

HAUPTSEMINAR

(Mi. 16.00 - 18.00 Uhr – UNI 3, R. 205)

„Demokratieförderung: Lässt sich Demokratie von außen fördern und erzwingen?“

Voraussetzungen: abgeschlossenes Grundstudium, gute Englischkenntnisse, Kenntnisse in Systemtransformations- und Entwicklungstheorien sowie in den Theorien Internationaler Beziehungen

Lernorganisation: Plenardiskussion auf der Grundlage von Texten (maßgeblich)

Leistungsnachweise: mündliche Beteiligung, Kurzpräsentationen, wöchentliche Pflichtlektüre, Hausarbeit

Zuordnung: Vergl. Politikwissenschaft, Politische Systeme, Intermed. Strukturen, Demokratieforschung

	DATUM	THEMEN
1.	19.10.	Einführung
I. Grundlagen der Demokratieförderung		
2.	26.10.	Die internationale Dimension des Systemwechsels <u>Lektüre:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Burnell, Peter (2000). Democracy Assistance. International Co-operation for Democratization. London-Portland, Frank Cass: 3-64.• Whitehead, Laurence (2004). Democratization with the benefit of hindsight: The changing international components. In: Edward Newman and Roland Rich: The UN Role in Promoting Democracy between Ideals and Reality. Tokyo-New York-Paris, United Nations University Press: University Press: 135-165.
3.	02.11.	Voraussetzung für Demokratie: Ökonomische Entwicklung, State-building, Nation-building <u>Lektüre:</u> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Merkel, Wolfgang et al. (2003): Defekte Demokratien. Band 1: Theorien: 187-238.• Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan (1996). „Stateness“, Nationalism, and Democratization. In: Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan: Problems of Democratic Transitions and Consolidation. Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press: 16-37.• Fukuyama, Francis (2005): “Stateness First”. Journal of Democracy. Vol. 16. No. 1: 84-88.

4.	09.11.	<p>Entwicklungshilfe und Demokratieförderung</p> <p><u>Lektüre:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mair, Stefan (1997): „Internationale Demokratisierungshilfe“. Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte. B43: 30-37. • Carothers, Thomas (2002). "The End of the Transition Paradigm." Journal of Democracy 13(1): 5-21.
5.	16.11.	<p>Demokratieförderung in multidimensionalen Friedensoperationen: peace-keeping, peace-building, peace-enforcement, occupation</p> <p><u>Lektüre:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sisk, Timothy D. (2003) Democratization and Peace Building. Perils and Promises. In: Crocker, Chester A. and Hampson, Fen Osler: Turbulent Peace. The Challenges of Managing International Conflict. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press: 785-800. • Guéhenno, Jean-Marie (2002). On the Challenges and Achievements of Reforming UN Peace Operations. In: Newman, Edward and Albrecht Schnabel, Eds. (2002). Recovering from Civil Conflict. Reconciliation, Peace and Development. London, Frank Cass: 69-80.
II. Akteure und Instrumente der Demokratieförderung		
6.	23.11.	<p>Nationale Demokratieförderer I: BMZ, GTZ, deutsche Stiftungen</p> <p><u>Lektüre:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BMZ (2005). Förderung von Demokratie in der deutschen Entwicklungspolitik. Unterstützung politischer Reformprozesse und Beteiligung der Bevölkerung. Ein Positionspapier des BMZ. • Mair, Stefan (1999). Germany's Stiftungen and Democracy Assistance: Comparative Advantages In: Burnell, Peter (2000). Democracy Assistance. International Co-operation for Democratization. London-Portland, Frank Cass, 128-149.
7.	30.11.	<p>Nationale Demokratieförderer II: US-Regierung, USAID</p> <p><u>Lektüre:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dobbins, James F. (2003). America's Role in Nation-building: From Germany to Iraq. Survival. Vo. 45, No.4: 87-110. • Hobbson, Christopher (2005). "A forward strategy of freedom in the Middle East: US democracy promotion and the 'war on terror'." Australian Journal of International Affairs 59(1): 39-53.
8.	07.12.	<p>Regionale Demokratieförderer: EU, AU, ECOWAS, OECD</p> <p><u>Lektüre:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peck, Connie (2001). The Role of Regional Organizations in Preventing and Resolving Conflict. In: Crocker, Chester A. and Hampson, Fen Osler: Turbulent Peace. The Challenges of Managing International Conflict. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press: 561-583. • Santiso, Carlos (2002). "Promoting Democracy by Conditioning Aid? Towards a More Effective EU Development Assistance." Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft (3): 107-133.
9.	14.12.	<p>Internationale Demokratieförderer: UNO, IWF, WTO</p> <p><u>Lektüre:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rich, Roland and Edward Newman (2004). Introduction: Approaching democratization policy. In: Edward Newman and Roland Rich. The UN Role in Promoting Democracy Between Ideals and Reality. Tokyo-New York-Paris, United Nations University Press: 3-31. • Ponzio, Richard (2004). UNDP experience in long-term democracy assistance. In: Edward Newman and Roland Rich: The UN Role in Promoting Democracy between Ideals and Reality. Tokyo-New York-Paris, United Nations University Press: 208-229.

III. Demokratie durch Krieg		
10.	21.12.	<p>Afghanistan I: Legalität und Legitimität der Intervention</p> <p><u>Lektüre:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chesterman, Simon (2004). Humanitarian Intervention and Afghanistan. In: Jennifer M. Welsh: Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 163-175. • Donini, Antonio (2004). Principles, Politics, and Pragmatism in the International Response to the Afghan Crisis. In: Donini, Antonio, Norah Niland and Karin Wemester: Nation-Building unravelled? Aid, Peace and Justice in Afghanistan. Bloomfield, Kumarian Press: 117-141.
11.	11.01.	<p>Afghanistan II: „Nation-building“ und „State-building“</p> <p><u>Lektüre:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wilke, Boris (2004): Staatsbildung in Afghanistan? Zwischenbilanz der internationalen Präsenz am Hindukusch. SWP Studie 2004/S 30. • Dadfar Spanta, Rangin (2005). Afghanistan: Nation-building in the Shadow of the Warlords and the "War on Terror". In: Hippler, Jochen. Nation-building. A Key Concept for Peaceful Conflict Transformation?, London, Pluto Press: 70-80. • Mardsen, Peter (2003). "Afghanistan: the Reconstruction Process." In: International Affairs, Vol. 79, No. 1: 91-105.
12.	18.01.	<p>Afghanistan III: Aufbau demokratischer Strukturen</p> <p><u>Lektüre:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Komano, Kinichi (2005). "The Role of Elections in the Peace-Building and Reconstruction of Afghanistan." Asia Pacific Review 12(1): 1-16. • Rubin, Barnett R. (2004). "Crafting a Constitution for Afghanistan." In: Journal of Democracy, Vol. 15, No. 3: 5-19. • Goodson, Larry P. (2004). "Afghanistan in 2003: the Taliban Resurface and a new Constitution is born." In: Asian Survey. A bimonthly review of contemporary asian affairs, Vol. 44, No. 1: 14-22.
13.	25.01.	<p>Irak I: Legalität und Legitimität der Intervention</p> <p><u>Lektüre:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yoo, John (2003): "International Law and the War in Iraq." In: The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 97, No. 3: 563-576. • Tomuschat, Christian (2003): "Völkerrecht ist kein Zweiklassenrecht. Der Irak-Krieg und seine Folgen." In: Vereinte Nationen. Zeitschrift für die Vereinten Nationen und ihre Sonderorganisationen, Vol. 51, No. 2: 41-46.
14.	01.02.	<p>Irak II: Problematik des „Demokratieförderers“ USA</p> <p><u>Lektüre</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anderson, Liam and Gareth Stansfield (2004). The Future of Iraq. Dictatorship, Democracy, or Division? New York, Palgrave: 185-237. • Jabar, Faleh A. (2004). Postconflict Iraq. A Race for Stability, Reconstruction, and Legitimacy. In: United States Institute of Peace. Special Report No. 120, May 2004.
15.	08.02.	<p>Irak III: Aufbau demokratischer Strukturen</p> <p><u>Lektüre</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diamond, Larry (2005). „Lessons from Iraq.“ Journal of Democracy. Vol. 16. No. 1: 9-23. • Dawisha, Adeed (2005). "The New Iraq. Democratic Institutions and Performance." Journal of Democracy. Vol. 16. No. 3.
16.	15.02.	<p>Abschlussdiskussion</p>

Literatur:

Allison, Graham T. Jr. and Robert P. Jr. Beschel (1992). "Can the United States Promote Democracy?" Political Science Quarterly 107(1): 81-98. Baskin, Mark (2003). "Review article: Post-Conflict administration and reconstruction." International Affairs 79(1): 161-170. Bastian, Sunil and Robin

- Luckham, Eds. (2003). *Can Democracy be designed? The Politics of Institutional Choice in Conflict-Torn Societies*. Democratic Transition in Conflict-Torn Societies. London-New York, Zed Books.
- Baraki, Matin (2002): "Afghanistan nach "Petersberg"." In: *Blätter für deutsche und internationale Politik*, Vol. 47, No. 2: 147-150.
- Beetham, David (2004). "Towards a universal framework for democracy assessment." *Democratization* 11(2): 1-17.
- Belloni, Roberto (2004). "Peacebuilding and Consociational Electoral Engineering in Bosnia and Herzegovina." *International Peacekeeping* 11(2): 334-353.
- Benedikter, Roland (2004). "Demokratie für den Irak? Drei Modelle im Vergleich." *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 29(1): 27-52.
- Bergholz, Katrin and Jenni Winterhagen (2005). *Stabilität exportieren? Dokumentation einer Ringvorlesung. Interdisziplinäre Arbeitspapiere*. Berlin, Osteuropa-Institut der Freien Universität Berlin.
- BMZ (2005). *Förderung von Demokratie in der deutschen Entwicklungspolitik. Unterstützung politischer Reformprozesse und Beteiligung der Bevölkerung*. Ein Positionspapier des BMZ.
- Bose, Sumantra (2005). "The Bosnian State a Decade after Dayton." *International Peacekeeping* 12(3): 322-335.
- Brown, Stephen (2005). "Foreign Aid and Democracy Promotion: Lessons from Africa." *The European Journal of Development Research* 17(2): 179 - 198.
- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Randolph M. Siverson and Gary Woller (1992). "War and The Fate of Regimes: A Comparative Analysis." *American Political Science Review* 86(3): 638-646.
- Burnell, Peter (2000). *Democracy Assistance: The State of the Discourse*. Democracy Assistance. International Co-operation for Democratization. Peter Burnell. London-Portland, Frank Cass: 3-33.
- Burnell, Peter (2004). "Democracy Promotion: The Elusive Quest for Grand Strategies." *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft*(3): 100-117.
- Burnell, Peter (2004). "The Domestic Political Impact of Foreign Aid: Recalibrating the Research Agenda." *The European Journal of Development Research* 16(2): 396-416.
- Burnell, Peter, Ed. (2000). *Democracy Assistance*. International Co-operation for Democratization. London, Frank Cass.
- Caplan, Richard (2002). *A New Trusteeship? The International Administration of War-torn Territories*. Adelphi Paper 341. The International Institute for Strategic Studies. Oxford University Press.
- Caplan, Richard (2004). "Partner or Patron? International Civil Administration and Local Capacity-Building." *International Peacekeeping* 11(2): 229-247.
- Caplan, Richard (2005). "Who Guards the Guardians? International Accountability in Bosnia." *International Peacekeeping* 12(3): 463-476.
- Carapico, Sheila (2002). "Foreign Aid for Promoting Democracy in the Arab World." *Middle East Journal* 56(3): 379-395.
- Carothers, Thomas (1999). *Aiding Democracy Abroad. The Learning Curve*. Washington, D.C., Brookings Institution Press.
- Carothers, Thomas (2000). *Taking Stock of Democracy Assistance*. In: Michael Cox, G. John Ikenberry and Takashi Inoguchi. *American Democracy Promotion. Impulses, Strategies, and Impact*. Oxford-New York, Oxford University Press: 181-199.
- Carothers, Thomas (2002). "The End of the Transition Paradigm." *Journal of Democracy* 13(1): 5-21.
- Carothers, Thomas (2004). *Critical Mission: Essays on Democracy Promotion*. Washington.
- Carothers, Thomas and Marina S. Ottaway, Eds. (2005). *Uncharted Journey: Promoting Democracy in the Middle East*. Washington.
- Chesterman, Simon (2004). *Humanitarian Intervention and Afghanistan*. In: Jennifer M. Welsh: *Humanitarian Intervention and International Relations*. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 163-175.
- Chesterman, Simon (2004). *You, the People. The United Nations, Transitional Administration, and State-Building*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Cobbs, Elizabeth A. (1991). *U.S. Business: Self-Interest and Neutrality. Exporting Democracy. The United States and Latin America. Case Studies*. Abraham F. Lowenthal. Baltimore-London, Johns Hopkins University Press: 142-173.
- Cox, Michael, G. John Ikenberry and Takashi Inoguchi, Eds. (2000). *American Democracy Promotion. Impulses, Strategies, and Impacts*. Oxford-New York, Oxford University Press.
- Crawford, Gordon (2003). "Promoting Democracy from Without - Learning from Within (Part I)." *Democratization* 10(1): 77-98.
- Crawford, Gordon (2003). "Promoting Democracy From Without - Learning From Within (Part II)." *Democratization* 10(2): 1-20.

- Crocker, Chester A. and Hampson, Fen Osler, Eds. (2001). *Turbulent Peace. The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Czempiel, Ernst-Otto (2004). "Demokratisierung von außen. Vorhaben und Folgen." *Merkur. Deutsche Zeitschrift für europäisches Denken* 58(6): 467-479.
- Czempiel, Ernst-Otto (2005). "Strategien der Demokratisierung. Intervention und Freiheit im Zeitalter der Interdependenz." *Internationale Politik* 60(5): 92-101.
- Dadfar Spanta, Rangin (2005). *Afghanistan: Nation-building in the Shadow of the Warlords and the "War on Terror"*. In: Hippler, Jochen. *Nation-building. A Key Concept for Peaceful Conflict Transformation?* London, Pluto Press: 70-80.
- Dawisha, Adeed (2004). "Iraq: Setbacks, Advances, Prospects." *Journal of Democracy* 15(1): 5-20.
- Dawisha, Adeed (2005). "The New Iraq. Democratic Institutions and Performance." *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 16. No. 3.
- Diamond, Larry (1991). "Promoting Democracy." *Foreign Policy* 87(Summer): 25-46.
- Diamond, Larry (1997). *Promoting democracy in the 1990s: actors, instruments, and issues*. In: Axel Hadenius (Ed.). *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 311-370.
- Diamond, Larry (2002). *Advancing Democratic Governance: A Global Perspective on the Status of Democracy and Directions for International Assistance*. Stanford, Hoover Institution at Stanford University.
- Diamond, Larry (2005). *Lessons from Iraq*. *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 16. No. 1: 9-23.
- Dobbins, James F. (2003). "America's Role in Nation-Building: From Germany to Iraq." Washington, Rand Corporation.
- Dobbins, James F. (2005). "Iraq: Winning the Unwinnable War." *Foreign Affairs* 84(1): 16-25.
- Dobbins, James F., Seth G. Jones, Keith Crane, Andrew Rathmell, Brett Steele, Richard Teltschik and Anga Timilsina (2005). *The UN's Role in Nation-Building. From the Congo to Iraq*. Washington, Rand Corporation.
- Doh, Chull Shin (1994). "On the Third Wave of Democratization. A Synthesis and Evaluation of Recent Theory and Research." *World Politics* 47(1): 135-170.
- Donini, Antonio (2004). *Principles, Politics, and Pragmatism in the International Response to the Afghan Crisis*. In: Donini, Antonio, Norah Niland and Karin Wemester: *Nation-Building unravelled? Aid, Peace and Justice in Afghanistan*. Bloomfield, Kumarian Press: 117-141.
- Doorenspleet, Renske (2004). "The structural context of recent transitions to democracy." *European Journal of Political Research* 43(3): 309-335.
- Eizenstat, Stuart E., John Edward Porter and Jeremy M. Weinstein (2005). "Rebuilding Weak States." *Foreign Affairs* 84(1): 134-146.
- Ethier, Diane (2003). "Is Democracy Promotion Effective? Comparing Conditionality and Incentives." *Democratization* 10(1): 99-120.
- Feldman, Noah (2004). *What We Owe Iraq: War and the Ethics of Nation Building*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Fukuyama, Francis (2004). *Staaten bauen. Die neue Herausforderung internationaler Politik*. Berlin, Propläen.
- Fukuyama, Francis (2005). "Stateness First". *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 16. No. 1: 84-88.
- Gershman, Carl (2004). "Democracy promotion: the relationship of political parties and civil society." *Democratization* 11(3): 27-35.
- Goodson, Larry P. (2003). "Afghanistan's long Road to Reconstruction." In: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 14, No. 1: 82-99.
- Goodson, Larry P. (2004). "Afghanistan in 2003: the Taliban Resurface and a new Constitution is born." In: *Asian Survey. A bimonthly review of contemporary asian affairs*, Vol. 44, No. 1: 14-22.
- Grimm, Sonja (2004). *Verpflichten Menschenrechte zur Demokratie? Über universelle Menschenrechte, politische Teilhabe und demokratische Herrschaftsordnungen*. Discussion Paper SP IV 2004-201. Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB). Berlin.
- Gromes, Thorsten, Bernhard Moltmann and Bruno Schoch (2004). "Demokratie-Experimente in Nachbürgerkriegsgesellschaften. Bosnien und Herzegowina, Nordirland und Kosovo im Vergleich." *HSFK-Report*(9/2004).
- Guéhenno, Jean-Marie (2002). *On the Challenges and Achievements of Reforming UN Peace Operations*. In: Newman, Edward and Albrecht Schnabel, Eds. (2002). *Recovering from Civil Conflict. Reconciliation, Peace and Development*. London, Frank Cass: 69-80.
- Hadenius, Axel (1992). *Democracy and Development*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Hermann, Margaret G. and Charles W. Jr. Kegley (2001). "Democracies and Intervention: Is there a Danger Zone in Democratic Peace?" *Journal of Peace Research* 38(2): 237-245.

- Hippler, Jochen (2005) (Ed.) Nation-building. A Key Concept for Peaceful Conflict Transformation? London. Pluto Press.
- Hobson, Christopher (2005). "A forward strategy of freedom in the Middle East: US democracy promotion and the 'war on terror'." *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 59(1): 39-53.
- Holzgrefe, J. L. and Robert O. Keohane, Eds. (2004). *Humanitarian Intervention. Ethical, Legal, and Political Dilemmas*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Hook, Steven W. (2002). Inconsistent U.S. Efforts to Promote Democracy Abroad. In: Peter J. Schraeder: *Exporting Democracy*. Boulder-London, Lynne Rienner: 109-128.
- Huntington, Samuel P. (1997). *The Clash of Civilizations*. New York.
- Jagers, Keith and Ted Gurr (1995). "Transitions to Democracy: Tracking the Third Wave with Polity III Indicators of Democracy and Autocracy." *Journal of Peace Research* 32(4): 469-483.
- Jaraus, Konrad (2004). *Die Umkehr. Deutsche Wandlungen 1945-1995*. München, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt.
- Knack, Stephen (2004). "Does Foreign Aid Promote Democracy?" *International Studies Quarterly* 48(1): 251-266.
- Komano, Kinichi (2005). "The Role of Elections in the Peace-Building and Reconstruction of Afghanistan." *Asia Pacific Review* 12(1): 1-16.
- Kümmel, Gerhard (1999). Internationale Einflussfaktoren bei der Konstituierung von Demokratie. In: Dirk Berg-Schlosser and Hans-Joachim Giegel. *Perspektiven der Demokratie. Probleme und Chancen im Zeitalter der Globalisierung*. Frankfurt-New York, Campus: 82-99.
- Lijphart, Arend/Waismann, Carlos H. (1996). *Institutional Design in New Democracies*, Boulder.
- Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan (1996). „Stateness“, Nationalism, and Democratization. In: Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan: *Problems of Democratic Transitions and Consolidation*. Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press: 16-37.
- Lowenthal, Abraham F., Ed. (1991). *Exporting Democracy. The United States and Latin America. Case Studies*. Baltimore-London, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Luttwak, Edward N. (2005). "Iraq: The Logic of Disengagement." *Foreign Affairs* 84(1): 26-36.
- Mainwaring, Scott (1992). *Transitions to Democracy and Democratic Consolidation: Theoretical and Comparative Issues*. Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective. Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell and J. Samuel Valenzuela. Notre Dame, Notre Dame University Press: 294-341.
- Mair, Stefan (1997): „Internationale Demokratisierungshilfe.“ *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*. B43: 30-37.
- Mair, Stefan (2000). *Germany's Stiftungen and Democracy Assistance: Comparative Advantages, New Challenges*. Democracy Assistance. International Co-operation for Democratization. Peter Burnell. London, Frank Cass: 128-149.
- Mansfield, Edward D. (1995). "Democratization and the Danger of War." *International Security* 20(1): 5-38.
- Mardsen, Peter (2003). "Afghanistan: the Reconstruction Process." In: *International Affairs*, Vol. 79, No. 1: 91-105.
- Meernik, James (1996). "United States Military Intervention and the Promotion of Democracy." *Journal of Peace Research* 33(4): 391-402.
- Merkel, Wolfgang (1999). *Systemtransformation*. Opladen, Leske+Budrich.
- Merkel, Wolfgang/Puhle, Hans-Jürgen (1999). *Von der Diktatur zur Demokratie*. Opladen, Leske und Budrich.
- Merkel, Wolfgang/Puhle, Hans-Jürgen/Croissant, Aurel/Eicher, Claudia/Thiery, Peter (2003). *Defekte Demokratie, Bd. 1: Theorie*, Opladen, Leske und Budrich.
- Messner, Dirk and Imme Scholz, Eds. (2005). *Zukunftsfragen der Entwicklungspolitik*. Baden-Baden, Nomos.
- Mills, Greg (2004). "Better with the UN? Searching for Peace and Governance in Iraq." *Global Governance* 10(3): 281-288.
- Minxin Pei and Sara Kasper (2003). *Lessons from the Past: The American Record on Nation Building*. Policy Brief No. 24, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, <http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/Policybrief24.pdf>.
- Newman, Edward (2004). UN democracy promotion: Comparative advantages and constraints. In: Edward Newman and Roland Rich. *The UN Role in Promoting Democracy. Between Ideals and Reality*. Tokyo-New York-Paris, United Nations University Press: 188-207.
- Newman, Edward and Albrecht Schnabel, Eds. (2002). *Recovering from Civil Conflict. Reconciliation, Peace and Development*. London, Frank Cass.

- Newman, Edward and Roland Rich, Eds. (2004). *The UN role in promoting democracy: Between ideals and reality*. Tokyo-New York-Paris, United Nations University Press.
- Nitzsche, Heiko and Kaysie Studdard (2005). "The Legacies of War Economies: Challenges and Options for Peacemaking and Peacebuilding." *International Peacekeeping* 12(2): 222-239.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo (1992). *Transitions, Continuities, and Paradoxes*. In: Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell and J. Samuel Valenzuela (Eds.). *Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective*. Notre Dame, Notre Dame University Press: 17-56.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe C. Schmitter, Eds. (1989). *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore - London, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Ottaway, Marina (2003). "Promoting Democracy after Conflict: The Difficult Choices." *International Studies Perspectives* 4(3): 314-322.
- Ottaway, Marina (2003). *Democracy Challenged. The Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism*. Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Paris, Roland (2004). *At War's End. Building Peace After Civil Conflict*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Peceny, Mark (1995). "Two Paths to the Promotion of Democracy During U.S. Military Interventions." *International Studies Quarterly* 39(3): 371-401.
- Peceny, Mark (1999). "Forcing them to be free." *Political Research Quarterly* 52(3): 549-582.
- Peck, Connie (2001). *The Role of Regional Organizations in Preventing and Resolving Conflict*. In: Crocker, Chester A. and Hampson, Fen Osler: *Turbulent Peace. The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press: 561-583.
- Pei, Minxin (2002). "Implementing the Institutions of Democracy." *International Journal on World Peace* XIX(4): 3-31.
- Pevehouse, Jon C. (2002). "Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization." *International Organization* 56(3): 515-549.
- Ponzio, Richard (2004). *UNDP experience in long-term democracy assistance*. Edward Newman and Roland Rich: *The UN Role in Promoting Democracy between Ideals and Reality*. Tokyo-New York-Paris, United Nations University Press: 208-229.
- Potter, David et al. (Hrsg.) (1997). *Democratization*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam (1988). *Some Problems in the Study of the Transition to Democracy*. In: Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead (Eds.). *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Comparative Perspectives*. Baltimore - London, Johns Hopkins University Press: 47-63.
- Przeworski, Adam (1992). *The Games of Transition*. Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell and J. Samuel Valenzuela (Eds.). *Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective*. Notre Dame, Notre Dame University Press: 105-152.
- Przeworski, Adam (Hrsg.) (1995). *Sustainable Democracy*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam et al. (1996). "What Makes Democracies Endure?" in: *Journal of Democracy*, 1: 39-55.
- Reljic, Dusan (2005). *Between Self-Determination and Multiethnicity – International Actors and Nation-building in Bosnia and Kosovo*. In: Hippler, Jochen (Ed.) *Nation-building. A Key Concept for Peaceful Conflict Transformation?* London. Pluto Press: 98-110.
- Rich, Roland and Edward Newman (2004). *Introduction: Approaching democratization policy*. In: Edward Newman and Roland Rich. *The UN Role in Promoting Democracy Between Ideals and Reality*. Tokyo-New York-Paris, United Nations University Press: 3-31.
- Richter, Solveig (2005). "Frieden schaffen mit den Waffen der Demokratie? Theorie und Praxis von Demokratisierung als Friedensstrategie." *Zeitschrift für Internationale Beziehungen* 12(1): 77-116.
- Roehder, Katja (2004). *Entwicklungspolitische Handlungsfelder im Kontext erodierender Staatlichkeit in Subsahara-Afrika*. DIE Discussion Paper Nr. 5/2004. Deutsches Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE). Bonn 2004.
- Rotberg, Robert I., Ed. (2004). *When States Fail. Causes and Consequences*. Princeton-Oxford, Princeton University Press.
- Rüb, Friedbert (1994). *Die Herausbildung politischer Institutionen in Demokratisierungsprozessen*, in: Merkel, Wolfgang (Hrsg.): *Systemwechsel 1. Theorien, Ansätze und Konzeptionen*. Opladen: 111-137.
- Rubin, Barnett R. (2004). "Crafting a Constitution for Afghanistan." In: *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 15, No. 3: 5-19.

- Rüland, Jürgen and Nikolaus Werz (2002). Germany's hesitant role in promoting democracy. Exporting Democracy. Rhetoric vs. Reality. Peter J. Schraeder. Boulder-London, Lynne Rienner: 73-88.
- Saikal, Amin (2002). "Afghanistan after the Loya Jirga." In: Survival. The IISS Quarterly, Vol. 44, No. 3: 47-56.
- Santiso, Carlos (2001). "Development Cooperation and the Promotion of Democratic Governance: Promises and Dilemmas." Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft 4.
- Santiso, Carlos (2002). "Promoting Democracy by Conditioning Aid? Towards a More Effective EU Development Assistance." Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft (3): 107-133.
- Schade, Jeanette (2005). Between Projectifs and the Formation of Countervailing Power – NGOs in Nation-building Processes. In: Hippler, Jochen (Ed.) Nation-building. A Key Concept for Peaceful Conflict Transformation? London. Pluto Press: 125-136.
- Schmitter, Philippe C. and Imco Brouwer (1999). Conceptualizing Research and Evaluating Democracy Promotion and Protection. Working Paper SPS No.99/9. Florence, European University Institute.
- Schmitz, Hans Peter (2004). "Domestic and Transnational Perspectives on Democratization." International Studies Review 6(3): 403-426.
- Schraeder, Peter J. (2002). Exporting Democracy. Boulder-London, Lynne Rienner: 1-11.
- Simonsen, Seven Gunnar (2004). "Nationbuilding as Peacebuilding: Racing to Define the Kosovar." International Peacekeeping 11(2): 289-311.
- Sisk, Timothy D. (2003) Democratization and Peace Building. Perils and Promises. In: Crocker, Chester A. and Hampson, Fen Osler: Turbulent Peace. The Challenges of Managing International Conflict. Washington: United States Institute of Peace Press: 785-800.
- Stephan, Alfred (1988). Paths toward Redemocratization: Theoretical and Comparative Considerations. Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Comparative Perspectives. Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead. Baltimore - London, Johns Hopkins University Press. 3: 64-84.
- Tomuschat, Christian (2003): "Völkerrecht ist kein Zweiklassenrecht. Der Irak-Krieg und seine Folgen." In: Vereinte Nationen. Zeitschrift für die Vereinten Nationen und ihre Sonderorganisationen, Vol. 51, No. 2: 41-46.
- Walzer, Michael (2004). Arguing about War. New Haven & London, Yale University Press.
- Wardak, Ali (2004). "Building a post-war Justice System in Afghanistan." In: Crime, Law & Social Change, Vol. 41, No. 4: 319-341.
- Werner, Suzanne (1996). "Absolute and Limited War: The Possibility of Foreign-Imposed Regime Change." International Interactions 22(1): 67-88.
- Werner, Suzanne and Amy Yuen (2005). "Making and Keeping Peace." International Organization 59(2): 261-292.
- Whitehead, Laurence (1996). Three International Dimensions of Democratization. In: ders. Ed.: The International Dimensions of Democratization. Europe and Americas. Oxford - New York, Oxford University Press: 3-25.
- Whitehead, Laurence (1999). "The Drama of Democratization." Journal of Democracy 10(4): 84-98.
- Whitehead, Laurence (2004). Democratization with the benefit of hindsight: The changing international components. In: Edward Newman and Roland Rich: The UN Role in Promoting Democracy between Ideals and Reality. Tokyo-New York-Paris, United Nations University Press: University Press: 135-165.
- Whitehead, Laurence (2003). Democratization. Theory and Experience. Oxford. Oxford University Press.
- Whitehead, Laurence, Ed. (1996). The International Dimensions of Democratization. Europe and the Americas. Oxford - New York, Oxford University Press.
- Wilke, Boris (2004): Staatsbildung in Afghanistan? Zwischenbilanz der internationalen Präsenz am Hindukusch. SWP Studie 2004/S 30.
- Williams, Paul D. (2005). "Review Article: International Peacekeeping: The Challenges of State-building and regionalization." International Affairs 81(1): 163-174.
- Woodhouse, Tom and Oliver Ramsbotham (2005). "Cosmopolitan Peacekeeping and the Globalization of Security." International Peacekeeping 12(2): 139-156.
- Yoo, John (2003): "International Law and the War in Iraq." In: The American Journal of International Law, Vol. 97, No. 3: 563-576.
- Youngs, Richard (2004). "Democratic Institution-Building and Conflict Resolution: Emerging EU Approaches." International Peacekeeping 11(3): 526-543.
- Zakaria, Fareed (1997). "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy", Foreign Affairs, Nov./Dec.: 22-43.