

## "DEMOCRACY PROMOTION" AS U.S. CIVIL INTERVENTION METHOD

Sait YILMAZ\*

### **Abstract:**

*The world is in a new period of transformation in course of democratization targeting at nation-state's sovereignty and identity. Hegemony in the 21<sup>st</sup> century aims at ensuring influence and control over the nation-states and its power use thru 'Web strategy'. There are four types of web within the western hegemonic mechanism; political web via democracy promotion, economical web thru development projects, cultural web by dialogue projects, and military web supplementary for coercive methods and nation-building operations. As political intervention method, democracy promotion represents the conceptual basis abroad using a sophisticated democratization infrastructure. Although the NED and USAID are the primary organs exporting democracy to selected nations and regions, U.S. democracy promotion system integrates all available institutions in the democratization process including multinational corporations, universities, think-tank centers, intelligence services and foreign contributions such as German stiftungs or Soros's Open Society Institute.*

**Key Words:** *Democracy promotion, U.S., NED, USAID, intervention.*

---

\* Assoc. Prof. Sait YILMAZ; İstanbul Aydın University, Director of National Security and Strategy Research And Applied Center, saityilmaz@aydin.edu.tr

## Introduction

The democracy promotion in the whole world has been the one of the main pillars of U.S. foreign policy since 1900's. "Liberal interventionism" or "Muscular Wilson" names is given to this notion<sup>1</sup>. Democracy promotion as a form of intervention in U.S. hegemony mechanism leverages the economic, political and moral resources either implicitly or explicitly to democratize regimes in selected countries and regions particularly with the beginning Reagan period in 1980's. Elections in democracy promotion requires democrats to win, this sudden change requires some puppet leaders in local. Hippocratic Oath is very difficult to implement in democracy promotion. The hypocrisy between the interests of the country and idealism has been an inevitable element of democracy promotion work abroad. The work of U.S. democracy promotion abroad provides intervention tools in implementation of her foreign policy such as local leadership programs, regime restoration, pressuring military and law system, reconstruction of the economy, enforcing privatization etc. This article aims to investigate the present stage of U.S. democracy promotion activities abroad as her intervention mechanism.

## History of the United States' Democracy Promotion Activities

The Philippines became the first large-scale space where American ideals moved overseas in 1898. The disappointment here had taught U.S. that

the world is stubborn to resist but they will never give up this work. The idea "to make the world safe for democracy" put forward by Wilson after the acquisition of the First World War by the allied nations, was feeble in the confusion of U.S. President Woodrow era. After the Second World War, U.S. has continued democracy works from successful examples in Japan and Germany to the failed countries such as Iraq across the world. This period actually was the period that realism reigned in U.S. foreign policy and easily cooperated with Western partners in democratization.

Many scientists and policy makers from both side of the Atlantic had met in democracy promotion and development projects for economic aid to Third World countries and for the elimination of non-democratic conditions<sup>2</sup>. Following the Second World War, the United States through the efforts of the UN General Assembly in 1948 adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights emphasized on everyone's right to elect and be elected; popular vote lies on the basis of the management authority had been expressed. USA delivered covert aid to especially newspapers under pressure and parties to support democracy movement of 1950's and 60's in Europe's eastern camp.

For the first time in a time of Johnson's administration came up the establishment of public-private mechanism to create an open and transparent democracy promotion infrastructure to export

---

<sup>1</sup> Shadi Hamid: The Meaning of "Power", Brookings Institute, (July 20, 2007).

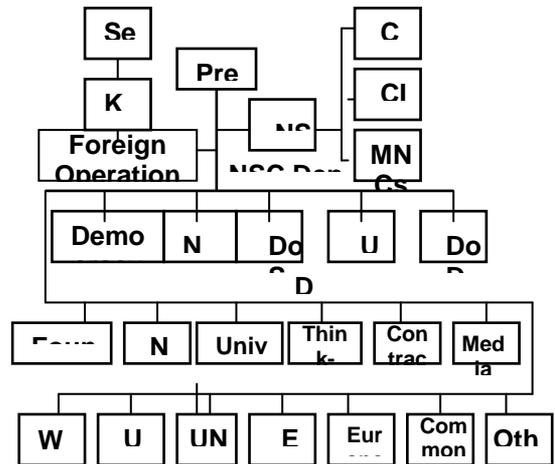
---

<sup>2</sup> James Traub: The Freedom Agenda: Why America Must Spread Democracy (Just Not the Way George Bush Did), Farrar, Straus and Giroux, ( 2008).

democracy overseas countries. In 1970's Jimmy Carter established an umbrella institution, "Democracy, Human Rights and Labour Bureau"<sup>3</sup> under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in order to develop democratic values abroad. In 1983 with Ronald Reagan's famous speech in Westminster was an important turning point to focus on democracy promotion as leverage of U.S. foreign policy implementation. Reagan has created a mechanism for supporting the democracies and democrats around the world by founding the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) which is funded by the allocation of so-called special structure of the annual Congress Foundation<sup>4</sup>. In addition to the NED's "democracy" work, the U.S Agency for International Development (USAID)'s "development" and the idea of creating "dialogue of civilizations" have joined into the mechanism. In 1998, with the International Religious Freedom Act and establishment of the Office of International Religious Freedom under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, U.S. has gained an new tool to inquiry worship and religious freedom within human rights concept at selected countries. Beginning from that date, human rights violations have been recorded in U.S. scorecard as a pressure tool. US International Religious Freedom Commission (USCIRF) was established

around the world to monitor such violations.

**Figure: U.S. Democracy Promotion Mechanism**



**Source:** Sait YILMAZ, *Power and Policy*, ALFA Publications, (Istanbul, 2008), p.221.

On the other hand, following Sep 11 th events, George W. Bush, in 2002, prioritized the democracy promotion in the Middle East by creating Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI). The apparent purpose of MEPI is to strengthen civil society and the rule of law, improve the education, promotion of economic reforms and to increase political participation by helping NGOs, educational institutions, local governments and private sector. Until 2009, MEPI spent \$ 530 million for more than 600 projects in 17 countries. However, Obama was willing to the human rights and democracy works and to acquire democrats abroad so much even threatened their lives<sup>5</sup>. Indeed, Obama wishes to heal the poor image of Bush era

<sup>3</sup> David Lowe, "Idea to Reality: NED at 25," National Endowment for Democracy, at <http://www.ned.org/about/history> (February 7, 2011).

<sup>4</sup> Ken Wollack, remarks at "U.S. Democracy Policy Under Obama: Rebalancing or Retreat?" event sponsored by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Brussels, October 12, 2010, at <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/events/index.cfm?fa=eventDetail&id=3030> (January 31, 2011).

<sup>5</sup> Lisa Curtis: *Championing Liberty Abroad to Counter Islamist Extremism*, (February 9, 2011).

at the beginning. According to Obama, Bush's approach the democracy promotion was really risky for the regimes in the Middle East. However, the U.S. National Security Strategy document published in May 2010 put an emphasis on the importance given to the development of democracy and human rights<sup>6</sup>, and return to democracy work. Obama's budget for the year 2010 Ministry of Foreign Affairs of democracy programs had an increase 9% to \$ 324 million<sup>7</sup>. MEPI program's budget initiated during the Bush administration was increased 30%. MCC (Millennium Challenge Corporation) program was also been increased from \$784 million to 1.28 billion dollars for 2011 in addition to these created "Internet Freedom" program to use social-media in foreign countries.

## Democracy Promotion Concept

In the last quarter of 20th century, U.S.A. instituted a variety of strategies changing from president to president to develop the democracy abroad. Jimmy Carter, while trying to rescue the American moral values, Ronald Reagan win the battle of ideas with the Soviet Union, Bill Clinton support U.S global engagement policy after the Cold War, resorted to develop

---

<sup>6</sup> The White House, National Security Strategy, May 2010, p. 37,

[http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf) (Jan 31, 2011).

<sup>7</sup> Freedom House, "Making Its Mark: An Analysis of the Obama Administration FY2010 Budget Request for Democracy and Human Rights," Special Report, July 1, 2009, p. 1, at

<http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/FY2010BudgetAnalysis.pdf> (January 31, 2011).

democracy, development and human rights. Despite different concepts, policies and programs of the new democracy promotion mechanism has emerged continuously from one to another president and U.S has continued its role in making the world more democratic. The biggest problem encountered is that these sort of democracy works do not usually match with economic and security interests in autocratic countries.

This contradiction has limited the efforts of the USA. Carter, forgetting the limits of U.S. foreign policy based on moral values and supported Iran, the Philippines and elsewhere, anti-communist, autocratic allies. Reagan supported the groups and governments which have bad reputation, by mixing democracy development and communism opposition. Father Bush was frightened by the soft end of cold war and was concerned about the restart of the Cold War. However, Clinton missed opportunities in places like Russia or small countries like Haiti and couldn't keep its promises for development<sup>8</sup>. Despite the new rising rhetoric of democracy, democracy promotion has become more irregular and complex in Bush Jr. Administration.

After 1989, democracy promotion targeted to the countries of Central and Eastern Europe freed from the communist system. Some countries in Latin America and Asia, Africa were added to this list. U.S was in quest about how to harmonize security interests and democracy

---

<sup>8</sup> James Traub: The Freedom Agenda: Why America Must Spread Democracy (Just Not the Way George Bush Did), Farrar, Straus and Giroux, ( 2008).

development works for the period after 1990. Mechanism established for the development of democracy is quite weak. The budget of USAID in 1989 was less than \$ 100 million. The democracy promotion work was main responsibility of NED which is quite small at that time. The developmentalists of USAID did not know how to run with emerging democracies. State Department Bureau of Human Rights had not worked development democracy work yet. As a summary, democracy promotion was very weak device in 1989. In democracy promotion, U.S was also alone except some German party foundations<sup>9</sup>. European donors did not invest to work in democracy and multilateral development banks were also very far from this area. Knowledge had not been matured yet about democracy development. International election monitoring work was created during this period. It was focused on strengthening the state institutions but reforms took long time without political willingness. Working with the citizens of the country to support civil society is relatively new situation for U.S because during the Cold War, it was feared by public movements. The idea behind the study with civil society used to ensure the confidence of citizens in countries and give the power to necessary uprising (revolution).

For the last 25 years, USAID, despite the leading role of NED, has consumed more resources, energy and attention more than any other organization in the world to

---

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Carothers: Democracy Promotion: Comparing the Challenges and Opportunities of 1989 and 2011, USAID DRG 2.0 Conference, (June 20, 2011).

develop democracy abroad<sup>10</sup>. NED and NDI, IRI, (respectively extensions of the Democratic and Republican parties) have been working to restore the regimes in more than 70 countries around the world. AID spent \$ 8.47 billion dollar for the democratic governance programs in 120 countries from 1990 to 2008<sup>11</sup>. Among them, there is a program \$ 75 million dollars which was spent to support dissidents in the elections in Iran. According to Stephen McInerney, the Director of the Middle East Democracy Projects, the money which was allocated for democracy and human rights increased and most of this money spent on supporting the programs of civil society and rule of law<sup>12</sup>. However, in reality, money has been spent on current regimes ability instead of regime changes that provide pluralism and political competition in democracy programs. For the last 30 years, international aids have been delivered in hundreds of countries around the world for democracy and development. Democracy developers are undecided and even prudent about the methods and values applied in development assistance. The bridge between democracy and development has

---

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Carothers: Effective U.S. Democracy Assistance Requires Reform at USAID, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, (June 10, 2010).

<sup>11</sup> Council on Foreign Relations: 2008 Foreign Policy Symposium: Democracy and America's Role in the World, (Sept 4, 2008).

<sup>12</sup> Stephen McInerney, "The Federal Budget and Appropriations for Fiscal Year 2010," Project on Middle East Democracy, July 2009, at <http://pomed.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2009/08/fy10-budget-analysis-paper-final.pdf> (January 31, 2011).

been opened in the last 10 years and still far to reach a synthesis<sup>13</sup>.

### **The Present Stage of the Democracy Promotion**

A lot has been achieved in Central and Eastern Europe; however, there has been a very little progress in the former Soviet Republics. In Africa, Asia, and Latin America democracy hasn't fully established. Two tendencies have emerged in terms of the democracy promotion since September 11, 2001<sup>14</sup>. First, though theoretical, a causal interrelation has been established between terrorism and lack of democracy. Second, USA began to show concern for moderate Islam. It has been agreed upon the inclusion of non-violent Islamists to the political process. Millions of dollars of Western aid has been transferred to small NGOs in the Arab world, weak political parties, and some women organizations so that they would appear in the parliament. However, the period has suffered from many struggles. Compared to the 1990s, the work rate of democracy slowed down in the first decade of 2000s because a resistance began in terms of the development of democracy. International trends like high oil prices were not in favor of democracy. The economic crisis that the USA and Europe, once seen as the castles of democracy, has undergone lowered the

credibility of their position in the world. However, all facilities of the new communications technologies are noteworthy. By 2012, the USA has been in a quite exclusive position in the development of democracy.

During the triumphant revolutions, the West has taken a different role – has helped not to support democracy but to change the regime. During the Rose Revolution in Georgia and the Orange Revolution in Ukraine, there were some arguments via the media that fraud had been made in the elections. The TV channels 'Rustavi-2' in Georgia, supported by USAID, and 'Pravda Ukraine' in Ukraine supported by Western funds were the pioneers. A student group, Otpor (resistance) was used to fire Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia, 2000. Otpor was supported by the American Government and non-governmental sources with hundreds of thousands of dollars. Pora (Almighty Time) Otpor's corresponding in Ukraine had taken money from the Western governments as well. The funds of The Open Society Institute (OSI), belonging to George Soros, were given for those missions. OSI has also given training of resistance to thousands of the youths. The rhetorical shift was needed, covering the differences of the countries, to develop democracy. Indeed, the U.S. has used different strategies in terms of the development of democracy- "instructive" with the Soviet Union, "enforcing" with Belarus dictator, "respectful" towards the strong man in Kazakhstan, "constructive partnership" with Russia, "active

---

<sup>13</sup> Thomas Carothers: The Elusive Synthesis, Journal of Democracy, (October 2010).

<sup>14</sup> Stephen McNerney, "The Federal Budget and Appropriations for Fiscal Year 2010," Project on Middle East Democracy, July 2009, at <http://pomed.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2009/08/fy10-budget-analysis-paper-final.pdf> (January 31, 2011).

engagement" with Moldova and "live and let live" with Azerbaijan<sup>15</sup>.

The USA has developed a similar salad politics for the Middle East. During the triumphant revolutions, the West has played a trick of changing the regime, and has made trigger on the so-called stolen elections. The USA has started export of democracy to the Middle East with the programs that it has established in beginning of 1990s to develop the civil society. The Western democracy developers opened the democracy gadgetry box and settled down to a great work for the conversion after the 11th September.

Primary works in the agenda are to ensure the unity of the opposition, constitutional reform and the elections. Based on the lessons learned from the past, the mistake of prohibition of the continuation of the former rulers in politics would not be allowed again, disqualification of the soldiers will be made step by step and rapid methods will be applied for tangible economic relief. Historically, the Arab countries are always seen on the brink and their regimes are seen to crumble at any moment. After 11 September 2001 for the development of democracy, the Bush administration has opened the purse-strings. Only the money in 2009 budget is more than the total money which was spent between 1991 and 2001. Although its name is democracy assistance, it was not only used to promote the democracy. The democracy development requires the change of power but most of the NGOs

---

<sup>15</sup> Thomas Carothers: Think Again: Arab Democracy, Foreign Policy, (March 10, 2011).

which get Western aid refused to support a change in regime. The reason was that Westerns wanted reform, not regime change. Although these regimes are autocratic, they were the best options to ensure West's interests. Western interests were preservation of the military structure in the region to ensure the permanent access to energy resources and the security of Israel.

### **Democracy Promotion and Middle East**

In the early 1990s, U.S started to develop civil society in Middle East. However, U.S. assistance increased along with September 11, 2001 and in 2009, America's aid to Middle East democracy doubled more than the period between 1991 and 2001. Hundreds of million dollars under the leadership of NED and NDI were given to small NGOs, weak political parties which are supported and to the women so that they can attend to the parliament<sup>16</sup>. NGOs in the Middle East are not actually NGOs but they are NGO in other words GONGO which is organized by the government<sup>17</sup>. For example; strict laws exposed on the NGOs in Jordan so that they are unable to deal with democracy works. The funds, which are given by Freedom House in U.S, NED and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, are mostly given to support the reforms. Among the funds given to Arab world, opposing sides in Tunisia and Egypt got a

---

<sup>16</sup> Shadi Hamid: The Struggle for Middle East Democracy, Cairo Review of Global Affairs, (April 26, 2011).

<sup>17</sup> Shadi Hamid: Civil Society in the Arab World and the Dilemma of Funding, Afaq al Mustaqbal Journal, (October 2010).

lot of support. Before the revolution begins, Egypt’s left-leaning April 6 movement leader Ahmed Maher said “The problem is not Mubarak but what U.S government wants to do with Mubarak; his presence is in the hands of them. In fact, the first Arab Spring happened in 2005 with Muslim Brotherhood, Bush didn’t support them perceiving as future Islamists.

Before Arab spring, some countries such as Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Algeria and Yemen were satisfied with the appearance of some reforms. Democratization should have been weighted and manageable, opponents of the regime found it trapped in an endless transformation. Westerners found the concept of “relativism” to neglect the situation and first economy then political change argument was valid to justify the situation. In June 2009 while the new U.S president Obama was giving his speech in Cairo which is described as historical, 16 separate programs had been prepared in advance to infiltrate into the Muslim world. U.S Secretary of State and The CIA rent many contracting companies as done in the past. President's goal was to create Civilian Assistance Corps which has the capacity of 25.000<sup>18</sup>. Minister of State, Hillary Clinton tried to combine “development” with diplomacy and defense which are the three important parts of U.S. security and foreign policy as cited in Quadrennial Democracy<sup>19</sup> and

<sup>18</sup> Peter W. Singer: New Year's Resolutions for the Pentagon, The Washington Examiner, (December 22, 2009).

<sup>19</sup> Noam Unger, Homi Kharas: Hillary Clinton to Attend Busan Forum: Demonstrating Development Diplomacy? The Brookings Institution, (September 21, 2011).

Development Review Report (QDDR<sup>20</sup>) published in 2010.

**Table: U.S. Foreign Assistance Funds for Democracy Promotion (Million Dollars)**

	2009 Budget	2010 Budget	2011 Budget
DCHA-USAID Office	68.5	82.4	59.8
Foreign Affairs Ministry Bureau	18.8	21.8	23.7
Foreign Affairs Ministry MEPI	50.0	65.0	86.0
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Near East Regional Democracy Program	25.0	40.0	40.0
NED	115.0	118.0	105.0
BM Democracy Fund	3.0	4.5	5.0
MCC	850.0	1.105.0	1.279.7

The target of U.S strategy was the Islamists who ganging with terrorism apparently and attempted to demolish democratic systems. According to new strategy, transformative diplomacy, Supporters terrorism and other anti-democratic procedures in relatively moderate Islamists would become marginal by pulling them into the political process, increasing divisions among the supporters of terrorism. This division would be made through Islamist

<sup>20</sup> Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review.

ideology which constitutes the basis for the development of Al-Qaeda and other terrorist organizations<sup>21</sup>. One way of the implemented programs besides developing pure democracy is to win the ideological battle and to create an alternative power against them in Muslim societies<sup>22</sup>. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Anti-Terrorism Coordinator, Daniel Benjamin, emphasized the importance of IRI<sup>23</sup> and NED in his report in 2008<sup>24</sup>. According to Assistant Secretary of Defense Douglas Feith, instead of teaching Muslims to become Westerns, encouraging them to discuss the violent and destructive ways of Islam is more important<sup>25</sup>. However, U.S couldn't find what it hoped from the relations with Islamists. Actually, Islamists only worked to improve their own local position and their power. The intention of Islamists was not to control their society with long-term social transformation and

---

<sup>21</sup> Jennifer A. Marshall, "Religious Liberty in America: An Idea Worth Sharing Through Public Diplomacy," Heritage Foundation Backgrounder No. 2230, January 15, 2009, at

<http://www.heritage.org/Research/Reports/2009/01/Religious-Liberty-in-America-An-Idea-Worth-Sharing-Through-Public-Diplomacy>.

<sup>22</sup> Lorne W. Craner and Kenneth Wollack, "New Directions for Democracy Promotion," 2008, at [http://www.ndi.org/files/2344\\_newdirections\\_engpdf\\_07242008.pdf](http://www.ndi.org/files/2344_newdirections_engpdf_07242008.pdf) (January 31, 2011).

<sup>23</sup> International Republican Institute.

<sup>24</sup> Daniel Benjamin, "Strategic Counterterrorism," Brookings Institution Policy Paper No. 7, October 2008, p. 3, at [http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2008/10\\_terrorism\\_benjamin/10\\_terrorism\\_benjamin.pdf](http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2008/10_terrorism_benjamin/10_terrorism_benjamin.pdf) (January 31, 2011).

<sup>25</sup> Douglas J. Feith and Abram N. Shulsky, "Organizing the U.S. Government to Counter Hostile Ideologies," Hudson Institute, March 2010, pp. 3–5, at [http://www.hudson.org/files/publications/Organizing\\_the\\_USG\\_to\\_Counter\\_Hostile\\_Ideologies.pdf](http://www.hudson.org/files/publications/Organizing_the_USG_to_Counter_Hostile_Ideologies.pdf) (January 31, 2011), p.4.

democracy but to control easily with fear<sup>26</sup>.

## **Democracy Promotion in the Arab Spring and Turkey**

According to democracy experts, lack of democracy should have been reason for extremism and radicalism in the Middle East. Extremism results from modernization that conflicts with religious traditions and hostility against U.S. Lack of democracy exacerbated excessively violent movements. Democracy will either weaken radicals or open the door for more radicalization. Indeed, when the pressure increased for social change, radicalization increased in Algeria in the early 1990s, Palestinian elections brought Hamas to power in 2006. For this reason, democracy promotion works under the local conditions of each country<sup>27</sup>. In Arab Spring both U.S. and Europe have seen how society can mobilize quickly for democracy. Regimes in Tunisia and Egypt had collapsed more quickly than everyone expected. The money was ready for the revolution for opposition groups in Eastern Europe but when the bell rang for revolution in the Middle East, the dissidents were already awaiting. However, U.S. did not want to democracy but its own men. Interests once again prevailed the values.

---

<sup>26</sup> Amitai Etzioni, "Religion and Social Order," Policy Review, No. 148, March 28, 2008, at <http://www.hoover.org/publications/policy-review/article/5807> (January 31, 2011).

<sup>27</sup> Thomas Carothers, "U.S. Democracy Promotion During and After Bush," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2007, at [http://carnegieendowment.org/files/democracy\\_promotion\\_after\\_bush\\_final.pdf](http://carnegieendowment.org/files/democracy_promotion_after_bush_final.pdf) (January 31, 2011).

Although many Islamist movements and parties have resolved the theological contradictions with democratic practices, there is difference between understanding of democratic standards and internal application. Some leaders are unlikely to make concessions without questioning the loyalty and faith-based organizational hierarchy by doubting the benefits that democracy provides. Islamist movements and parties are divided into two main groups. In the first group, there is an internal structure which applies the principles required for the ideal democracy. In the second group, democracy is not a moral value but it is a tool in domestic politics. Morocco's AKP is an example for the first group. Democratic criteria are also applied in party. Quotas are applied to young people and women. Bahrain's Al-Vefaq Islamic Society Party in which balance is maintained in this group. Turkey's AKP, Islamist movements in Egypt, Jordan and Algeria (the Muslim Brotherhood etc.) are in the second group. Democracy is a leverage to compete. For both groups, the Islamist groups or parties are seen a vehicle for their own domestic political purposes<sup>28</sup>.

American priority, holding its own men in power rather than democracy advanced anti-American attitude for years besides the anger and frustration in Arab bourgeois. According to the Arab public opinion, security of Israel and exploitation of energy sources in the Middle East were the central part of the U.S. policy and they were also cause the

poor development and instability in the region. In such hated environment it was not easy to foster hope for democracy from U.S. The U.S. and the Europeans themselves already hindered the development of all democratic countries in the region. Essam El-Erian from the leaders of Muslim brotherhood had complained that Western community does not want Islamist representative even though they used democratic ways. To sum up, the U.S. supports to repressive regimes and democratic movements in this region did not produce tangible results for near future. Now, the region gains a sort of immunity against revolutions. The resulting riots in the Middle East may provide new clues for the renewal of democracy development works. For that reason, the U.S now is in search of a new reform ways to infiltrate the region thru democracy promotion and development activities. In summary a new fiction is needed for democracy promotion and development projects.

### **The Things That Are Not Good**

President Bush in his speech in November 2003 said that as long as The Middle East remains as a place where no freedom develops, it remains as a place which includes hatred, violence, and recession. During Bush era democracy development work was not successful because it was not applied in real sense. Only between the years 2004-2005, a significant pressure was put on Arab regimes<sup>29</sup>. Using faulty methods and individuals contributed to that failure. One of the most important lessons is that

---

<sup>28</sup> Khalil Al-Anani, Todd G. Patkin: Islamist Movements: The Uses of Democracy, Al-Ahram Weekly, (August 14-20, 2008).

---

<sup>29</sup> Shadi Hamid: Promoting Democracy to Stop Terror, Policy Review, (February/March 2010).

radicals are content with the adverse effect of democracy supported by moderates in other words democracy is not a solution in this region. Immature democracy brought violence and instability in the short term. Strong cultural and religious forces could not be ignored. After four years when the U.S president Bush made a call to support democracy and freedom, the conclusion reached is nothing. The reason of this result is not only the ability problem of authoritarian Arab regimes but also Bush perception that sees an imaginary link between the interests of U.S. and support for democracy<sup>30</sup>.

The close relationship between fiction of democracy promotion and military intervention in the eyes of the world created an image that these works are not unlawful and legitimate<sup>31</sup>. Pressure of the democracy in the Middle East remained under the muddy policy waters. Close economic and security ties with the Arab autocrats only gave birth to some unwilling and disorganized efforts along with the democracy way. Arab democracy expansions only helped the Islamists in 2005, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas's electoral victory in Palestine in 2006 startled the United States. On the other hand, the aid given to change language and regime that U.S administration used to develop democracy created fear on other people. The U.S "global freedom agenda" made many things worse in the rest of the

world. U.S. witnessed failures most of the countries tried to export democracy such as Palestine (Hamas's win), Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador. Democracy promotion work also fed anti-Americanism. At the present stage half of the young democracies have failed in democracy efforts since 1960. Others continue to be very weak and fragile.

Democracy project was far from the progress of solving the contradictions of European Union or the United States. On the other hand, non-democratic countries such as China and Russia have provided significant economic growth. The interesting thing is that Russia, who tried the democratization, later step back in a large extent in democratization. China never tried democracy but created a kind of liberal society. These examples show a path to economic prosperity without democracy. The failure of democracy development work can lead authoritarian regimes like China to develop alternative government types against liberal democracy. At the stage reached today, liberal internationalist ship is sinking now and any cover cannot hide this truth<sup>32</sup>. In the case of some countries such as China, Russia, Pakistan, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Nigeria, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and etc., their expectations of democracy were in vain. These examples discredited USAID and NED much more<sup>33</sup>. While the world is becoming increasingly multipolar, the participation of some countries that co-operates with Westerns such as Turkey, Indonesia, South Korea

---

<sup>30</sup> Khalil Al-Anani, Todd G. Patkin: The United States and the Democracy Delusion, Daily News Egypt, (August 19, 2008).

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Carothers. Repairing Democracy Promotion, Washingtonpost.com's Think Tank Town, (September 14, 2007).

---

<sup>32</sup> Tony Smith: Response to The Democracy Crusade Myth, National Interest, (July 30, 2007).

<sup>33</sup> Thomas Carothers: Report and Retort: Carothers Responds to Smith, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, (August 6, 2007).

and Chile for the democracy promotion emerges as a new tool for western legality for penetration into target regions.

## **Conclusion**

Democracy promotion has been operational for decades serving for U.S. foreign policy goals. NED and the USAID were the main actors of democracy infrastructure to export the democracy abroad in tricky ways. U.S. administrations have developed democracy assistance programs to support the democracy promotion activities since 1980s. Although democracy aid has been done for 25 years, these programs couldn't be put into compatible and strong institution in U.S. foreign policy. Democracy development work is a project which is expensive, dangerous and more likely to fail.

Contrary to American's expectation, democratic changes in many countries didn't serve for the U.S interests or many times elections didn't bring the guys America had wanted. Elections lead to more populist and anti-Americans leaders instead of pro-Americans. The conflict of democracy and liberalism was experienced in Middle East; as seen more democracy brings less liberalism. The rise of anti-Americanism makes the democracy development works in U.S region more complex. For this reason, in recent years U.S. resorts to new subcontractors in the different parts of the world both to save the image and to make the democracy work cheaper. Henceforth, selected countries such as India, South Africa and Turkey are engaged with pro-democracy activities in regional conflicts.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

1. Amitai Etzioni, "Religion and Social Order," Policy Review, No. 148, March 28, 2008, at <http://www.hoover.org/publications/policy-review/article/5807> (January 31, 2011).
2. Council on Foreign Relations: 2008 Foreign Policy Symposium: Democracy and America's Role in the World, (Sept 4, 2008).
3. Daniel Benjamin, "Strategic Counterterrorism," Brookings Institution Policy Paper No. 7, October 2008, [http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2008/10\\_terrorism\\_benjamin/10\\_terrorism\\_benjamin.pdf](http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/papers/2008/10_terrorism_benjamin/10_terrorism_benjamin.pdf) (January 31, 2011).
4. David Lowe, "Idea to Reality: NED at 25," National Endowment for Democracy, at <http://www.ned.org/about/history> (February 7, 2011).
5. Douglas J. Feith and Abram N. Shulsky, "Organizing the U.S. Government to Counter Hostile Ideologies," Hudson Institute, March 2010, [http://www.hudson.org/files/publications/Organizing\\_the\\_USG\\_to\\_Counter\\_Hostile\\_Ideologies.pdf](http://www.hudson.org/files/publications/Organizing_the_USG_to_Counter_Hostile_Ideologies.pdf) (January 31, 2011).
6. Freedom House, "Making Its Mark: An Analysis of the Obama Administration FY2010 Budget Request for Democracy and Human Rights," Special Report, July 1, 2009 at <http://www.freedomhouse.org/uploads/FY2010BudgetAnalysis.pdf> (January 31, 2011).
7. James Traub: The Freedom Agenda: Why America Must Spread Democracy (Just Not the Way George Bush Did), Farrar, Straus and Giroux, (2008).

8. Jennifer A. Marshall, "Religious Liberty in America: An Idea Worth Sharing Through Public Diplomacy," Heritage Foundation Backgrounder No. 2230, January 15, 2009, at <http://www.heritage.org/Research/Reports/2009/01/Religious-Liberty-in-America-An-Idea-Worth-Sharing-Through-Public-Diplomacy>.
9. Ken Wollack, remarks at "U.S. Democracy Policy Under Obama: Rebalancing or Retreat?" event sponsored by Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Brussels October 12, 2010, at <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/events/index.cfm?fa=eventDetail&id=3030>.
10. Khalil Al-Anani, Todd G. Patkin: Islamist Movements: The Uses of Democracy, Al-Ahram Weekly, (August 14-20, 2008).
11. Khalil Al-Anani, Todd G. Patkin: The United States and the Democracy Delusion, Daily News Egypt, (August 19, 2008).
12. Lisa Curtis: Championing Liberty Abroad to Counter Islamist Extremism, (*February 9, 2011*).
13. Lorne W. Craner and Kenneth Wollack, "New Directions for Democracy Promotion," 2008, at [http://www.ndi.org/files/2344\\_newdirections\\_engpdf\\_07242008.pdf](http://www.ndi.org/files/2344_newdirections_engpdf_07242008.pdf) (January 31, 2011).
14. Noam Unger, Homi Kharas: Hillary Clinton to Attend Busan Forum: Demonstrating Development Diplomacy? The Brookings Institution, (September 21, 2011).
15. Peter W. Singer: New Year's Resolutions for the Pentagon, The Washington Examiner, (December 22, 2009).
16. Shadi Hamid: Is There Hope? Yes. The Emerging Consensus on Democracy Promotion, (November 05, 2005).
17. Shadi Hamid: The Meaning of "Power", Brookings Institute, (July 20, 2007).
18. Shadi Hamid: Promoting Democracy to Stop Terror, Policy Review, (February/March 2010).
19. Shadi Hamid: Civil Society in the Arab World and the Dilemma of Funding, Afaq al Mustaqbal Journal, (October 2010).
20. Shadi Hamid: The Struggle for Middle East Democracy, Cairo Review of Global Affairs, (April 26, 2011).
21. Stephen McInerney, "The Federal Budget and Appropriations for Fiscal Year 2010," Project on Middle East Democracy, July 2009, at <http://pomed.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2009/08/fy10-budget-analysis-paper-final.pdf> (January 31, 2011).
22. The White House, National Security Strategy, May 2010, p. 37, [http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss\\_viewer/national\\_security\\_strategy.pdf](http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/rss_viewer/national_security_strategy.pdf) (Jan 31, 2011).
23. Thomas Carothers: Report and Retort: Carothers Responds to Smith, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, (August 6, 2007).
24. Thomas Carothers. Repairing Democracy Promotion, *Washingtonpost.com's Think Tank Town*, (September 14, 2007).
25. Thomas Carothers: Effective U.S. Democracy Assistance Requires Reform at USAID, House Committee on Foreign Affairs, (June 10, 2010).
26. Thomas Carothers: The Elusive Synthesis, Journal of Democracy, (October 2010).

27. Thomas Carothers, "U.S. Democracy Promotion During and After Bush," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2007, at [http://carnegieendowment.org/files/democracy\\_promotion\\_after\\_bush\\_final.pdf](http://carnegieendowment.org/files/democracy_promotion_after_bush_final.pdf) (January 31, 2011).
28. Thomas Carothers: Think Again: Arab Democracy, Foreign Policy, (March 10, 2011).
29. Thomas Carothers: Democracy Promotion: Comparing the Challenges and Opportunities of 1989 and 2011, USAID DRG 2.0 Conference, (June 20, 2011).
30. Tony Smith: Response to The Democracy Crusade Myth, *National Interest*, (July 30, 2007).

