

## Steve Hadley's Remarks on the Growing Democracy Panel

Well, I think what is very interesting about this is the notion that there can and should be a dialogue between Europe and the United States on this subject, and what Poland and the United States is doing I think really points the way. So why hasn't that been the case? And I think actually the truth is that democracy promotion has been a source of discord between the United States and Europe recently, and I think the explanation for that is clear, and I think that it has to do with Iraq and Afghanistan, and this notion that came in Europe that the United States was imposing democracy out of the barrel of a gun.

Now the truth is that the United States, with other countries, has changed regimes. We did it in Japan and Germany in World War II, we did it again in Afghanistan and Iraq, but the reason for that was always for national security concerns, not for democracy promotion. But having toppled regimes, the question always becomes "what do you owe to the people of those regimes?" And being Americans and being Europeans we always come down to say "well, we ought to help the people who freed themselves from authoritarians try to build their own kind of democracy", that's really what we owe them and that's what we do, we stand up for democracy and its principles, and I think that we lost sight of what really could be an area of cooperation because of the Iraq, Afghanistan experience, and some misunderstanding of what that was really all about.

I think that is behind us, I think that now is a good time for us to have this dialogue because if you look at the principles on which the EU was founded, and the principles on which the United States was founded, they all have democracy, freedom, and rule of law at their core, so this is a natural area for us to be cooperating.

You know Fred, one of the things for you to think about is at next year's forum, do you want to attach to it a 3 or 4 day period where Europeans and American would come together and say "let's start this dialogue", maybe with government observers, on democracy promotion, what is a common set of principles and a common approach, and see, drawing on the US-Polish experience, whether we can lead the way and prime the pump a little bit to this dialogue from outside.

If part of that is to develop a set of principles in order to advance this proposition, let me run through what would be on my list and see how close we are in terms of members of the panel. Again, people have to win their own freedom, you can't impose it from the outside by force of arms or otherwise, but even though people have to develop their own democratic futures, we can help. We can help, and the United States and Europe already have some of the tools to do that. Training in how to conduct free and fair elections, training on political organization and party building, assisting in developing a civic education in democracy and free markets, assistance in building a civil society which is a bedrock foundation for democracy and freedom, and then as Tomica mentioned, building capacity in governments and societies so that they can provide security, economic prosperity, and services in a democratic framework, all important things, all things that we know how to do, but quite frankly we don't do very well, because none of our societies have put the resources in developing the civilian institutions that do these things, that is justified by the need.

Let me go to one other area where I think it's a little bit more difficult and I think we need to have more discussion between Americans and Europeans, and that is helping people seeking their freedom before the tyrant is gone. Before the tyrant and the authoritarian regime has been overturned. Because if you help folks from the outside, you put them at risk physically, and you run the risk of delegitimizing them by making them look like foreign agents. So what can you do? 6 or 7 things.

- Use broadcast media, social media to get information into the society, information of not only what is happening in the world but what is happening in their own societies, because many times the people fighting for freedom do not know.
- Secondly, and the US government has begun to do this and I am very pleased by it, is getting in to people struggling for their own freedom the technical tools they need to be able to communicate and organize quietly and privately without being intruded upon by the government. There are technologies that allow you to do this-we need to get them into the hands of the people fighting for their own freedom.
- Make clear to people they are not alone. Make clear that we stand on the side of who are seeking freedom for their country.
- Encouraging them not to resort to violence but using a civil resistance model.
- And, particularly the flip side of that, using all of our diplomatic pressure and media pressure on the government to deter them from cracking down on those people peacefully seeking their own freedom, so that you build some space in which they can operate, free from government crackdown using very forcefully the principle that any government that uses force on their own people who are peacefully demonstrating has lost legitimacy. This is what many of us think we failed to do in 2009 in connection with the uprising in Iran. We need to not miss those opportunities in advance in the future.
- And finally, get involved early. And this is the lesson from Syria. What we have seen is that when these opposition movements start, they are usually, as Jerzy mentioned, led by the young, and led by the democrats. And they are usually peaceful initially, but the longer they go, the more likely they go to violence, and the more likely the democrats get to be replaced by authoritarians and then extremists who use violence as a tool, and your chance for a democratic outcome is reduced. So if we are going to get involved, get involved early, when it's the democrats out front and there is an opportunity to do it peacefully.

Three things to leave you with: we've got to be humble, we've got to recognize our resources are limited, our tools are many times inadequate, and we can only give people a start and assistance, they have to build their own democracy, we can't do it for them. And finally, we need to urge all of them to pay attention to the economics. A democracy that does not produce economic progress and a better life ultimately is going to be discredited among its own people no matter how many free and fair elections they conduct. So, do the politics, but by heaven's sakes we've got to do the economics, because democracy not only responds to the aspirations of the human spirit for freedom, but it is also believed, rightly, that it is the kind of system that produces economic prosperity and a better life, and we've got to make clear that that is, in fact, what happens.