, and did not find it to be significant in any of the 16 models run. However, **two** qualitative **academic studies** do **provide** partial **support for** at least **the argument that free markets reduce terrorism.** Kitschelt (2004), in **a descriptive study, associates** Islamist **terrorism with societies that** have **failed to support** the creation of **capitalist market systems and** have eschewed **economic globalization**. Although **his study is focused on the Middle East**, he states that this negative relationship between adoption of capitalism and integration in the world economy and terrorism may also apply to other regions of the world. Bergensen and Lizardo (2004), using a world systems approach, argue that waves of terrorist activity occur when globalization surges in the countries of the semi-periphery as well as when the dominant hegemon suffers a decline.

#### Econ reform key to M.E. peace, stability, anti-terror, democratic success:

*(Eva Bellin [Hunter College], “The Political-Economic Conundrum,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

Still, as economist Alan Richards has argued, **private sector—led, export- oriented growth is the only arrow** that economists have in their quiver today **to** promote **economic development.**27 And **clearly stasis is not an option for the Middle East given the region's rising** levels of **unemployment and declining living standards. The** modest **success enjoyed by Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia, and Turkey in reaping growth benefits from this strategy is** somewhat **encouraging**, especially for the middle income countries in the region. Its relevance for desperately poor countries such as Yemen or Sudan that are bereft of basic infrastructure is more questionable, just as it is for relatively rich countries such as Saudi Arabia or Kuwait with their vastly overpriced and underskilled labor supply. But **for all Middle East countries, some measure of economic reform seems necessary**, even though it does not point a clear-cut path to rapid success. **Growth** is likely to be slow to moderate in the near term, and although this **may diminish** some of **the unemployment and hopelessness that has fueled radicalism in the region**, it is unlikely to erase these problems any time soon. **This** analysis **suggests** only **a** modest **linkage between economic reform and democratization.**

#### Econ reforms solve terrorism, cause modernization, democratic stability:

*(Eva Bellin [Hunter College], “The Political-Economic Conundrum,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

**In the Middle East**, however, **there is** a simple, commonsense **reason to link economic growth with** democratization and even with **the initiation of democracy**. **One of the staunchest impediments to democratization in the region has been the spread of radicalism**, and most notably Islamist radicalism, that has been linked to the embrace of violence and terror. **This radicalism has obstructed democratization** in at least two ways. First, **it has discouraged the natural constituency for democratization— intellectuals, professionals, feminists, and the secular elite in general—from making common cause with populist forces to campaign for political opening because they fear the radicalism of the Islamists**. Second, influential international powers such as the United States have refrained from pressuring authoritarian allies in the region to democratize for fear of unleashing the Islamist threat. **Were this threat of radicalism reduced, the split between secular and Islamist forces might be closed, and** great **powers might feel more secure about persuading their Middle East allies to embrace democratic reform. How would economic growth contribute to declining radicalism**? Although the cause of Islamic radicalism cannot be reduced to simple economics, it seems plausible to argue that **the pervasive unemployment, stagnating living standards, and general hopelessness found in much of the MENA region** help to fuel its spread. **Attacking these problems through economic growth would** likely **diminish** **the** mass **appeal** **of radical Islamists**, unplug key motivations for violence and political terror **and foster the moderation that is essential to viable democracy.**

#### Econ reforms might fail in the M.E.:

*(Eva Bellin [Hunter College], “The Political-Economic Conundrum,” printed in “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” edited by Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

This raises the question of whether economic reform would in fact deliver economic growth to the region. Economists are by no means unanimous on this matter. **In the short run at least, economic reform almost inevitably leads to economic** contraction and **decline**.25 But **even in the longer run, the results** of implementing the Washington consensus **are** mixed and **ambiguous**, and **there is no guaranteed "magic of the market**."26 **This strategy is especially hobbled in the Middle East by the region's poor endowment of skilled labor and infrastructure and its lack of clear comparative advantage in sectors outside of petroleum, gas, and tourism. These weaknesses combined with the problems of poor regional growth and persistent protectionism in the developed world make integration into world trade less promising a growth strategy for the Middle East** today than it was for the signal success cases of trade-led growth from Asia of the 1970s and 1980s.

### Neoliberalism/Capitalism/Imperialism Criticisms

#### Neg- Demo promo= neoliberalism:

*(A. Wetzel [postdoctoral fellow at the Mannheim Centre for European Social Research at the University of Mannheim] and J. Orbie [assoc. prof at the dept of poli sci and director of the centre for EU studies at Ghent Univ], The Substance of EU Democracy Promotion: Concepts and Cases, Google Books, Published by Springer, Feb 17 2015)*

**Despite the abundant literature on** EU **democracy promotion** (for example Jünemann and Knodt 2007, Magen et al. 2009, Youngs 2010a), **its substance has received little** systematic **attention**. When **scholars** address substance, they come to different conclusions about its nature. On a general level, the EU is found to promote liberal democracy (Carothers 1997, Ayers 2008: 3, Risse 2009: 249, Kurki 2010). In a remarkable number of cases, however, the EU seems to neglect the classical elements of liberal democracy (such as civil and political freedoms, checks and balances; see for example Held 2006: 56—95). Youngs and Pishchikova, for instance, **characterize** EU **democracy promotion as tending towards 'a technocratic, rules-export, governance focus'** (2013: 25). Similarly, Hout summarizes that the governance-related **strategies** of EU development policy **'display a technocratic orientation and are instrumental to deepening market- based reform** in aid receiving countries' (2010: 3). Holden analyses the EU's **democracy promotion policy in the Middle East** and comes to the conclusion that the EU **promotes hegemonic polyarchy,** the major thrust of **which consists of 'neo-liberal reform, the opening of markets, and legal and economic integration'** (2010: 608). Huber, in turn, sees a clear dominance of state-capacity building measures in the EU's democracy assistance in the Middle East and North Africa (2008: 53). These findings are also supported by Reynaert's study on the EU's policy towards the Southern Mediterranean countries, which concludes that **'the promotion of the civil society, the functioning of the state, and the core elements of democracy are oriented to the promotion of a market-based economy'** (201 la: 623). As a result, the EU is found to focus on the promotion of a good governance agenda (Reynaert 201 la: 637). Carothers sees European democracy promotion as following a 'developmental approach', which gives emphasis to socio- economic concerns, state capacity and good governance (2009). Börzel's work, which compares a wide range of target countries, suggests that the question of substance is not one of 'either/or', but of gradation. She finds remarkable variation in the ELI's activities, ranging from the promotion of reforms related to input legitimacy and supporting democratic government or governance to reforms related to output legitimacy and thus more to effectiveness (2009). In order to take these findings into account, we adopt an adapted model of embedded liberal democracy comprising both the core elements of liberal democracy and elements such as state capacity, governance and civil society that have been highlighted by some researchers.

#### Neg- Demo promo= neoliberalism, actively undermines democratic principles:

*(Raymond Hinnebusch, a Institute of Middle East, Central Asia and Caucasus Studies and member of the School of International Relations, University of St Andrews, Scotland, “Authoritarian Persistence, Democratization Theory and the Middle East: An Overview and Critique,” Democratization, vol 13, no 3, https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/media/school-of-international-relations/mecacs/workingpapers/authoritarian\_persistance\_democratization\_theory.pdf, June 1 2006)*

**Critical globalization theorists see** quite another outcome. In their view, **globalization** is **causing the transfer of power away from states and the empowerment of transnational corporations and international regimes (such as the I**nternational **M**onetary **F**und, **W**orld **T**rade **O**rganization **and** even **the Euro-Mediterranean Partnership**) **that seek to impose neo-liberal prescriptions on the Middle East.** This, they argue, is turning states from buffers against global economic insecurity and class inequality into transmission belts of both.55 In the weaker states of the LDCs, where **this** is most manifestly the case, globalization **deters** or dilutes the **democratization** that would make governments responsive to domestic rather than international demands, but **even in the developed Western core it drives a hollowing out of democracy.** **A symptom of this is the removal of** the large **economic issues from political debate as the neo-liberal status quo is frozen by international conventions**.56 **As a result, party choice largely disappears (all party programmes become similarly neo-liberal**, even though the Kuznets curve of inequality has again been rising in all the Western democracies) **and, as a result**, participation (**electoral turnout) is everywhere in decline**. **The growing role of big money** and big media **in** shaping **electoral outcomes biases them** in favour of the ‘haves’. **As citizens are de-mobilized, international networks of political elites listen to each other increasingly and ignore their citizens**. (A striking example of which is the way the British, Spanish and Italian governments ignored public opinion in backing the US invasion of Iraq; of course the counter example, Germany, where an election turning on this very issue resulted in the opposite policy, shows that democracy, if under threat, is still far from dead.) Could it be that, **as the core becomes less democratic while the periphery becomes more politically pluralized, what we are seeing is a convergence toward** varying degrees of semi-democracy as **all states** become more alike in **having** the forms of democracy but with **limited democratic content**?57 This outcome is compatible with older traditions of thinking that were always sceptical of democratic ideology: Marx’s view that great **economic inequality combined with liberal political forms amounted to class rule** is by no means obsolete. Similarly, Mosca and Michels both showed that the iron law of **oligarchy was perfectly compatible with liberal constitutional forms**.58 **This is the context in which one has to put** the impact of the new **American** hegemony on **democratization** prospects. The fall of the Soviet bloc removed not only an authoritarian model that had once seemed successful and worth emulating in the Middle East, but also the Soviet patron-protector that had allowed the authoritarian republics to stabilize themselves against Western hostility. The current international power imbalance is thus profoundly hostile to nationalist/populist versions of authoritarianism. But that does not make the unipolar international order friendly to democratization in the Middle East. For decades, as Anderson put it, ‘access to oil and the security of Israel have trumped the desire for human rights and democracy’ in US policy toward the region. The US government rhetorically demands democratization but, as many shrewd observers note, simultaneously generates conditions that make it less likely.59 To appease the demands made by the United states in waging its ‘war on terror’, local regimes are set at odds with the Islamists that comprise a large part of their attentive publics. The resolution of the Arab–Israeli conflict is the single most important prerequisite for extricating the region from the zone of war, but the deeply biased foreign policy of the United States makes that unlikely. Whatever the long-term effects of **regime change in Iraq**, the helplessness of the Arab states in the face of US aggression against Iraq **afflicted** almost **every Arab regime with legitimacy losses, and gave new credibility to Islamic radicals while putting proWestern democracy advocates on the defensive.** **It hardened the determination of elites to prevent a similar descent into anarchy in their own countries. Nor can the disorder** unleashed by the US invasion of Iraq **be encouraging to** disorder-averse publics in **neighbouring states who might otherwise welcome democratization**. **While regimes may** be under some pressure to **appease the U**nited **S**tates **with token democratization, the foregoing conditions provide a very risky environment for allowing such experiments to proceed very far. Indeed, what the US** administration **really seems to want is rule by a transnational** bourgeoisie (or **liberal oligarchy) responsive to its demands and resistant to indigenous ones.** While this is compatible with controlled political pluralization, **US interests are not** really **compatible with democratization.** This is because **democratization risks empowering mass forces** deeply **hostile to** the United States. As such, unless Middle East states incur US displeasure for quite other reasons (a fate Syria and Iran risk), most authoritarian regimes should be able to adapt to the demands of **the hegemon** by simply deepening their current pluralization for the ‘haves’. Conclusion **Authoritarianism is the modal form of governance in the Middle East for several reasons.** Extremely hostile **structural condition**s that include limited modernization, an unsolved national problem, and particular class configurations **aborted early limited democracies**. **Their authoritarian successors** found the resources to build robust modernized forms of authoritarianism congruent with this environment. These regimes **constructed** **institutions** incorporating sufficient social forces **to** enable them to **manage their societies**, thus raising the threshold of modernization beyond which authoritarian governance becomes unviable. While, **subsequently**, internal **economic vulnerabilities and global pressures** on these regimes **became substantial, the post-populist solutions adopted, economic liberalization and westward-looking foreign policy alignment, all allowed** an adaptive **pluralization of authoritarianism** (PPA) **while obstructing democratization.**

#### Neg- U.S. demo promo= global spread of oligarchy/neolib, prevents moves to real democracy:

*(Michael Cox [prof in the Dept of International Politics in the University of Wales & editor of Review of International Studies] and Takashi Inoguchi [Prof of polis ci at the Institute of Oriental Culture in the University of Tokyo & former senior vice-rector of the United Nations University], American Democracy Promotion: Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts, Google Books, published by Oxford University Press, 2000)*

**What US policymakers mean by 'democracy promotion' is the promotion of polyarchy**. Polyarchy refers to **a system in which a small group** actually **rules and mass participation in decision-making is confined to leadership choice in elections carefully managed by competing elites.** This polyarchic or 'institutional' definition developed in US academic circles closely tied to the policy- making community in the post-World War Il years of US world power and built on the early twentieth century elitism theorists of Gaetano Mosca and Vilfredo Pareto. **This redefinition of the classical concept as rule, or power (cratos) of the people (demos),** started with Joseph Schumpeter's 1942 call for 'another theory of democracy' and culminated in Robert Dahl's 1971 study, titled Polyarchy.s Ikmocracy, however, **is an essentially contested concept, and the polyarchic conception competes with concepts of popular democracy. Popular democracy is seen as an emancipatory project** of both form and content that links the distinct spheres of the social totality, **in which the** construction of a **democratic political order enjoys** a theoretically **internal relation to the construction of a democratic socioeconomic order, and democratic participation is a tool for changing unjust social and economic structures.**  **The polyarchic definition of democracy** had **achieved, in the Gramscian sense, hegemony among** scholars, joumalists, and **policymakers**, not just **in the U**nited **S**tates but in international public discourse in general. It is the conception that informed the 1980s 'transitions to democracy' or 'democratization' literature on Latin America and the 1990s 'consolidating democracy' literature. Smith's claim that 'academics across the political spectrum have come to something of a consensus as to what they mean by the word democracy'4 indicates the hegemony that **the polyarchic definition** of an essentially contested concept, and one that **is necessarily value- and theory-laden**, has achieved. **As a result of** this **hegemony**, sets **of assumptions that set a priori limits on the intellectual as well as political agenda are left unproblematized.**

#### Neg- U.S. demo promo= global spread of oligarchy/neolib, prevents moves to real democracy:

*(Timothy K. Kuhner, Associate Professor at Georgia State University College of Law “The Democracy to Which We Are Entitled: Human Rights and the Problem of Money in Politics,” Harvard Human Rights Journal, vol 26, http://harvardhrj.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/V26-Kuhner.pdf, 2013)*

**Democracy has** increasingly **benefitted from international legal support since the end of the Cold War**. **International organizations have made elections a staple of post-conflict transitions**,2 elections **and** basic **political rights have become a strong factor in the recognition of** States and **governments**,3 and many organizations—including the Council of Europe, the European Union, and the Organization of American States—treat democratic governance as a condition for membership and good international standing.4 **These** and other pragmatic **measures facilitated the globalization of democracy in the years following the collapse of the Berlin Wall.** Between the mid-1980s and the turn of the century, the proportion of democracies relative to all forms of government soared from one-third to almost twothirds.5 **At face value, this** worldwide transformation **appears to make good on** one of international law’s earliest promises: **a human right to democratic governance**. In 1948, **the Universal Declaration of Human Rights declared: “The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage** . . . .”6 Several decades later**, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights** (“ICCPR”), a treaty ratified by 166 States, **affirmed these and other provisions on democracy**.7 **When** the relevant articles of **these documents are viewed together with the resolutions of human rights bodies, a demanding set of rights emerges, a “democratic entitlement.”**8 **This entitlement is so demanding, however, as to raise questions about whether the sort of democracy commonly seen in the world today is consistent with human rights law**. Consider that **the democratic entitlement requires “access, on general terms of equality, to public service in [one’s] country,”**9 **protects “the right and the opportunity without . . . distinctions [as to property, fortune, or economic status]** . . . **[t]o take part in the conduct of public affairs** . . . ,”10 **and requires all States to provide “[t]ransparent and accountable government institutions.”**11 **Encompassing** much **more** **than** **elections** by universal suffrage, **the democratic entitlement may not have** such **a harmonious relationship with the globalization of democracy** after all—**to wit, the** striking **role of private financial power in democratic politics worldwide**. **A** **2003** United States Agency for International Development (“**USAID**”) **global report on democracy concludes: “[p]ayback of campaign debts in the form of political favors breeds** a type of **corruption** that is commonly encountered around the world.”12 The report further notes that disclosure requirements are commonly lacking or unenforced, and characterizes 65 percent of the 118 democracies surveyed as having low or virtually no political transparency.13 Herbert E. Alexander and Rei Shiratori suggest that **these problems are not confined to new or developing democracies**: “whatever their stage of democratization . . . [**eight of the world’s major democratic] countries have witnessed the proliferation of scandals stemming from monetary contributions to gain political favors**.”14 **Read together, these observations suggest the globalization of democracy has brought the globalization of democratic corruption in tow.**

#### Neg- U.S. demo promo= global spread of oligarchy/neolib, masked with ideology that kills possibility of dissent:

*(Timothy K. Kuhner, Associate Professor at Georgia State University College of Law “The Democracy to Which We Are Entitled: Human Rights and the Problem of Money in Politics,” Harvard Human Rights Journal, vol 26, http://harvardhrj.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/V26-Kuhner.pdf, 2013)*

**Imbued** **with** this sense of **urgency** and excitement, early works within **the** newly minted **democratic** entitlement **school** **jumped** straight **to** certain **burning** **questions**: What was democracy’s status within positive law sources and the practices of international bodies? **How could democracy best be promoted**? What were the implications of a right to democracy for state sovereignty? Soon, **however**, it became evident that a number of **foundational issues had been neglected, beginning with the fact that democracy itself was** a highly contested concept **associated with both emancipation and domination.** **People began to wonder whether all types of democracy deserved to be elevated to the status of a human right, and whether** a human right to **democracy**, **as democracy existed in practice, was worth celebrating**. Writing in the final part of Fox and Roth’s book, several contributors offered critical observations. After defining the human right to democratic governance **in terms of popular participation** and popular accountability, Roth asserted: “**The universal franchise may allow all sectors of** the **society to select once every four years from among pre-packaged candidates of parties controlled by social elites, but this scarcely implies the rudiments of accountability, let alone genuine popular empowerment**.”39 **To** Roth’s **concern over accountability and empowerment**, Jan Knippers Black **add**ed a warning about **ideological shift**. Citing “**campaign contributions** routinely **in the millions** of dollars” **and** **institutionalized corruption**, she **described** the ideological purpose of **money in politics** in these terms: **[R]edefining** electoral **democracy**, redrawing its parameters **in such a way as to** . . . **equate free thinking with free markets** . . . to **such** an extent **that** **no matter how large a majority preferred that a function (e.g., campaign finance) be removed from the private realm or that a service (e.g., running water or health care) be offered in the public realm, such a policy would be seen as antidemocratic**.40 The procedural and ideological controversies signaled by Roth and Black serve the same basic function, as other authors pointed out: to limit the reach of popular sovereignty. In a separate article published that same year, Amy Chua called “**systemic political corruption**,” including subtle **forms** of patron-clientelism, **a “restraint on democracy**.”41 She described this restraint **as a response to “tensions . . . between markets and majoritarian politics.**”42 **The essence of these tensions is that capitalism** allows for (and generally **produces**) **great inequalities** in wealth, **while democracy levels political power**. **Economic and political power thus travel in opposite directions simultaneously**, leading to what Chua termed “the paradox of free market democracy.”43 Avenues for **money in politics allow economic power to serve as a** check on, or eventually a **replacement for, political power**. What Roth and Black had observed, then, were **mechanisms for resolving the paradox in favor of markets and against democracy.** Concluding Fox and Roth’s volume, Susan Marks elaborated on this paradox and its resolution. **Observing** “a great variety of **practices and institutions** . . . **consistent** **with** liberal **democracy**,” she noted “**little attention is drawn to** **the** diversity of the values, ideas and **principles that might animate those practices and institutions**.”44 **In particular,** Marks stressed **the difference between the “liberal preoccupation with** rights and **freedom from government control,** **and the democratic preoccupation with equal participation in, and accountability of, public power**.”45 She considered the liberal preoccupation to be winning out over the democratic preoccupation, lamenting the “obvious failures of liberal democracy, its omissions with respect to the historic promise of self-rule on the basis of equality among citizens.”46 The implication was that the right to democracy under international law could spread this failure globally. Thus, Fox and Roth’s authoritative compendium on the democratic entitlement ended with a warning: “liberal **democratic universalism” could end up subjecting democratic values**, structures, **and aspirations to “rule by the market.”**47

#### Neg- Demo promo doesn’t actually encourage demos/only serves capitalist elite:

*(Nelli Babayan [Post-doctoral Researcher within Transworld project at the Freie Universität Berlin] and Daniela Huber [Researcher at the Istituto Affari Internazionali], “Motioned, Debated, Agreed? Human Rights and Democracy Promotion in International Affairs,” Transworld, Working Paper 6, http://www.transworld-fp7.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/TW\_WP\_06.pdf, December 2012)*

How does theory reflect this issue? Firstly, Realism substantiates the view that **democracies prioritize “first order” security issues over “second order” moral or normative issues** (Hyde-Price 2006 and 2008). Miller has refined this argument by suggesting that **only under hegemony would democracies promote ideology abroad** – **by offensive means in a highly threatening environment** and by defensive means in a benign one (Miller 2010). Secondly, **critical theory adds an additional dimension to the question of** the **double standards**. **Robinson**, for example, **argues that democracy** and human rights **promotion does not actually aim at promoting democracy, but a democratic farce, serving the interest of a transnational capitalist elite in “secur[ing] the underlying objective of maintaining essentially undemocratic societies inserted into an unjust international system**” (Robinson 1996: 6). Thirdly, research on the democratic peace also contributes to this debate. While democracy promotion can be seen a long-term strategic foreign policy to reduce the security dilemma in international relations and so help establish a peaceful order (Ikenberry 2000), Mansfield and Snyder (1995 and 2002) have shown that transition states are prone to interstate, as well as intrastate wars. **Thus**, while **democracy** and human rights **promotion** might be a long-term security policy, in the short term it **is problematic**, which might explain why **Western countries do promote, but not prioritize, democracy and human rights.**

#### Neg- U.S. model of demos bad (elevates money as protected speech, ensures distortions in favor of rich):

*(Timothy K. Kuhner, Associate Professor at Georgia State University College of Law “The Democracy to Which We Are Entitled: Human Rights and the Problem of Money in Politics,” Harvard Human Rights Journal, vol 26, http://harvardhrj.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/V26-Kuhner.pdf, 2013)*

These cases represent a growing philosophical divide between the U.S. free-market view and the more egalitarian view taken by Canada and the United Kingdom. **In Citizens United** v. FEC, **the U.S. Supreme Court validated the use of unlimited corporate** general treasury **funds to purchase political advertisements** designed to oppose or support a particular candidate in the days immediately preceding an election.177 The possibility **that voters** could thus **be**, as the House of Lords had put it, **subjected to “overwhelming election propaganda by [whoever or whatever] has greatly superior financial resources” was accepted as a necessary implication of free speech.** This recanted the U.S. Court’s own statement in 1990 that “[c]orporate wealth can unfairly influence elections” whether such wealth is channeled into expenditures or contributions.178 In that case, Austin v. Michigan Chamber of Commerce, the Court had endorsed a new type of corruption that provided “a sufficiently compelling rationale” for restricting corporate independent expenditures.179 It defined the new corruption as “the corrosive and distorting effects of immense aggregations of wealth that are accumulated with the help of the corporate form and that have little or no correlation to the public’s support for the corporation’s political ideas.”180 Austin thus squared with the House of Lord’s concern over “overwhelming electoral propaganda” and the need for a relatively level playing field. Citizens United overruled Austin. **It is revolutionary in concluding that corporate money, regardless of** its **quantity** or superiority to the funds available to average citizens, **will** inevitably and **appropriately pervade the public discourse: It is irrelevant** for purposes of the First Amendment **that corporate funds may “have** little or **no correlation to the public’s support for the corporation’s political ideas.**” . . . **All speakers, including individuals and the media, use money amassed from the economic marketplace to fund their speech** . . . . Many persons can trace their funds to corporations, if not in the form of donations, then in the form of dividends, interest, or salary.181 **The Court even mentioned by name several of the advantages corporations enjoy over natural persons, advantages that** help e**xplain corporations’ incredible ability to amass capital: “‘[l]imited liability, perpetual life, and favorable treatment of the accumulation and distribution of assets**[ ]’ . . . do[ ] not suffice . . . to allow laws prohibiting speech.”182 **These moves** **by the** U.S. Supreme **Court reveal its conception of democracy as a free market,** a conception the Court is not shy about announcing. In **overruling** Austin and its **concern over the corrosive and distorting effects of wealth within the political sphere**, the Court gave this explanation: “Austin interferes with the ‘open marketplace’ of ideas protected by the First Amendment.”183 And yet again, something seems odd in the Court’s reasoning. To maintain an open marketplace, it is uncontroversial that the government must ensure fair play and competition by preventing monopolies from forming. This is reflected in the Canadian and European conviction that vastly unequal resources can lead certain actors to dominate the political sphere, decreasing the diversity of information available to the electorate. Yet the unregulated market principle extended by Citizens United, namely that “ideas may compete in this marketplace without government interference,”184 disregards that concern.185 The U.S. Court did express concern for corporations themselves, however, holding unequivocally that “First Amendment protection extends to corpo-rations.”186 The majority opinion alleged that limitations on corporate expenditures “muffle[d] the voices that best represent the most significant segments of the economy.”187 Justices in **the majority wrote** separately, in part, to further emphasize this point. Justice Scalia, joined by Justices Thomas and Alito, said **that “to** exclude or **impede corporate speech is to muzzle the principal agents of the** modern free **economy**.”188 These Justices recommended that we “[c]elebrate rather than condemn the addition of this speech to the public debate.”189 Chief Justice Roberts, joined by Justice Alito, explained the evil that must be avoided: “First Amendment rights could be confined to individuals, subverting the vibrant public discourse that is at the foundation of our democracy.”190 **Through** embracing corporate political participation and **rejecting arguments about the** undue influence and **distortion caused by immense aggregations of wealth deployed in politics, the** U.S. Supreme **Court** illustrated what it would mean to turn the ICCPR’s property proviso on its head. Five Supreme Court Justices struck down limitations on corporate political participation that responded to the tremendous wealth that corporations possess. “The First Amendment does not permit Congress to make . . . categorical distinctions based on the corporate identity of the speaker,” wrote the Court.191 As **regards** independent expenditures in U.S. law, there truly can be no distinctions on the basis of property. Legal entities that are themselves forms of property and possess no inherent dignity cannot be banned from speaking even during the thirty days before an election. **The potential of that wealth to overwhelm the political participation of human beings** **as** a class thus becomes **a risk that must be taken** in order t**o protect the greater** good and systemic **imperative—an unregulated political market**. The distinct conceptions of political finance reform examined above have demonstrated a number of pressing interpretive issues for the democratic entitlement, which are summarized below. The unregulated political market protected by the U.S. Supreme Court represents one extreme in terms of the choices available on each issue. The U.K. notion prior to Bowman that individual expenditures could be limited to $8 during the election period represents another extreme.192 The ECtHR’s rebuke to the U.K. and the subsequent installation of moderate spending limits represents a middle ground.

#### Neg- U.S. model of demos bad (money in speech undermines human dignity, subordinates it to money/power):

*(Timothy K. Kuhner, Associate Professor at Georgia State University College of Law “The Democracy to Which We Are Entitled: Human Rights and the Problem of Money in Politics,” Harvard Human Rights Journal, vol 26, http://harvardhrj.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/V26-Kuhner.pdf, 2013)*

**When combined with** the **provisions on political equality**, the language on inherent **dignity requires** some jurisprudential sensitivity to the importance of **democratic integrity**. **Undue influence is** a **relevant** concept if one seeks **to maintain equality and** to **respect the dignity of all citizens, not just those with economic means.** **The preamble’s provision on** conditions whereby everyone can enjoy his **political rights is relevant to Article 2’s prohibition on property-based, and thus wealth-based, distinctions. It suggests a State responsibility to maintain conditions in which everyone may participate meaningfully in politics.** This is precisely what the Canadian Supreme Court did when it noted that **the absence of spending limits enabled “the affluent** or a number of persons or groups pooling their resources and acting in concert **to dominate** the **political discourse**.”204 The U.S. insistence on an open market intolerant of restrictions illustrates the opposite position. **Thus**, the ICCPR’s provisions on inherent **human dignity, universal enjoyment of rights, and access to political office** on general terms of equality, **read** in conjunction **with Article 2, create a strong presumption against privatized political orders where citizens and candidates must “pay to play.”** In this view**, States that** create or **tolerate systematic advantages for moneyed actors within the political sphere are in violation of the democratic entitlement**.205 B. **A Deontological Focus on** Human **Dignity** The ICCPR’s (**and** indeed the **human rights** movement’s) heavy textual emphasis on human dignity carries an additional implication. It **resonates** **with** interpretive **approaches that view political participation as necessary for the full expression of human dignity. Whereas other approaches view politics as a forum for instrumental struggle, i.e., groups competing for** the sake of securing the best possible **legislative outcomes, a human rights approach would necessarily emphasize the importance of political participation for human dignity**—**that is, for membership in a community of** political **equals**, for being in every sense a citizen. **This summarizes the** perennial **debate between interest-group pluralism and republicanism, and suggests that human rights** law **must side with republicanism.** Consider **which of the following** two types of **democracy is most in keeping with** the ICCPR’s references to “**inherent dignity of the human person” and** the “**conditions . . . whereby everyone may enjoy** his civil and **political rights**.”206 **First**, take J ¨urgen **Habermas’ prescription: the “State’s raison d’etre [lies] in the guarantee of an inclusive process of opinion- and will-formation in which free and equal citizens reach an understanding on which goals and norms lie in the equal interest of all.”**207 **This is complemented by** Charles **Beitz’s view that “democratic politics creates an environment in which persons** confront each other not only to manipulate but to **persuade and so all must take seriously each other’s nature as a rational being**.”208 **Contrast these views with** William Landes and Richard Posner’s famous description of **interest-group pluralism**: **[L]egislation is supplied to groups or coalitions that outbid rival seekers of favorable legislation. The price** that the winning group bids is determined both by the value of legislative protection to the group’s members and the group’s ability to overcome the free-rider problems that plague coalitions. Payments **take[s] the form of campaign contributions, votes, implicit promises for future favors, and sometimes outright bribes**. In short, **legislation is “sold” by the legislature and “bought” by the beneficiaries** of the legislation.209 Note how **interests are pursued within interest-group pluralism: through competitive, economic means.** Given the forces in play, **a regime of unregulated expenditures naturally transforms politics into an economic market**. As Posner later wrote, “**interest-group pressures make elected officials frequently unresponsive to the interests of ordinary, unorganized people.”**210 **This concedes that representation has become a function of capital.** A deontological approach to the ICCPR’s provisions on political expression, association, and assembly would not credit economic expenditures as inseparable from the rights themselves. **The fact that money helps to disseminate one’s views** and expand the activities of political associations **says little about the experience of political participation; it says much more about the imperative of capturing** larger shares of **the political market through competition** with other strategically-motivated political forces. **To concede that modest political expenditures must be allowed in some contexts to facilitate** the enjoyment of **political rights is not to justify the present-day political markets that trivialize and marginalize affordable avenues for political participation. Interest group and market-based approaches** tend to **violate Habermas’ prescription for an inclusive and egalitarian process of opinion and willformation.** Notions of inclusivity and accessibility remind us of famous articulations, both new and old. **As** Thomas **Jefferson put it, “the true foundation of republican government is the equal right of every citizen**.”211 **This understanding led** Robert **Dahl to call democracy** those “**processes by which ordinary citizens exert** a relatively high degree of **control over leaders**.”212 **These formulations signal a linkage between democracy and human rights**. Part of the answer to why the inherent dignity of the human person is furthered by an accessible and inclusive political process comes from Ronald Dworkin, who writes that **“[m]oral membership [in political community] involves reciprocity: a person is not a member unless** he is **treated as a member by others.”**213 **The fact of membership honors a person’s equal dignity and** equal **status**. **Self-governance does this by determining that nobody, not high leaders nor notable citizens, should dominate anyone.** This refers to human dignity in the static sense. The other part of the answer relates to human dignity’s dynamism. **Take** Walt **Whitman’s explanation of this point, calling democracy a “formulator**, general caller-forth, [**and] trainer” for a most notable purpose: “to become** an **enfranchised** man, and now, impediments removed, **to stand and start without humiliation, and equal with the rest**; **to commence**, or have the road clear’d to commence, **the grand experiment of development, whose end** . . . **may be the forming of a full-grown man or woman.**”214 **From this perspective, it is absurd to argue that corporations** have a human right to political participation **or** that **citizens have a** human **right to unlimited political expenditures**. **Such arguments further power not dignity.** In this view, **democratic values should** be interpreted so as to **respect and further human dignity**. Indeed, the question at each stage would be: “is this particular form of political participation an expression of human dig-nity?” Marginal cases need not be excluded from the realm of political participation unless they detract from the rights of others. Possessing marginal intrinsic expressive value at best, and **diluting and marginalizing political participation by ordinary citizens**, corporate electioneering and **severely disproportionate expenditures are limitable**. C. What Is the Democracy to Which We Are Entitled? In the final paragraph of his landmark article, “The Emerging Right to Democratic Governance,” Professor Franck underscored the fact that “**the international system is moving toward** a clearly designated **democratic entitlement**, with national governance validated by international standards and systematic monitoring of compliance.”215 Franck recognized that the democratic entitlement had not yet been fully defined and that **improvement** was [**is**] possible, if not **essential, in the** evolving (and **globalizing) process of selfrule**: “The task,” he concluded, “is to perfect what has been so wondrously begun.”216 Having noted the widespread problem of money in politics, discussed the textual provisions of human rights law with applications to the same, examined the unsettled questions at the heart of those applications, and ventured an initial interpretive approach, this Article has begun a new discourse on the democratic entitlement. In fleshing out these new areas for reflection and legal development, **this** new discourse **seeks to make democracy a** more **resilient and meaningful system, one worthy of its status under human rights** law. **The** potential **avenues for achieving this goal have been narrowed by the exclusion of political finance from anti-corruption** instruments and **by the U.S.** Supreme Court’s holding in Citizens United. **The importance of human rights law in this field is clearer than ever**, a motivational factor that happily dovetails with the wealth of legal applications uncovered above.

#### Aff- economic growth is good for democracy and human rights/prosperty=tolerance:

*(Jack Donnelly, Andrew Mellon Professor and John Evans Professor at the Josef Korbel School of International Studies at the University of Denver, “Human Rights, Democracy, and Development,” Human Rights Quarterly, Vol 21, No 3, August 1999)*

**Democracy**, development, **and human rights have important conceptual and practical affinities**. Most obviously, international **human rights norms require democratic government**. Article 21 of the Universal Declaration states that "[t]he will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government." **Democracy**, although not strictly necessary for development, especially in the short and medium run, **may restrict predatory misrule that undermines development.** In addition, **civil and political rights**, by providing accountability and transparency, **can help to channel economic growth into national development rather than private enrichment**. The redistributions required by economic **and** social rights similarly seek to **assure that prosperity is diffused throughout society, rather than concentrated in a tiny elite. Conversely, those** living on the economic edge or **with no realistic prospect of a better life** for their children **are much less likely to be willing to accommodate the interests and rights of others.**

### Orientalism/Racism/Cultural Supremacy Criticisms

#### Neg- Promo is used to justify empire & bad wars/cultural supremacy/dehumanizing/not real demos:

*(David Rieff, “Democracy No!,” Democracy- a Journal of Ideas, No 24, http://democracyjournal.org/magazine/24/democracy-no/, Spring 2012)*

I have always thought George Santayana’s celebrated phrase that those who fail to remember the past are condemned to repeat it to be one of the dumbest things ever said by a smart person. It assumes the past repeats itself, which hardly seems likely, and that the past can be understood by posterity as offering simple moral lessons—history as a kind of McGuffey’s Reader writ large—when in fact history is almost never morally binary, but rather bears out Walter Benjamin’s saturnine claim that every document of civilization is also a document of barbarism. Still, reading both Rosa Brooks’s and Tom Perriello’s contributions to Democracy’s “**America** and the World” symposium [Issue #23], I found Santayana’s sentence coming unbidden to mind. For rarely have two pieces **illustrated** what might with only slight exaggeration be called **the will to forget the past**, and, as in so many of America’s foreign-policy follies, both **the triumph of hope over (even recent) experience** **and the belief that** this time **America’s good intentions in fostering** **a** global **democratic order should matter** far **more than** the **actual history** of U.S. actions from at least Woodrow Wilson’s day to George W. Bush’s. To put the matter even more pointedly, **after all the harm the U**nited **S**tates **has done in the** Arab **Middle East over the** course of the **past decade**—not least, the comparatively unremarked fact that the overthrow of Saddam Hussein seems to have led not to democracy but to a world-historical tragedy that will be remembered long after Saddam and Bush have become footnotes: the end of Christianity in Iraq, one of the oldest loci of the faith—**the only sensible thing to conclude is that** in fact **Washington is very bad at promoting democracy, and that, desirable as democracy** doubtless **is**, **its gift is not** and therefore must not be asserted **by** influential policy intellectuals to be within **America’s grace** and favor. And so, though I have no doubts about either Brooks’s or Perriello’s moral seriousness, nor that the world they would like to see would be a far better one than that which we inhabit today, **when I read** two former **members of the U.S. government calling** not **for** an end to **democracy promotion** and humanitarian military interventions by the United States, but for better forms of both, **I** really do **want to ask** them: “**Have you no shame?” Because** with regard to the American empire, **there is much to be ashamed about.** Obviously, progressive policy intellectuals like Brooks and Perriello (and their opposite numbers at places like the Truman National Security Project, The New Republic, and other like-minded venues, and in the work of writers like Anne-Marie Slaughter, to name the best rather than the worst of them) know perfectly well that **America has committed many crimes in its history**—**as all empires before us have** done, and presumably, after us, will do as well. Brooks in her piece dwells at some length on the historical flaws and faults of American democracy**. But for some reason this knowledge doesn’t** seem to **chasten** her and her intellectual cohort in the way that it should. **After mentioning the genocide of the Native American peoples, slavery, etc., etc**., and frankly acknowledging that America as premier global democracy promoter must, indeed, sound more than a little grotesque to any Latin American with the slightest familiarity with her region’s history, **they return to their default position**, which **is that America’s mistakes of the past should not** be allowed to **impede** **America’s** fundamental **commitment to the** liberal **internationalist project**, which is, at its core, about the instauration **of democracy** everywhere in the world where it has any chance of gaining a foothold. How is one to account for this? **How**, pace Santayana, **do the lessons of the past** seem to **weigh so little**? An as-yet-unshaken allegiance to a certain liberal, enlightened version of American exceptionalism—one, to its credit, leached of its triumphalism, its xenophobia, and its bellicosity—is surely part of the explanation. American democracy may not be perfect (far from it); but democracy at least does allow a people to set things right if they’ve gone off the rails, as the history of the United States is supposed to demonstrate. Doubtless, what might be called America’s Great Gatsby complex—that is, the belief that our past mistakes should not limit our future possibilities—is another. As Fitzgerald put it, there are no second acts in American lives. **And because we somehow are supposed to believe this self-serving, consoling rubbish, we have our moral guilt and our interventionism too. This allows** progressive **internationalists to** feel entitled to **note, but not be impeded by, the inconvenient truth that virtually all** major **U.S. interventions**—**from Woodrow Wilson’s adventures in Mexico** to the occupations in the Caribbean **in the** 19**20s and** 19**30s**; to the overthrow of Mohammad Mossadegh and Jacobo Arbenz in the 1950s; to Vietnam, **and the dirty wars in Central America of the 1980s**; and finally **to the** sanguinary **folly of Iraq**—**were undertaken in the name of** some form of **democracy promotion** or humanitarian or human-rights intervention. **But this time it will be different, they insist!** At least if done with—to use words both Brooks and Perriello emphasize—care, humility, and realism about what can and what cannot actually be achieved. Curiously, the first part of both Brooks’s and Perriello’s pieces make a powerful case for such a disengagement. Brooks’s refusal to idealize democracy in the way cruder advocates of democracy promotion—Samantha Power springs instantly to mind—have so often done, her reminder of **the blood that has been shed in the name of** **democracy**, her acute **sensitivities** not just **to the crimes** and failings **of the American past** but to those **that still mar the landscape of the** American **present** as well, and her **recognition of** just **how little**, from a practical point of view, **we actually know about which kinds of democracy promotion efforts work** and which do not, could be **read as a damning indictment of the whole project**. But then Brooks makes a precipitous U-turn and asserts that democracy promotion should remain “a vital part” of American foreign policy, not because democracy “is perfect or because we are perfect, but because democracy remains the only political system yet devised that builds in a capacity for self-correction.” Elsewhere, Brooks calls democracy “the human fail-safe.” Here we find ourselves lost deep in the dark forests of Fukuyamaland. Because **once democracy becomes the default position** of what nineteenth-century humanitarians called “the cause of humanity,” the political conversation is over, and **the debate is demoted from whether—which should remain the real subject of the argument—to how.** In this, Brooks is in the mainstream of the line of argument that liberals began to craft during the Bush years as an alternative to that Administration’s neoconservative Wilsonianism that sought a way not to throw out the global-democratic mission baby with the war-loving and American triumphalist bathwater. A particularly vulgar iteration of this view can be found in The Freedom Agenda: Why America Must Spread Democracy (Just Not the Way George Bush Did) that the journalist James Traub published a few years ago. For Traub, it was simply a given that American security depended on the progress of freedom abroad. And because democracy had “become a near universal aspiration,” we in the United States “cannot choose” to be agnostic about it. Brooks is smarter and subtler than that, at least, and keeps her categorical imperatives on something of a tight leash. But she still falls into the imperial trap of believing that it remains the prerogative of the United States to continue to put its heavy thumb on the global political scales to try to tip them toward democracy. To ask a question that is utterly absent from the mainstream debate in America (except, alas, for the egregious Ron Paul), **what business is it of the U**nited **S**tates **to use its enormous power and**, at times, its enormous **military** power **to promote any political system on the rest of the world**? Of course, **advocates of democracy promotion will argue that** we are not imposing anything, that **people everywhere want democracy. But that is what advocates of empire have always said, and that history**, which Brooks and Perriello seem so eager to dismiss, **should give us pause. There is something totalitarian in all this.** For **once one declares that democracy**, for all its faults, **is the highest form of contemporary political civilization, one is talking religion, not politics**—and not just religion but monotheism at that. **And the peril** here **is that, in such a narrative, anyone who does not jump on the democracy bandwagon** is the secular equivalent of a heretic or a pirate—hostis humani generis, as the old description of pirates went: **[are] enemies of the human race**. **And with such enemies there can be no negotiation.** They must go, or **we must overthrow them—in the name of humanity**, of course, and, per Perriello, according to the new humane codes of war making that we have now mastered. Improved operational capacities, Perriello instructs us, present “progressives with an opportunity—one that is too often seen as a curse—to expand the use of force to advance key values.” This claim is indistinguishable from Tony Blair’s 1999 declaration in his speech at the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations that in the twenty-first century, the West would fight wars in the name of its values as well as its interests. Like Blair, Perriello is explicit on wanting more **interventions**, which **in less Orwellian language means** more **wars**. And Perriello trumpets the overthrow of Moammar Gadhafi as the vindication of this worldview, even though it is anything but clear that regime change in Libya—let’s at least call things by their right names—will lead to a more democratic future in anything but formal terms. However, given the extent to which Brooks’s and Perriello’s arguments are now the conventional wisdom in Washington, our actions on “the shores of Tripoli” (the Marine Corps hymn; the most vulgar of Marxists couldn’t make this stuff up!) are only the overture to many more such expeditions “**in** the name of humanity.” Let the buyer beware. If **the debate about America continuing to promote democracy abroad** is a practical one, then **the practical reality is that** actually, as Brooks herself concedes, following democracy theorist Thomas Carothers**, we don’t really know what we are doing and rarely take into account** with sufficient seriousness **the unintended consequences of our actions**. **The Arab Spring**, heralded by Brooks as the legitimation for the Obama Administration’s cautious moves away from realism and back toward more involvement in global democratization, **should serve as a cautionary tale** here. For it is by no means clear that the overthrow of Mubarak (or, indeed, the fall of Ben Ali, Saleh, and Gadhafi, and the possible overthrow of Assad in Syria) will lead to more decent societies in the Arab Middle East, nor that these democracies (for they are indeed that; Brooks is right there) controlled by Islamist parties will be more “self-correcting” than their predecessors. **If the debate is about American interests, then** Brooks, Perriello, and those who share their view **[advocates] need to demonstrate why a democratic world order is necessary to** the **security** of the United States. For **despite the fact that this is so regularly claimed, it is anything but obvious.** At the very least, **there needs to be** more **consideration** than democracy promotion advocates and partisans of humanitarian intervention have been willing to give **of the costs** as well as the benefits of the American project of fostering, to the extent it can do so prudently, a systematic, universal, global change of all political systems that are not yet democratic. That would require a commitment that is actually far more radical than regime changes in a few countries like Iraq or Afghanistan. Only the belief that in fact democracy is what the world wants already, and thus, morally speaking, we are pushing on an open door, could justify such a swollen ambition. **We have been down this road before, and its name is empire**. If they follow Brooks and Perriello, **American policy-makers will** most likely **declare our actions to be** taken **in the name of human rights, rather than what the French empire called France’s “civilizing mission,” or what Kipling called “The White Man’s Burden.” But** at the risk of sounding like Gertrude Stein, **an empire is an empire is an empire. At this point in history,** surely **it is time to consider** instead **whether the moral thing for us to do would be to stand down rather than double down.**

#### Neg- Promo is used to justify empire & bad wars/cultural supremacy/dehumanizing/not real demos:

*(Ashley Barnes, writer focusing on democratic theory and the Middle East, “U.S. Democracy Promotion in the Arab World: an Undemocratic Project,” Muftah [think tank focusing on providing English-language analyses of Middle East & North Africa issues], http://muftah.org/u-s-democracy-promotion-in-the-arab-world-an-undemocratic-project/#.VuHjxfkrIgu, July 1 2013)*

Power and Domination **In a 2012 press briefing, the US Department of State stated**: **Our assistance is part of our foreign policy**. This is clear…the assistance that we provide is part of our overall strategy toward these countries. Now, **our** overall **strategy** **is** clearly **to support them going in the direction that we would want them to go in**, as you say…Now, if they are not, **if they are going the wrong way, we still engage**. We have to – **because we want to try to bend them in the right** – encourage them in the right **direction**. Perhaps the most frequently quoted remark in recent works on democracy promotion has been an excerpt from former US **President** George W **Bush’s 2003 speech to the National Endowment for Democracy [said];**  **Sixty years of Western nations** excusing and **accommodating the lack of freedom in the Middle East did nothing to make us safe** — because in the long run, stability cannot be purchased at the expense of liberty. As long as the Middle East remains a place where freedom does not flourish, it will remain a place of stagnation, resentment, and violence ready for export. As **both quotes indicate, spreading ‘democracy’ is inextricably linked to security and US interests. Democracies are more likely to** secure peace, **open markets, and combat terrorism** – and **these are the only reasons why Arabs should be encouraged to pursue ’democracy.’**  **These** types of **remarks explicitly assume that democracy is a means to an end, where the means are democracy, and the end is more security** and stability **for the US** and its allies. Yet the question remains—what happens if these efforts do not help to secure these and other US interests? A means-ends framework of any kind inevitably focuses on results. The problem with this in terms of democracy or self-rule is that results cannot be externally controlled. **This inevitably means that the U**nited **S**tates **will not accept all outcomes of democracy.**  **In 1992, when** the FIS, **an** opposition **Islamist movement in Algeria**, **dominated the first round of parliamentary elections, the U**nited **S**tates **did not flinch at** **the** military’s **cancellation of second round elections or the gross human rights abuses against Islamists that followed.**  **In 2005, when** the **Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood won twenty percent of parliamentary seats**, public **US criticisms of** the **Mubarak** regime **sharply dropped off. When Hamas won** free and fair **elections in** the Occupied Territories in **2006, the US not only rejected the results, but fomented political violence in Gaza.**  **To ensure that democratic countries in the region do not make ‘wrong choices’** when it comes to policies, **the U**nited **S**tates **must maintain coercive control over** important aspects of **a domestic political environment. Obviously, this is problematic**. If the United States exercises control over a country’s economic or foreign relations, it limits the policies that can be determined by national dialogue. **For instance, Egyptians may be able to discuss which new dam projects on the Nile to approve** or whether Islam is compatible with democracy, **but they are not permitted to reassess Egypt’s peace treaty with Israel or the United States’ preferential use of the Suez Canal.** **This is a level of control on par with** late **British imperialism in the region.** **The only way that Arab ‘democracy’ can be made to fit US strategic interests is one which is at base imperialistic. Democracy promotion is merely a euphemism for the exercise of** soft **power** – —cultivating allies, shifting debates, limiting possibilities—in the pursuit of this goal. This is a relationship of power and domination, not reciprocal understanding.

#### Neg- Promo is orientalist, imperialist, cultural supremacist, & anti-democratic:

*(Ashley Barnes, writer focusing on democratic theory and the Middle East, “U.S. Democracy Promotion in the Arab World: an Undemocratic Project,” Muftah [think tank focusing on providing English-language analyses of Middle East & North Africa issues], http://muftah.org/u-s-democracy-promotion-in-the-arab-world-an-undemocratic-project/#.VuHjxfkrIgu, July 1 2013)*

Born out of the US government’s desire to exercise control over Latin America, **democracy promotion has been a** practical **tool of imperialism for** the past several **decades**. Now, **with US sights set on the Middle East, democracy promotion continues to be used** not only **to justify** the brutal occupation of Iraq, but also to validate indirect **US involvement in the politics** and societies **of the region.**  Democracy promotion is usually conceived as a democratic country (the United States, most commonly), helping to foster the growth of civil society of in an ostensibly undemocratic, country. Theories suggest that, in these countries, the involvement of an outside player is necessary for people who make up civil society to engage in democratic activism. The hope is that creating these ‘democrats’ will empower civil society to rise up and push back against a weakening authoritarian state. **Most academics who study current American democracy promotion efforts in the Arab world agree that the system is flawed for a variety of reasons. Funding organizations do not consider the authoritarian contexts in which organizations work. They do not fund programs that are most needed in these countries, and are inherently biased in favor of western-oriented groups. U.S. strategic interests often do not align with the opinions of Arab publics, and the U.S. government generally lacks credibility in the region.**  However, though a majority of these studies find major fault with American democracy promotion strategies, nearly all of them to fix these problems. **The problem**, however, **is that democracy promotion cannot be fixed.**  **Created by and for the expansion of imperialism, theories of democracy promotion do not** consider or **appreciate the inherently undemocratic nature of the idea. US democracy promotion**, in particular, **is diametrically opposed to democracy.**  The Basics of Democracy Among the many variations in democratic theory, **the clearest factor distinguishing democracies from autocracies is the belief that regular people should play a role in governance**. What this role should be varies, largely based on differing opinions about the individuals capacity to assume this role. For people to be able to collaboratively make political decisions, we must start with three main assumptions: everyone is equal, everyone is capable, and regular people should be involved in making political decisions based on community dialogue. **These** three **assumptions do not**, however**, guide theories of democracy promotion**. By looking at democracy promotion efforts **in the Middle East, it is clear that the assumptions at work are orientalism and American self-interest** in the Middle East. It is **in these realities** that **the** clear **imperialist aims of democracy promotion are uncovered.**  Orientalism and Imperialist Political Culture **Orientalism**, broadly conceived, **refers to** Edward Said’s postcolonial theory describing **generalizations made by ‘western’ societies about ‘eastern’ societies and their repercussions. These ideas**, Said argues, **are intimately related to imperialist political cultures.** **Two prevalent orientalist generalizations about Arabs are pertinent** to this discussion. **First, a belief** in Arab passivity assumes **that Arabs will not or cannot move their own societies forward, and are thus subject to the will of external powers. Second, the belief that Arabs are irrational or incomprehensible is directly connected to their preparedness for democracy. If only intelligent, capable human beings should be allowed to take part in politics, ‘irrational’ Arabs would probably not fit for democracy. These assumptions inform decisions to promote democracy in the Arab world, as well as the projects pursued.**  The premise of **democracy promotion** efforts underscores two important problems concerning peoples’ capacity for self-rule. First and foremost, it **presumes that ‘we,**’ in other words **the United States**, **understand something about democracy that ‘they,’ the Arabs, do not, and have a responsibility to help these inferior peoples reach the same level of the United States. This sense of superiority and American monopoly on defining democracy means that countries on the receiving end of democracy promotion efforts are inherently unequal. At best, these efforts are a manifestation of the white man’s burden.**  **Second, democracy promotion assumes that the U**nited States **possesses the best framework for modeling democratic practices, and therefore should promote its vision of democracy** in other countries. **American-style democracy has significant flaws, however, in terms of equal representation, citizen participation, corruption, and media propaganda** that many around the world have criticized. I would argue that **the U**nited **S**tates **is woefully under-qualified to promote democracy.**  This is not to say that dialogue between people of different cultures or societies is unproductive. It is to say that **this particular type of encounter is not one of reciprocal understanding. Instead, power relationships are being played out – the U**nited **S**tates **has answers and the Arabs need them**, not one of a give and take relationship between peoples. **This is not a relationship on equal footing. Far from being a way to ‘help others find their own voice,’ it is an attempt to shape what that voice says.**

#### Neg- Promo is orientalist, imperialist, cultural supremacist, & anti-democratic:

*(Ashley Barnes, writer focusing on democratic theory and the Middle East, “U.S. Democracy Promotion in the Arab World: an Undemocratic Project,” Muftah [think tank focusing on providing English-language analyses of Middle East & North Africa issues], http://muftah.org/u-s-democracy-promotion-in-the-arab-world-an-undemocratic-project/#.VuHjxfkrIgu, July 1 2013)*

The literature on **democracy promotion posits that if the U**nited **S**tates **supports** nascent **civil society organizations, they will then demand** a devolution of **power from the state. This is a process that** consequently **conceives of Arabs**, in this case, **as passive recipients of US influence. They are not the main actors, nor are they considered fully independent players in a transition to democracy.**  **This is the fundamental problem** **of** orientalism and **democracy promotion; if Arabs are understood to be passive, irrational, violent, or backwards, how can they be allowed to rule themselves**? All theories of democratization hold that only rational, intelligent people can be trusted with any real form of political participation. As John Stuart Mill points out, “despotism is the legitimate mode of government in dealing with barbarians, provided that the end be their improvement.” **An understanding of Arabs as inferior or irrational requires that citizens be endowed with as little opportunity for self-governance as possible, while maintaining the vestiges of democracy. This understanding underpins the type of democracy that the U**nited **S**tates **promotes in the region.** In essence, **it is an attempt to coerce the very first element of self-rule**—the choice of **a**n appropriate type of **democratic system**—**but also demonstrates how democracy in Arab countries can be manipulated to fit US strategic and economic interests.**

#### Neg- “Middle East” is an imperialist term (language K link):

*(Irfan Ahmad, Associate Professor of Political Anthropology at Australian Catholic University, “How the West de-democratised the Middle East,” Al Jazeera, http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2012/03/201232710543250236.html, March 30 2012)*

Such a conceptualisation of the Middle East was articulated by imperial Britain, whose viceroy to India, Lord Curzon, wrote in the 19th century: "Turkestan, Afghanistan, Transcaspia, Persia - to many these words breathe only a sense of utter remoteness, or a memory of strange vicissitudes and of moribund romance. To me, I confess they are pieces on a chessboard upon which is being played out a game for the domination of the world." **Indeed, the term "Middle East" itself is imperial. "Middle" between which two points or locations? And yes, East of what? Clearly, it is a geographical designation which puts the West at the centre of the world.** In the late 19th century, Alfred Mahan, a US navy officer, invented the term "Middle East" and used it in his book The Influence of Sea Power Upon History. Halford Mackinder, a liberal imperialist of Britain, later popularised it.

*(Portland State University, Middle East Teaching Tools, “Geography of the Modern Middle East and North Africa,” http://www.middleeastpdx.org/resources/original/geography-of-the-modern-middle-east-and-north-africa/, 2012)*

**The “Middle East”** **is** **a term derived from a European perspective**. For 19th-century Europeans, the Middle East was differentiated from India and the Far East (Southeast Asia and China). Originally, the Near East referred to areas under Ottoman control, from the Balkans to the border of Iran. The term Middle East was introduced in the early 20th century to include the area around the Persian Gulf, and the Near East was used to refer to the Ottoman Balkans. After World War II, Middle East became the dominant term for the whole region. Because “**Middle East” is an outsider’s term describing neither geography nor culture**, **it is** an **ambiguously applied** name. **For some, it refers to the area bounded by the Mediterranean Sea, the Arabian Peninsula, and the Taurus and Zagros Mountains. For others, Egypt, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf states fall under** their description of the **Middle East.** **Still others use the term as a synonym for the Arab world, sometimes including Turkey and Iran** based on their proximity and linguistic and religious affinities to the region. Despite its foreign origins, the term “Middle East” has been translated and adopted into many Middle Eastern languages, including Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, and Turkish.

#### Aff- A2 cultural supremacy/imposition of values:

*(Liz Cheney, attorney & former Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, “Why America Must Promote Democracy in the Middle East,” http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/story?id=3611675&page=1, Sept 17 2007)*

**Some assert that the U**nited **S**tates **can't promote democracy in the Middle East because it is an** arrogant **imposition of our values. They ignore two key facts. First, the desire to live in freedom is a universal human desire,** not one only felt by those of us who happen to live in the West. **Second,** political and economic **changes are coming to the Middle East**. As a businessman in Dubai said recently, "All the old sheikhs are trying to brush the dust of centuries from their robes." Five years ago newspaper editors in Egypt were looking for ways to move their operations offshore out of fear that they wouldn't be allowed to publish in Cairo. Today an opposition press is thriving. Five years ago, no woman had ever run for office or voted in an election in most of the countries in the Gulf. Today they've done both. Five years ago, the region was dominated by men like Yasser Arafat and Saddam Hussein. Not anymore. At the same time, the forces of al Qaeda and terror-sponsoring states like Iran and Syria are strong and threatening. **Today's Middle East is at a crossroads with one road leading to freedom, and the other leading to terror** and fear. **America must support** those risking everything for freedom. **Democracy promotion** is complex. It is not without its setbacks and disappointments. But America should never turn from hard tasks, or seek excuses to retreat. **We've tried the path of supporting authoritarian regimes while ignoring their people's aspirations for freedom. This policy brought only a false sense of security and stability.** Promoting democracy in the Middle East today is smart and right.

#### Aff- Overlapping with U.S. interests doesn’t negate moral value:

*(Shadi Hamid [senior fellow in the Project on U.S. Relations with the Islamic World in the Center for Middle East Policy & former director of research at the Brookings Doha Center, director of research at the Project on Middle East Democracy (POMED) and a Hewlett Fellow at Stanford University's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law] and Steven Brooke [postdoctoral research fellow at Harvard’s Belfer Center Middle East Initiative], “Promoting Democracy Worldwide Increases US National Security,” Deocracy, Ed. David M. Haugen and Susan Musser, Detroit: Greenhaven Press, 2012)*

Promoting democratic reform, this time not just with rhetoric but with action, should be given higher priority in the current administration, even though early indications suggest the opposite may be happening. Despite all its bad press, **democracy promotion remains**, in the long run, **the most effective way to undermine terrorism and political violence in the Middle East.** This is not a very popular argument. Indeed, **a key feature of the post-[**George W**.] Bush debate over democratization is an insistence on separating support for democracy from** any explicit **national security rationale. This, however, would be a mistake with troubling consequences for American foreign policy.** Abandoning Democracy Promotion Is a Mistake The twilight of the Bush presidency and the start of Obama's ushered in an expansive discussion over the place of human rights and democracy in American foreign policy. An emerging consensus suggests that the U.S. approach must be fundamentally reassessed and "repositioned." This means, in part, a scaling down of scope and ambition and of avoiding the sweeping Wilsonian tones of recent years. That certainly sounds good. Anything, after all, would be better than the Bush administration's disconcerting mix of revolutionary pro-democracy rhetoric with time-honored realist policies of privileging "stable" pro-American dictators. This only managed to wring the worst out of both approaches. For its part, the Obama administration has made a strategic decision to shift the focus to resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which it sees, correctly, as a major source of Arab grievance. This, in turn, has led the administration to strengthen ties with autocratic regimes, such as Egypt and Jordan, which it sees as critical to the peace process. Some might see such developments as a welcome re-prioritization. However, by downgrading support of Middle East democracy to one among many policy priorities, we risk returning to a pre-9/11 status quo, where the promotion of democracy would neither be worn on our sleeve nor trump short-term hard interests. The "transformative" nature of any democracy promotion project would be replaced by a more sober, targeted focus on providing technical assistance to legislative and judicial branches and strengthening civil society organizations in the region. In many ways, this would be a welcome change from the ideological overload of the post-9/11 environment. But in other ways, it would not. Those who wish to avoid a piecemeal approach to reform and revive U.S. efforts to support democracy often come back to invocations of American exceptionalism and the argument that the United States, as the world's most powerful nation, has a responsibility to advance the very ideals which animated its founding. These arguments are attractive and admirable, but how durable can they be when translated into concrete policy initiatives? **In the wake of a war ostensibly waged in the name of democracy, can a strategy resting on gauzy moral imperatives garner bipartisan support and therefore long-term policy stability? In an ideal world, there would not be a need to justify** or rationalize s**upporting democracy abroad; the moral imperative would be enough. But in the world of politics** and decision-making, **it rarely is.**

### Counterplans

#### Neg- EU is better actor (credibility):

*(Thomas Carothers [vice president for international politics and governance at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and founder and director of the Endowment's Democracy and Rule of Law Project] and Marina Ottaway [director of the Carnegie Middle East program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace], Getting to the Core (Conclusion), “Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East,” Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Print, March 1 2010)*

As Marina Ottaway points out in chapter nine on the problem of credibility, **the United States has no credibility in the Arab world as a prodemocratic actor. The likelihood that it will gain such credibility anytime soon is remote. Arab publics, as innumerable surveys make clear, simply do not believe the U.S. government is sincere when it talks about promoting democracy.** Arab governments, while deeply annoyed at the criticism Washington metes out to them with increasing frequency, are not really convinced that in the end those rebukes will have real consequences. They do not believe that Washington will take steps that might destabilize long-standing allies and run the risk of making the Middle East an even more dangerous place than it already is. **A major reason for the skepticism** about U.S. intentions by Arab **publics is that the U**nited **S**tates **started pushing** the **democracy** agenda **at the same time as it started preparing for the war in Iraq.** One of the main **arguments used by** the George W. **Bush** administration **to convince Americans to support the war** in Iraq—t**hat the war would open the way for a democratic regime** in Baghdad and that the change would have a demonstration effect on the rest of the region—**has been given a sinister interpretation** in the Arab world. **When the U**nited **S**tates **talks of promoting democracy, many Arabs** have **concluded, it is really talking about forcefully removing regimes it does not like and replacing them with ones willing to safeguard U.S. interests. Democracy promotion is perceived as a dark, self- interested conspiracy** rather than a generous attempt to improve the lives of Arabs and make the region a better, less dangerous place. Some Arabs do not even believe that the United States is interested in reform, except in the case of antiAmerican regimes, where it wants their elimination. Despite the new rhetoric, **they are convinced, the U**nited **S**tates **remains quite willing to accept autocratic regimes when it suits its interests. Democracy promotion, in other words, is for many in the region either a dark conspiracy or meaningless rhetoric. It is nearly impossible for the U**nited **S**tates **to overcome this distrust** in the short run. **After all, it is a fact that the U**nited **S**tates **became concerned about democracy in the Middle East after September 11, at the same time as it started planning war** in Afghanistan and Iraq. And it is a fact that members of the Bush administration hinted both during and after the Iraq war that Iraq might not be the only regime they would like to removed—for example, Syria appeared to be another target. **Most important, there is no doubt that U.S. interests in the Middle East are complex and contradictory, of which democracy promotion is only one, and in the day- to-day decision-making process, not the most important.** The contrast with the U.S. Cold War posture toward the Soviet Union and its Eastern European allies is instructive. In that case, U.S. political, economic, and security interests dovetailed tightly. The existing regimes did absolutely nothing for the United States except provide a major security problem and competition for the allegiance of countries around the world. There was little apparent downside for the United States to push for their disappearance. The United States could support reformers and democracy with no significant interference from countervailing economic or security interests. This is not true **in the Middle East** at present. **The autocratic regimes do not threaten U.S. interests directly, and many of them in fact serve significant U.S. security and economic interests** quite well. The Saudi regime, continues to keep the flowing and to increase necessary to stabilize the for example, oil supplies them when market. **U.S. security agencies count on cooperation from the repressive security forces of a number of Arab countries for vital help in tracking down terrorists.** **Not only are U.S. interests in the region** mixed and often **mutually contradictory, but the underlying logic of the** new **democracy imperative is not persuasive to many Arab observers. Authoritarian regimes in the Middle East, the** current **U.S. argument goes, are a threat** to the United States **because their** disastrous economic policies and **repressive politics impoverish and frustrate their populations, and this** in turn **creates** fertile ground for the growth of **terrorists**. In addition, the Wahhabis, who are spreading their intolerant ideology with Saudi support or at least willingness to look the other way, provide an ideological justification for the violence bred by poverty and political repression. **But the link between** poverty and **political repression** on the one hand **and terrorism** on the other **is open to question.** The very poor are not usually the organizers of terrorist groups, as an analysis of the persons responsible for the September 11 attacks makes evident. And **terrorist movements can grow in democratic countries as well—see the Irish Republican Army, the ETA in Spain, the Italian Red Brigades, and the German Baader-Meinhof gang. Most important, it is far from clear whether the present autocratic regimes, if they were to suddenly open up to deep-reaching political change, would be replaced by governments inclined to be friendly** or helpful **to the U**nited **S**tates. U.S. security and democracy interests, in other words, do not neatly coincide in the Arab world at least in the short run— and it is the short run that drives most policy making. **Another major issue** that makes it difficult for the United States to be accepted in Arab eyes as a defender of the interests of Arab populations against their autocratic leaders **is U.S. policy toward Israel and the Palestinians**. This is an issue on which **U.S. and Arab views diverge radically, and will continue to do so, even if successful steps are taken toward a solution to the Israeli— Palestinian conflict.** **From the Arab point of view, the creation of** the state of **Israel was a manifestation of imperialism and an act of aggression against them**; and although most Arabs have come to accept that the situation is irreversible, the sense of injury persists. To the United States, the creation of the state of Israel was an act of justice, and support for Israel has deep roots in U.S. society. In addition, there is the problem of Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. That situation is not irreversible— most of the territory may well end up being returned to Palestinians, although the longer negotiations stall, the more likely it becomes that new land will be permanently annexed by Israel. Certainly, a resumption of negotiations on the issue is crucial to ease the tension between the Arab world and the United States. The problem, however, is that at present Arabs do not believe the United States acts as an honest broker. A positive settlement of the Palestinian— Israeli conflict—even something along the lines of the Taba settlement—would certainly reduce tensions between the Arab world and the United States but would probably not eliminate Arabs' strongly held belief that the United States cares much more about Israel than about them. **Neither the problem of credibility nor the related issue of conflicting interests will go away anytime soon.** No matter which party is in the White House, the United States and the Arab world will see the Palestinian—Israeli conflict through different lenses, the United States will remain dependent on Middle East oil, and Washington will look to the security services of many of the autocratic governments of the region for help on counterterrorism operations. These realities do not mean that the United States has no role to play in promoting democracy in the Middle East, but they must be factored into the new wave of U.S. policies and programs focused on supporting positive political change. This means, for example, that the U.S. government must be willing to allow U.s. democracy-promotion organizations that it funds to have some real operational independence from the U.S. government, both in terms of the counterparts with which they choose to work and the methods they use. It means that U.S. democracy promoters will have to assume that many Arabs will be leery of working directly with U.S. democracy programs and that special efforts will have to be made to win their trust. In this regard, the situation is very much the opposite of postcommunist Eastern Europe. And more broadly it means that U.S. policy makers will have to show that they are capable of keeping their eye on the long-term imperative of democracy promotion and resist trading it off reflexively in the face of the many short-term pressures that will come along to delay or prevent a real effort to support real change. **European countries have been emphasizing the need for** political reform and **democracy in the Middle East for much longer than the U**nited **States**, as Richard Youngs analyzes in his chapter. They will undoubtedly continue to do so, through the Barcelona Process and possibly in collaboration with the United States as part of the Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative approved by the G-8 at their meeting in June 2004. **European countries are not as controversial as the U**nited **S**tates **when they talk about democracy in the Middle East because they carry less baggage in Arab eyes. They have not launched the war in Iraq, and some have refused to support it. They are perceived as more even- handed in their dealing with the Arab— Israeli conflict and more willing to see Palestinians as victims of injustice rather than simply as perpetrators of terrorism. And they have been more soft-spoken in their dealing with Arab countries, thus** a bit **more credible than the U**nited **S**tates **when they talk about partnership.** At the same time, however, the role of Europe is seen as secondary. Europe is not doing any harm to the Arab world, but it cannot be a central player in the way that the United States can.

#### Neg- EU is better actor (lacks stigma of U.S. & more culturally sensitive):

*(Thomas Carothers, Vice President for Studies at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, “Does Democracy Promotion Have a Future?,” Democracy and Development, http://carnegieendowment.org/2008/06/23/does-democracy-promotion-have-future/g7yc, June 23 2008)*

I think **there is an important opportunity for Europe right now to step forward in** the domain of **democracy promotion and show a doubting world that democracy promotion is not** one and **the same as the pursuit of American** strategic **interests**. For Europe to be effective in such an effort, several things have to happen. First, **European organisations involved in this field need to define for themselves**, in a group sense, **what the distinctive principles of the European approach r**eally **are**. There is a lot of belief among **European** actors that "we **do things** a lot **differently** **than** you **Americans**." **Now is the time to come forward and tell the interna- tional community** what those things are and **what is distinctive about the European approach**. I think there is the instinct on the part of European actors that **Europe has greater belief in a real partnership in democracy work, that it draws on multiple models of democracy** and does not offer the world a single model, **and** that Europe **has more humility than the U.S**. because Europe has had a lot ups and downs with democracy in the twentieth century. **These** are **all** part of the picture. They **need to be put together to advance a European democracy agenda that the world could** listen to and understand and **believe in.**

#### Neg- Other foreign policy revisions would be better than demo promo:

*(Musa al-Gharbi, social epistemologist with the Southwest Initiative for the Study of Middle East Conflicts, “Why America Lacks Credibility in the Middle East,” Foreign Policy in Focus, http://fpif.org/america-lacks-credibility-middle-east/, March 10 2015)*

Changing the Dynamic But there is good news: **The U**nited **S**tates **can** simultaneously **bolster its moral and strategic credibility by adopting** a more **sensible foreign policy. The first step will be to adopt more modest aspirations and pragmatic strategies in order to avoid making problems worse**. Within this narrower framework, the United States should strive to adopt the same policies it promotes for others. If Washington wants to stem the growth and proliferation of non-state actors, for example, the U.S. should stop funding them as well — and should pressure its allies to follow suit. Instead, Washington can provide material and logistical support to the relevant state actors to help these governments first contain the spread of ungoverned zones and then gradually reclaim control over lost territories. (Of course, this support should be contingent on a basic respect for human rights.) Rather than orchestrating another destabilizing regime-change in Syria, furthermore, the United States should aspire towards gradual, viable, and meaningful reform of the state — which will require an inclusive diplomatic approach regarding the Baathist government and its foreign patrons, as well as a piecemeal agenda for rehabilitating the state and its institutions. In the short term, **this means prioritizing peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance, and reconstruction** in support of a negotiated settlement **rather than trying to force polarizing elections** in the wake of a violent uprising.

#### Aff- EU is worse (bureaucracy & insufficient commitment):

*(Mona Yacoubian, special adviser to the United States Institute of Peace’s Special Initiative on the Muslim World, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and an adjunct fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, “Promoting Middle East Democracy: European Initiatives,” United States Institute of Peace, http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/sr127.pdf, Special Report 217, October 2004)*

Still, **a successful European democracy-promotion policy in the Middle East is far from**

**assured**. Several **obstacles remain that could impede effective implementation. First,**

**neither the E**uropean **U**nion **nor its individual member states has demonstrated sustained**

**commitment to using conditionality as an instrument for reform.** Instead, **European governments**

**reflexively seek to preserve the status quo at all costs. Second, governments in**

**the region have not signaled their willingness to pursue genuine reform**—**yet** as currently

structured, **the European strategy relies heavily on these governments’ cooperation.**

**Third, European democracy-promotion efforts risk being drowned in a sea of bureaucracy.**

**Already, redundancies and overlaps are becoming apparent** in and between the Barcelona

Process and the ENP. **Actors in the region could find themselves trapped in a thicket of**

**reports, regulations, and procedures, with the notion of democratic-reform promotion**

**getting lost along the way.**

#### Aff- EU is worse (public perception & insufficient commitment):

*(Kristina Kausch, “Worldwide promotion of democracy: challenges, role, and strategy of the European Union,” Worldwide promotion of democracy: challenges, role and strategy of the European Union, Proceedings of a conference organised by the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftunghttp://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\_11856-1522-2-30.pdf?110504154444, June 5-6 2007)*

In many non-democratic states, the EU enjoys a favourable image compared to the United States **as a promoter of democratic values.** At the same time, **Europeans must not be over-confident in what they like to present as the EU’s** better ‘**democracy brand name’**. **Local populations are not always convinced that the EU is genuinely committed to promoting democracy. For example, Egyptian civil society might say: the US is getting serious about democracy, why is the EU still dealing with the regimes?** Or sometimes, **the Europe partnership-based approach is perceived** – maybe wrongly – **as a lack of genuine commitment to democracy.**

Similarly, **Europeans** are right to **stress that ‘democracy cannot be imposed’. But this notion often seems to be** confused with an **ambivalence in** Europe’s **intentions** to engage in democracy promotion per se. **In the Arab world** in particular **this** argument **has been picked up and instrumentalised to the Europeans’ disadvantage**. **Whether or not one feels that such doubts** about the genuine European commitment to democracy promotion **are** entirely **fair**, a greater clarity of message is needed.

#### Aff- EU is worse (public perception & credibility):

*(Rouba Al-Fattal Eeckelaert, Prof at Centre for European Studies at Carleton Univ focusing on EU foreign policy in the Middle East and democratization & co-founder of the Central European Journal for International and Security Studies, Transatlantic Trends in Democracy Promotion: Electoral Assistance in the Palestinian Territories, Google Books, Published by Routledge, Feb 24 2016)*

In the PT case, **the EU approach**, both prudent and manipulative, **reinforces the perception of an inconsistent, ineffective and,** ultimately, **interest-oriented EU foreign policy which is widespread in the Arab** Mediterranean **region and which** further **limits the impact of** the **EU** external **action**. Consequently, **how the EU's democracy promotion policy is perceived externally, and its credibility, is quite negative** as **many** 314 **accuse it of supporting illegitimate partners** in the PT like Abbas, problem which the EU is well aware of.315 **'The risk is that this short-sighted policy**, which only looks at possession goals, in the long run, **will turn out to be a double-edged sword as it sows** the **seeds for** grass-roots mobilisation and **instability in the region**. Instead, the EU should act as a catalyst for change taking into consideration the regional perspective and the problems besetting the regional dimension epitomised in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, which represents the main trap to democratic advancement as well as the challenge ahead.

*(Nelli Babayan [Post-doctoral Researcher within Transworld project at the Freie Universität Berlin] and Daniela Huber [Researcher at the Istituto Affari Internazionali], “Motioned, Debated, Agreed? Human Rights and Democracy Promotion in International Affairs,” Transworld, Working Paper 6, http://www.transworld-fp7.eu/wp-content/uploads/2013/01/TW\_WP\_06.pdf, December 2012)*

**The credibility** of leading players **in** the fields of **democracy** and human rights **promotion** **is** one of the most **debated** issues regarding democracy and human rights promotion. **The US and Europe have been called the “axis of double standards”** by Al Jazeera. The issue has two dimensions. On the one hand, democracy and human promoters are often accused of own democratic deficits or violations of human rights standards. This became an issue especially in the peaking period of the “war on terror” in which not only the pictures of Abu Ghraib showed Western double standards regarding human rights, but in which democracy also started to deteriorate in Western democracies themselves due to new security legislation (Bigo 2010). On the other hand, the issue of double standards also refers to the observation that democracies tend to prioritize stability over democracy in their foreign policies. Both, the US and Europe, exhibit discrepancies in condemning human rights violations or promoting democracy depending whether they have strategic or energy interests in the given countries. Coupling close ties with autocratic regimes that help in the “war on terror” with a proactive democracy promotion policy, the George W. Bush Administration was accused of applying double standards (Carothers 2009b). Similarly, **the EU has** often **expressed** very **strong criticism of the Lukashenka regime in Belarus, while frequently failing to condone similar developments in Azerbaijan or Kazakhstan, which are major partners in** the EU’s attempts to diversify its **energy** resources. **The EU’s sometimes “deliberately vague understandings” of democracy prompt claims that instead of being committed to democracy** promotion, **it “intends to adjust its** promotion **agenda to fit its own** commercial or security **interests**” (Wetzel and Orbie 2012). **Similar double standards can be found in** US and EU policies in **the Middle East and North Africa, where the authoritarian regimes had been successful in using the Western terrorism script to securitize** Islamic **opposition movements** (Lia 1999; Joffé 2008). **These movements perceive especially the EU as “fundamentally anti-Islamic”** (Kausch and Youngs 2009: 969).

#### Aff- EU must follow US lead to succeed in demo promo (public perception):

*(Danile Smadja, “The European Union: Key actor in worldwide democracy promotion,” Proceedings of a conference organised by the European Office of the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftunghttp://www.kas.de/wf/doc/kas\_11856-1522-2-30.pdf?110504154444, June 5-6 2007)*

**The crucial question of the visibility of EU policy** in this area **remains**, however. Many actors say that **whatever is done in democracy promotion, ultimately what matters is the way it is seen. This is** not only **a question of publicity**, to a certain extent propaganda **about democracy promotion, which itself works for democracy promotion. The EU is not good at publicity and propoganda**. Others, especially the **Americans, are much stronger in this respect**. **The EU should follow the US example**, and be much more visible about what it does.

#### Aff- US/EU perm solves best:

*(Mona Yacoubian, special adviser to the United States Institute of Peace’s Special Initiative on the Muslim World, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, and an adjunct fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, “Promoting Middle East Democracy: European Initiatives,” United States Institute of Peace, http://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/sr127.pdf, Special Report 217, October 2004)*

**Sustained transatlantic cooperation could contribute significantly to efforts to promote**

**democratic reform in the Middle East.** In the aftermath of 9/11 (and of the terrorist

attack in Madrid on March 11, 2004), both the United States and Europe have identified the absence of political and economic freedoms in the Middle East as a primary source

of instability and a threat to international security. Indeed, the region presents several

strategic threats that have come to define the post–Cold War era: terrorism, failed states,

and the proliferation of WMD. Therefore, **the promotion of democratic reform in the**

**Middle East is a key strategic priority for both the United States and Europe.**

U.S. and European **views also converge on key elements defining the Middle East’s**

**path toward democratic reform.** General agreement exists on the need for reform to

emanate from the region, rather than being imposed from outside. The notion of regional

ownership is further bolstered by the concept of pursuing reform in partnership with the

region—a critical focus of both the Barcelona Process and the U.S. Middle East Partnership

Initiative. **Also, both the United States and Europe have shifted from a regionwide**

**to a country-specific approach, acknowledging that “one size does not fit all.”**

Most significantly, both the United States and the European Union appear to be

converging on the need for some type of conditionality—on the need to insist on a

linkage between a country’s performance on reform-related objectives and the benefits

it accrues, whether in the form of increased financial assistance or improved access to

markets. Neither side has gone too far along this path, and each is limited by a variety

of domestic constraints. However, **were they to work together to fashion a united** EUU.S.

**position** on conditionality **as well as joint incentives** (e.g., membership in the World

Trade Organization or coordinated increases in financial aid), **they could give conditionality**

**precisely the boost needed to produce results.** At the least, they would minimize

the ability of governments in the region to play the United States and the European

Union off each other.

**Important complementarities** as well as frictions **characterize the transatlantic dimension**

**of the quest to promote Middle East reform.** While transatlantic tensions over the

Middle East have received greater attention in the media and among think tanks, the

complementary roles of the United States and the European Union are also significant.

**The U.S. and European approaches boast different strengths; they are likely to achieve**

**far more if coordinated than if undertaken separately.**