

The conference is held under the auspices of  
 Minister of Foreign Affairs Karel Schwarzenberg  
 and Lord Mayor of Prague Pavel Bém

## CONFERENCE PROGRAM

### JUNE 4

**18.30** **Welcome Reception (By special invitation only)**

**Venue:** **Lord Mayor's Residence**

*Welcome:* PAVEL BÉM, Lord Mayor of Prague (TBC)

*Opening remarks:* JOSÉ MARÍA AZNAR, VÁCLAV HAVEL, NATAN SHARANSKY

**20.00** **Opening Dinner (By special invitation only)**

**Venue:** **Mlýnec Restaurant**

*Welcome:* PŘEMYSL SOBOTKA, President of the Senate of the Czech Republic

*Introductions:* ALEXANDR VONDRA, Deputy Prime Minister for European Affairs of the Czech Republic

*Keynote remarks:* TOOMAS HENDRIK ILVES, President of Estonia  
 JOSEPH I. LIEBERMAN, US Senator, Connecticut

### JUNE 5

#### CONFERENCE – DAY 1

**Venue:** **Czernin Palace – Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

**08.00** **Registration**

**09.00** *Conference opening*

*Welcome:* KAREL SCHWARZENBERG, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Czech Republic

**09.10** *Panel 1*

**HAS THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS REACHED AN IMPASSE?**

**DANIEL POLISAR, HERBERT LONDON, RICHARD DEARLOVE, BASSEM EID,  
 KANAN MAKIYA, BRUCE JACKSON**

*Attempts to establish democracies in Iraq, Afghanistan and the Palestinian Authority have encountered numerous obstacles and difficulties. Many view this as a failure of the very concept that maintains that democracy is feasible everywhere in the world. Is this indeed so? Is this a fundamentally flawed concept, or is it perhaps the implementation of the concept that is fraught with error? Is democracy the exclusive*

*birthright of the West, and consequently an unnatural form of government for other nations? How universal is the Western model of democracy? Is democracy currently in retreat, or is it perhaps just the opposite? Does this mean that there are nations which are not ready for democracy and that any attempt to implement it by force is doomed to failure, which has an adverse effect primarily on the West? Can oppressed societies free themselves without a significant degree of foreign assistance or intervention? Which forms of external policy are likely to be the most conducive to the promotion of democracy?*

**10.40** Coffee Break

**11.00** Panel 2  
**DOES THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIZATION CONTRIBUTE TO SECURITY?**

**MICHAEL ŽANTOVSKÝ, JOSHUA MURAVCHIK, JOSEF JANNING,  
MOHSEN SAZEGARA, MUDAWI IBRAHIM ADAM, MARTIN KRAMER**

*Do we believe that democratization enhances security, and that democracy brings more security? Many people in the free world believe that attempts to establish a democratic society in countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan and the Palestinian Authority have led to instability and anarchy, ultimately strengthening the radicals. As a result, the dangers for the free world have increased. Does this mean that the free world should aspire primarily to the attainment of stability and consequently support friendly tyrants because they are the only ones capable of imposing and enforcing order in their countries? Do not “fear” societies provide only an illusion of stability? Are there circumstances when a democracy should cooperate with a dictatorship? Who is more effective in the war on terror – a strong dictator or a democracy? Can international stability be built and maintained between states, some of which are free and democratic and some of which are not?*

**12.30** Buffet luncheon

**13.30** Panel 3  
**WHAT ARE THE RIGHT WAYS TO MAKE THE TRANSITION FROM A TOTALITARIAN/AUTHORITARIAN REGIME TO A DEMOCRACY?**

**JORGE MORAGAS, GARRI KASPAROV, MARC PLATTNER, CHRISTIAN SCHMIDT,  
JUNNING LIU, RICHARD PERLE**

*What are we really promoting: freedom, democracy or both? Which is more important? What institutions, standards and procedures are indispensable for building a democratic society? Many in the West believe that elections are the foundation for the building of a democratic society, and that the democratization process starts with and rests on democratic elections. Is this so? Is it necessary first to build the infrastructure for a free civic society, to be followed by democratic elections, or should the order be the other way around? Should elections be the beginning or rather the end of the process? What is a realistic timeframe? Why*

*did the elections held recently in various countries paradoxically culminate in the victory of the enemies of democracy? Do elections provide democratic legitimacy, or just legality? Is the absence of the rule of law the most serious obstacle on the way to democracy? What lessons should be learned from the transition to democracy in Eastern Europe, Russia, Asia and the Middle East? What should be done to enable societies to make a smooth transition from a society based on fear to one that is free and democratic? What happened to human rights? Is the respect for basic human rights a prerequisite for democracy? How can we reconcile massive violations of human rights with claims to democratic legitimacy?*

**16.00**                    **Remarks by the President of the United States of America**

**Venue:**                    **Czernin Palace – Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

**20.00**                    **Dinner (By special invitation only)**

**Venue:**                    **Kampa Museum**

*Remarks: PETER ACKERMAN, IRWIN COTLER, JOSEF JOFFE*

**JUNE 6**

**CONFERENCE – DAY 2**

**Venue:**                    **Czernin Palace – Ministry of Foreign Affairs**

**08.00**                    **Registration**

**09.00**                    *Roundtable*

**THE ROLE OF DISSIDENTS IN SOCIETY**

**DISSIDENTS DISCUSSING WITH JOSÉ MARÍA AZNAR, VÁCLAV HAVEL, NATAN SHARANSKY (MODERATED BY JAN URBAN)**

*JOSÉ BRECHNER, MOHAMED ELJAHMI, AMIR ABBAS FAKHRAVAR, FARID GHADRY, SAAD EDDIN IBRAHIM, ISSAM ABU ISSA, CHEOL-HWAN KANG, ALEKSANDR MILINKEVICH, RAFAEL RUBIO*

*Unlike political and religious leaders, dissidents do not lead popular movements. What is their most effective role? What real ability do they have to influence events? Can they bring about significant change? Should the free world support them? Dissidents do not wage their struggles against totalitarian regimes in a vacuum. They are not alone. Also fighting with them are other movements, which are often undemocratic, even antidemocratic. To what extent is cooperation between these movements and dissidents necessary? To what extent is it feasible? What alliances can be made? What policy should be followed vis-à-vis these movements? How can cooperation*

*between dissidents from different countries be fostered and strengthened? How can their influence in their own countries be increased? What is more important: to support reforms or the people that demand them?*

**10.40** Coffee Break

**11.00** Panel 4

**THE ROLE OF DEMOCRATIC STATES, INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND THE MEDIA IN THE GLOBAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT**

**DAVID BERCUSON, TOD LINDBERG, CHIN-MO CHENG, STEFANO SILVESTRI, JAMIE SHEA, WALID PHARES, ELI KHOURY, ZAINAB AL-SUWAIJ, ANNE BAYEFISKY**

*What is the role of the United Nations, NGOs, and human rights organizations? What policy should the free world, democratic governments, organizations and movements adopt vis-à-vis dissidents? What is the role for the EU and NATO? What is the role of the media in the dissidents' struggle? Who will guarantee the integrity of the global democratic process: a benevolent empire, an international community, or an alliance of democracies? When, if at all, are various players (individuals, states, international organizations) entitled to question or reject the results of an electoral process, albeit conducted under democratic rules? Who will "shave the barber"?*

**12.30** Buffet luncheon

**13.30** Panel 5

**THE ROLE OF CENTRAL EUROPEANS IN EU-RUSSIA RELATIONS**

**FRASER CAMERON, LUDMILLA ALEXEEVA, EUGENIUSZ SMOLAR, ALEXANDR VONDRA, KARL-THEODOR VON UND ZU GUTTENBERG, IRINA KRASOVSKAYA**

*How does Russia relate to the democracy and security nexus? What has the EU to do to shape its policy towards Russia in terms of a "value-based" approach instead of pure Realpolitik driven by energy sector? And what should be the role of CEE states in EU's Eastern Policy? Can we find a common understanding with current Russian leadership on democracy? Will Russia perceive democratization in the post-Soviet space as detrimental to its security?*

**15.00** Adjourn