

FRIDE

FUNDACIÓN
PARA LAS RELACIONES INTERNACIONALES
Y EL DIÁLOGO EXTERIOR

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The Conference on Democratic Transition and Consolidation, jointly organised by the Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE) and the Gorbachev Foundation of North America (GFNA), was held in Madrid from 19 to 27 October 2001, and was attended by over thirty Heads and former Heads of State and Government and one hundred practitioners, politicians and academic experts specialised in the field of democratic transition. The objective of the Conference was to foment an in-depth debate regarding the challenges and difficulties facing democracies currently involved in processes of transition and consolidation.

The Conference organisers wish to express their heartfelt gratitude to H. M. King Juan Carlos I and the President of the Spanish Government, Mr. José María Aznar, for their invaluable support.

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

The Conference on Democratic Transition and Consolidation, held in Madrid in October 2001, was a resounding success. At least, that is the impression I received from both the participants themselves and many others who, as mere observers, viewed the Conference as an exceptional event.

It is perhaps slightly unorthodox (certainly not very modest) to begin with such an emphatic statement, but I would like to express my personal satisfaction with the magnificent results of the Conference, and then dedicate the rest of this letter to explaining its origins and development.

The truth is, that the modern world is trapped by two problems which, paradoxically, our so-called information society does not seem to deem worthy of consideration: growing inequality and progressive democratic deficit. In truth, these two problems stem from the same causes and must be solved together, since they are not a reflection of progress (which many people believe to be unstoppable), but rather a clear step backwards. Nowadays, we seldom hear of economic miracles, and rarely do we see a country celebrating its newly-acquired freedom. Quite the opposite, in fact. 'Wasted decades' are becoming increasingly frequent, as are states of emergency, and we are faced with the growing certainty that we are simply going over the same old ground time and time again.

According to data published by the World Bank, of the planet's 6,000 million inhabitants, 2,800 million live on less than 2 dollars a day, and 1,200 million on less than one dollar. Similarly, in accordance with the data contained in the yearbook Freedom in the World report, 48 countries in the world are currently classed as not free, and a further 58 as only partially free. To these, we must also add a number of other countries in which democracy, although 'officially' consolidated, is nevertheless gradually deteriorating.

It was as a result of my conversations on these themes, first with Jorge Domínguez, Director of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at the University of Harvard, and later with Kim Campbell, former Prime Minister of Canada and Senior Fellow of the GFNA, that the mutual conviction arose that something must be done about these problems, and that the first step should be to organise a conference on the challenges and difficulties facing emergent democracies at the beginning of the new millennium. Although it would be only logical to assume that it was I who proposed Madrid, as the venue for the Conference, this was not actually the case. Fortunately for us, who suffered under a dictatorship, and for our children, who have been lucky enough to have been spared that experience, Spain's transition to democracy thrived on dialogue and consensus. Madrid, therefore, had a deep symbolic value and its appointment as the venue for the Conference was a sound decision.

The Conference was finally held in October 2001, despite the logical difficulties of organising an event of this magnitude and the tragedy of the 11 September attacks which took everyone by surprise and ensured that things would never be the same again. The world seemed to come to a halt, but despite days of doubt and fear, we, the organisers and participants, eventually decided not to give up, but rather to overcome this tragic obstacle and turn it into another argument in favour of the Conference.

I would also like to underline the fact that, as far as format and content are concerned, the Conference on Democratic Transition and Consolidation was unprecedented. Never before had a civil society initiative succeeded in generating such an open and fruitful dialogue between such a large number of important Heads and former Heads of State and Government and the most prestigious group of academics specialising in the field of democratic transition ever to be gathered in one place for a common objective.

Now that the Conference on Democratic Transition and Consolidation is over, we are left with its 'offspring', the Club of Madrid, which all of us who participated in its creation hope to turn into an effective instrument in the struggle to strengthen democracy throughout the world.



Diego Hidalgo
President
FRIDE

CONFERENCE ON DEMOCRATIC
TRANSITION AND CONSOLIDATION

ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE

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Mikhail Gorbachev President of the Conference.
President of The Gorbachev Foundation of North America (GFNA).

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Juan Durán-Loriga Member of the Invitations and Protocol Committee.
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Andrés Ortega President of the Press and Media Relations Committee.
Editorialist and political analyst of El País.

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<p>FRIDE FUNDACIÓN PARA LAS RELACIONES INTERNACIONALES Y EL DIÁLOGO EXTERIOR</p> <p><i>President</i> Diego Hidalgo</p> <p><i>Vice President</i> Antonio Álvarez-Couceiro</p> <p><i>Trustee</i> José Manuel Romero</p> <p><i>Executive Director</i> María Sainz</p>	<p>Published by FRIDE</p> <p>Felipe IV, 9 - 1ª dcha. 28014 Madrid Tel. 91 524 10 81 Fax 91 522 73 01 e-mail: fride@fride.org www.fride.org</p> <p>Designed by Atela Diseño Gráfico</p> <p>Zurbarán 14 28014 Madrid Tel. 91 391 38 28 Fax 91 391 38 27 e-mail: atela@teleline.es</p>
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CONFERENCE ON DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION AND CONSOLIDATION

Cecilia Guerra

REGARDLESS OF THEIR ORIGINS OR power, politicians have always been accused of not being capable of listening. In this sense, perhaps the greatest achievement of the Conference on Democratic Transition and Consolidation, which took place in Madrid at the end of October, was to gather together for a two-day period over thirty Heads and former Heads of State and Government, united only by their unshakeable conviction that democracy and freedom are essential requirements for the progress and development of any society, with the sole aim of talking and listening, thinking and debating. This Conference was the largest gathering of political leaders ever to have been organised by non governmental organisations and had an eminently practical objective. Its organisers, the Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE) and the Gorbachev Foundation of North America (GFNA), were determined to prevent the Conference from becoming a mere show ground for empty talk that in the end, resulted in no tangible result. The idea was to focus on specific issues, first during the discussions of the groups of experts, and then during a meeting of Heads and former Heads of State and Government. The whole exercise proved a great success.

An unprecedented format

For eight days, the Conference was the venue for interdisciplinary debate, exchange of ideas and experiences,



Their Majesties the King and Queen of Spain, the President of the Government of Spain, José M^o Aznar, the President of the GFNA, Mikhail Gorbachev, and the President of FRIDE, Diego Hidalgo, entering the Plenary Room.

meetings and, unexpectedly, the creation of the **Club of Madrid**, a forum constituted by former Heads of State and Government whose principal aim is to act as a consultative, advisory body dedicated to helping countries engaged in processes of democratic transition or consolidation.

Beyond its huge media impact -it made headline news in almost all the national papers and was widely covered by the international press-, the Conference was unprecedented in that it aimed to bring together academics and political leaders, in order to merge two fields which have been separated all too often: theory and practice. Gathering

people who have spent years dealing with the same problems from completely different perspectives around the same table was a risky, yet potentially highly enriching undertaking. The conclusions and recommendations compiled by the

THE CONFERENCE VENUE FOR INTERDISCIPLINARY DEBATE, MEETINGS AND CREATION OF THE CLUB OF MADRID

experts for the Heads and former Heads of State and Government gained a deeper significance when analysed from the perspective of *realpolitik*. Similarly, the proposals made by political leaders gained added value when discussed by those who dedicate their lives to thinking about democracy and studying closely dozens of democratic transitions on all five continents. And it was this mixing of theory and practice that gave rise to the

Selection Criteria for Countries Invited to the Conference

The organisers of the Conference on Democratic Transition and Consolidation extended invitations to all countries that complied with the following requirements:

- To have experienced a process of democratic transition in the last thirty years.
- To have a score under 5.5, according to the rating criteria used in the Freedom in the World report, compiled annually by Freedom House.
- They must have a population of at least two million.

gathering's force and originality, two qualities that are now more necessary than ever in light of the democratic deterioration that became evident after the dust from the wave of democratisation following the fall of the Berlin Wall finally settled.

The experts proposed practical solutions

The Conference opened on 19 October with the experts' phase. Almost one hundred specialists in a wide variety of fields from over thirty different countries met for two days in a series of working groups with a clearly defined objective: to find practical solutions to the principal challenges facing young democracies or countries wishing to initiate a transition to a democratic system of government. The themes debated during the eight round tables aimed to cover the widest possible spectrum, from constitutional design and relations between the Executive and the Legislature and the Executive and the Judiciary, to the fight against corruption, the role of the armed and security forces, the reform of state bureaucracy, the strengthening of political parties and civil society and the improvement of social and economic conditions. Each round table was assigned a moderator (former Head of State or Government) and a coordinator, who were responsible for ensuring adherence to a strict working agenda: the conclusions had to be prepared for the

following weekend. This working method helped ensure that participants engaged in interdisciplinary dialogue right from the very beginning. And inevitably, at the forefront of everyone's minds hung the fateful date that changed the course of 21st century history: 11 September. The threat posed by terrorism to consolidated democracies increases a hundredfold in societies whose democratic government is still in its initial stages. 'In the long term, democracy is the best antidote for terrorism,' asserted the President of FRIDE, Diego Hidalgo, during the Conference's opening ceremony, which was attended by the Spanish Minister for Foreign Affairs, Josep Piqué. 'The idea that democracy, as a value or as an instrument, is the best tool we have for resolving problems was always the underlying philosophy of this Conference. But after those terrible attacks, this idea gained an even greater significance,' added Jorge Domínguez, Director of the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at the University of Harvard and member of the Conference's Executive Committee.

The closing session of the first phase of the Conference was attended by H. R. H. the Prince of Asturias, who classed the conclusions offered by the experts as 'extremely useful'. 'Following an original working model, Heads and former Heads of State and Government and highly respected academics specialising in questions relating to democratic transition

have tackled the difficulties involved in processes of this kind, and have shared their knowledge and expertise in the hope of finding solutions to one of the most serious problems of our modern era: the lack of freedom in which too many societies still live today,' said Prince Felipe. The conclusions and recommendations compiled for the Heads of State and Government are too long and complex to be summarised here (they can be consulted on FRIDE's web site: www.fride.org), but

all agreed on certain basic points, something which demonstrated the more pragmatic side to the gathering. Experts and political leaders came up with practical solutions whose underlying idea was to call attention to the advantages of



Experts during a working session.

democratic systems and find a way of ensuring their consolidation. Despite catering to the geographical, ethnical and cultural diversity of the different regions represented at the Conference, the proposed solutions were nevertheless based on a universal perspective. And, furthermore, the conclusions and recommendations touched on almost all the obstacles which a society must overcome in its long journey to freedom: ethnic conflicts, terrorist violence, the role of the armed and security forces, the fight against corruption in both the public and private sectors and inclusion, in the widest sense of the term.

IT'S NOT ENOUGH TO CONQUER TERRORISM. WE MUST ALSO BUILD

William J. Clinton

The second phase, that of the Heads and former Heads of State, began on 25 October in the midst of enormous media expectation and extraordinary security measures - hardly surprising when you consider that the opening ceremony was attended by thirty-four Heads and former Heads of State and Government, including some of the most important political figures from the second half of the 20th century, such as the former President of the United States, William J. Clinton, who travelled to Madrid on his



The four presidents of the Spanish democracy present at the Conference. Left to right: Felipe González, José M^a Aznar, Adolfo Suárez and Leopoldo Calvo-Sotelo.



H.M. the King Juan Carlos I giving the closing speech of the Conference.

own initiative in order to lend his personal support and to endorse the Conference. Mr Clinton gave a long,

**WE BELIEVED THAT
AFTER THE COLD WAR
WE WOULD USE OUR
RESOURCES TO MAKE
THINGS BETTER.
BUT WE HAVE FAILED**

Mikhail Gorbachev

moving speech in which he outlined the principal problems facing incipient democracies and made numerous references to the tragic events of 11 September. 'It is not enough to conquer terrorism. We must also build. Millions of children all over the world do not go to school, and this is going to have tragic consequences,' said the former President of the United States. 'For us, the most important thing in our lives is our common humanity, for them, it is our differences. For this reason, Irish-American or Italian-American Catholics died on the 11 September to save the lives of people of every race. The New York Times said that if the war against terrorism is limited to military operations, it will do no good whatsoever. But if it is used to build a fairer world, then it will very useful.' Mr Clinton's words hung over all the debates that took place during the final phase of the gathering. Ideas such as the conviction that democracy must be accompanied by social justice, that the fight against terrorism is only the beginning and that the developed world must support and aid those countries most in need of assistance, were at the forefront of everyone's minds, as were the reflections offered by Mikhail

Gorbachev, the Conference Chairman. The last President of the Soviet Union asked this question: 'Have we been focusing on the right things following the end of the Cold War, with our missiles and new war systems? Over the last ten years we have wasted a lot of time and lost a great opportunity. Instead of creating a new world order, we have let ourselves be carried along by inertia. I hope that this international coalition against terrorism will be the beginning of a joint effort to create a new order. We believed that after the Cold War we would use our resources to make things better. But we have failed. There are still poor people in the world, even more than before.'

**The proposals seen
from political experience**

The Conference's official opening ceremony took place on the morning of 26 October, with a speech given by the Spanish President, José María Aznar, to over thirty Heads and former Heads of State and Government from Africa, Asia, America and Europe. The first public document that arose from the gathering was a 'Declaration on Freedom and Against Terrorism'; a text that was especially significant since it was approved after an open debate between key political figures, whose only common ground was their firm commitment to the defence of democratic values. 'The strength of national and international democracy and the participation of society at large in our countries is the best shield against these abominable attacks of just a few. In consolidated democracies, terrorism can not be allowed to undermine our values nor our free way of life', affirmed the Declaration.

Later, in an in closed-door meeting at Madrid's Hotel Palace, far from the media turmoil surrounding the whole event, the political leaders began the proper conference. For two days, they discussed the conclusions and recommendations offered by the experts, comparing them with their own experiences in government. Those lucky enough to sit in on some of the debates described them as highly enriching, full of suggestions and self-criticism, but above all, full of realism. They were not debates designed to build castles in the air, but rather practical conversations about specific problems.

**The Club of Madrid:
dialogue for the future**

King Juan Carlos closed the official gathering with a speech, one of whose phrases made headline news in the Spanish press: 'Democracy is the only political system worthy of the human race.' The Conference on Democratic Transition and Consolidation has already gone down in history, but its objectives and motivations live on in the **Club of Madrid**, defined by Diego Hidalgo as 'an international body dedicated to fostering debate between intellectuals and politicians'. 'It aims to be a consultative body based on the belief that nothing is

**DEMOCRACY IS THE
ONLY POLITICAL
SYSTEM WORTHY OF
THE HUMAN RACE**

H.M. the King Juan Carlos I

as useful as dialogue. It will continue researching the themes dealt with during the Conference, as well as other issues such as nationalism and ethnic conflicts. The objective of the members of the Club is to obtain a certain degree of legitimacy in the observation and study of the world's problems,' added the President of FRIDE. This undertaking is yet another demonstration of the importance of civil society in the construction of a better world, and a clear indication that the Conference on Democratic Transition and Consolidation was much more than mere words. It was action also, and it is action that countries embarked on the difficult road to freedom really need.

PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE



Heads of State

- H. E. Rexhep Meidani**
President of Albania
- H. E. Fernando Henrique Cardoso**
President of Brazil
- H. E. Stjepan Mesic**
President of Croatia
- H. E. John Agyekum Kufuor**
President of Ghana
- H. E. Ferenc MádI**
President of Hungary
- H. E. Vaira Vike-Freiberga**
President of Latvia
- H. E. Valdas Adamkus**
President of Lithuania
- H. E. Joaquim Alberto Chissano**
President of Mozambique
- H. E. Ion Iliescu**
President of Romania

Heads of Government

- H. E. José María Aznar**
President of the Spanish Government
- H. E. Martin Ziguéle**
Prime Minister of the Central African Republic
- H. E. Milos Zeman**
Prime Minister of the Czech Republic
- H. E. Dragisa Pesic**
Prime Minister of Yugoslavia

Former Heads of State

- H. E. William J. Clinton**
Former President of the United States
- H. E. Leonel Fernández (Moderator)**
Former President of the Dominican Republic
- H. E. José María Figueres (Moderator)**
Former President of Costa Rica
- H. E. Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle**
Former President of Chile
- H. E. César Gaviria (Moderator)**
Former President of Colombia
- H. E. Osvaldo Hurtado**
Former President of Ecuador
- H. E. Lennart Meri**
Former President of Estonia
- H. E. Valentín Paniagua (Moderator)**
Former President of Peru
- H. E. Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada**
Former President of Bolivia
- H. E. Julio María Sanguinetti (Moderator)**
Former President of Uruguay
- H. E. Mario Soares**
Former President of Portugal
- H. E. Ernesto Zedillo**
Former President of México

Former Heads of Governments

- H. E. Leopoldo Calvo-Sotelo**
Former Primer Minister of Spain
- H. E. Kim Campbell (Moderator)**
Former Primer Minister of Canada
- H. E. Aníbal Cavaco Silva (Moderator)**
Former Primer Minister of Portugal
- H. E. Felipe González Márquez**
Former Primer Minister of Spain
- H. E. I. K. Gujral (Moderator)**
Former Primer Minister of India
- H. E. Lee Hong-Koo**
Former Primer Minister of South Korea
- H. E. Tadeusz Mazowiecki**
Former Primer Minister of Poland
- H. E. Adolfo Suárez**
Former Primer Minister of Spain

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General Coordinator

Constitutional Design

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Jon Elster
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Christina Murray
Victor Pérez-Díaz
Ulrich K. Preuss
María Teresa Sadek
Ian Shapiro
Alec Stone Sweet
Luc Turgeon

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Antonio Octavio Cintra
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Pierre du Toit
Ralph Espach
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Klaus Von Beyme
Jeffrey Weldon

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Ricardo Gil Lavedra
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Steven Holmes
Lynn S. Khadiagala
Martin Krygier
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Mónica Nagel
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Rafael Di Tella
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Daniel Kaufmann
Miklos Marschall
Karl Ove Moene
András Sajó
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Coordinator

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Raúl Benítez Manaut
María Carrilho
Gavin Cawthra
Cristina Eguizabal
Thomaz Guedes da Costa
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Rodolfo Martín Villa
Rafael Pardo
Fabián Oddone
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The Reform of the State Bureaucracy

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Alex Brillantes
Suchit Bumbongkarn
Ernesto Garilao
Béatrice Hibou
Joo-Youn Jung
George T. Kastner
Kwang Woong Kim
Darina Malová
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Kathleen M. O'Neill

Strengthening of Political and Social Pluralism and of Political Parties

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Anna Grzymala-Busse
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Joan Nelson
Adam Przeworski
Andrew Richards
Barbara Stallings
Juan Carlos Torre

PHOTO ALBUM



Diego Hidalgo, Jorge I. Domínguez and Dan Sharp.



Diego Hidalgo, next to Javier Solana and Fernando H. Cardoso.

Diego Hidalgo and José Manuel Romero welcome the Presidente of Ghana, John A. Kufuor.



H.R.H. the Prince of Asturias and Kim Campbell.



Plenary Rooms during the Closing Session of the Conference.



Working group of Heads and former Heads of State and Government.



Opening Session of the experts phase. Left to right.: Dan Sharp, Diego Hidalgo, Josep Piqué, George Mathews and Antonio Álvarez-Couceiro.



Working group of experts on the Judiciary.

THE GROUP DISCUSSION PROCESS OF THE CONFERENCE

Jorge I. Domínguez • *Harvard University*



THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY, AND the consolidation of democratic principles, practices, and institutions, are complex and multifaceted processes. Yet, analysts at times have proceeded as if this were a single process or, more surprisingly, a single "event." In the design of the Conference on Democratic Transition and Consolidation, we began from the premise that more fruitful analysis would flow from more precise and focused discussions of key components of democratic transition and consolidation.

We convoked experts to ponder the following topics: 1) the design of constitutions; 2) the role of the courts and their relationship to the executive; 3) the role of the legislature and its relationship to the executive; 4) the role of the armed forces and the internal security forces; 5) the reform of the state bureaucracy; 6) anti-corruption measures; 7) the strengthening of political parties and of social and political pluralism; and 8) the effect and results on economic and social circumstances. Experts included both academics who have worked on the subject and practitioners who have reflected thoughtfully on their political roles. Because there is considerable variation across countries, we invited participants from the world over.

Each panel had an internationally renowned scholar as its coordinator. Each coordinator proposed a list of experts to the Conference's executive committee; the latter issued the invitations after making appropriate adjustments. Each coordinator formulated a set of questions on the panel topic; each expert wrote a short paper addressing some or several of those questions. Papers were circulated in advance among panel members. Each panel had a former Head of State or Government as a moderator. These moderators steered the discussion and kept it pertinent to the world as they had experienced it as democratic rulers. Each panel met for long, intensive, and

consecutive sessions, following the coordinator's agenda of questions. Panelists were expected to have read all the papers of their group in advance; no paper was presented at any panel. The purpose of the panels was to refine the collective analysis, to identify the principal areas of agreement and disagreement, and the reasons for each, and to formulate pertinent recommendations, if any. The coordinators synthesized these discussions in a report drafted immediately after the meetings of experts adjourned. In effect, the Conference of experts amounted to eight simultaneous mini-conferences, each on a distinct though related topic.

Democratic transition and consolidation are too important to leave to experts alone. Within days of the adjournment of the conference of experts, a conference of Heads of State and Government of countries experiencing democratic transition or consolidation gathered also in Madrid. Each current Head of State or Government had an opportunity in plenary session to set forth his views about the key issues for democratic transition and consolidation in his country and in general. They were joined by a number of distinguished former Heads of State and Government principally from countries that had also been engaged in democratic transitions or consolidation in the last third of the twentieth century. Each participant had received in advance the reports and executive summaries from the eight groups of experts prepared just days earlier.

At the Conference, the Heads and former Heads of State and Government subdivided in small groups. (A separate group of eminent persons, none of whom was or had been a Head of State or Government, met also to discuss similar issues following the same procedure.) In order to present the results from the deliberations of the experts and to steer the discussions among the Heads and former Heads of

State and Government, four briefing teams were created, each constituted of one moderator and two coordinators. The eight topics discussed in the experts' phase of the Conference were re-clustered as four pairs of two topics that were substantively related. The four briefing teams rotated on a pre-determined schedule through the groups of Heads and former Heads of State and Government to permit the discussion of all eight initial topics that the experts had considered. Each coordinator was instructed, however, to highlight a salient issue to facilitate the discussion. (No papers were presented, and no long speeches delivered, at these group discussions.) Each moderator steered the discussion to combine analysis and practical experience. Each discussion group involved Heads and former Heads of State and Government from different parts of the globe in order to foster comparisons and contrasts of national circumstances. Upon the adjournment of this phase of the Conference, each coordinator drafted a report of that portion of the discussion pertinent to the topic on which she or he had worked throughout all phases of the Conference.

Book of the Conference on Democratic Transition and Consolidation

FRIDE plans to publish shortly a compilation of the documents presented during the Conference on Democratic Transition and Consolidation.

The publication will include the conclusions and recommendations prepared by the experts for debate by the Heads and former Heads of State and Government, as well as the reports of the said debates. These documents are currently available for consultation at the FRIDE's website:

www.fride.org.