

ALI IHSAN KAHRAMAN

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9514-7210>

ISTANBUL MEDENIYET UNIVERSITY EMAIL: aliihsan.kahraman@medeniyet.edu.tr

Submission Date: 01.05.2021

Review Date: 20.05.2021

Acceptance Date: 24.05.2021

Publication Date: 17.07.2021

JISPOL Structure: Discipline-Oriented Research Paper

JISPOL Discipline: International Relations

Special Field: International Relations Theories

Vol.1 No.1 E-ISSN:

THE CRITICAL APPROACH ON DEMOCRATIC PEACE THEORY: CULTURAL OR SYSTEMIC DEMOCRATIZATION?

ABSTRACT

This article suggests that the democratic peace theory made a mistake in its Kant readings. To argue this suggestion, this paper is organized as follows. Firstly, an unheeded dimension of Kantian philosophy about the democratization process of states and societies will be introduced. Secondly, the connections between the democratic peace theory and Kant will be revisited in terms of this unheeded dimension. The aim of this section is to prepare the discussion on the failure of Democratic Peace Theory on Kant. Thirdly, the empirical analysis based on three difference and wide datasets which are World Governance Indicators 2016, the Uppsala Conflict Database Program 2016 (UCDP), and Polity IV. The concluding remarks will summarize how the democratic peace theory misread Kant.

Keywords: Kantian Philosophy, Democratic Peace Theory, Liberal Democracy, Democratization, Republic

To cite this article: Kahraman, A.I. (2021). The Critical Approach on Democratic Peace Theory: Cultural or Systemic Democratization. *Journal of Islamic Politics*, 1(1), 7-29.



INTRODUCTION

After the Global Economic Crisis, the international system has experienced many essential changes in terms not only of practical relations but also of its philosophical or ideological roots. The last one can be the discussions on liberal democracy. Especially, the rise of populism and conservatism in international politics gives momentum to the debates on the aftermath of liberal democracy. The policy preferences of the US in Trump administration shifted the illiberal/conservative economic and trade policies to the origins of the world economic system. The rise of economic conservatism has also some political reflections on states. The discussions on liberal democracy has also started to encourage critics on theoretical frameworks related to liberal democracy. Democratic Peace Theory, indeed, has been criticized for a long time in terms of its application to the practical world; however, the reflections of rise in economic conservatism on politics make the re-evaluation of democratic peace theory.

This article suggests that the democratic peace theory made a mistake in its Kant readings. To argue this suggestion, this paper is organized as follows. Firstly, an unheeded dimension of Kantian philosophy about the democratization process of states and societies will be introduced. Secondly, the connections between the democratic peace theory and Kant will be revisited in terms of this unheeded dimension. The aim of this section is to prepare the discussion on the failure of Democratic Peace Theory on Kant. Thirdly, the empirical analysis based on three difference and wide datasets which are World Governance Indicators 2016, the Uppsala Conflict Database Program 2016 (UCDP), and Polity IV. The concluding remarks will summarize how the democratic peace theory misread Kant.

THE UNHEEDED DIMENSION OF KANTIAN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

The discipline of international relations is a field under the influence of various academic disciplines. Political science, sociology, and economics are at the forefront of these disciplines. To understand international politics, academics must utilize not only from the international relations discipline, but also from political science, sociology, and economics and Immanuel Kant is a philosopher academic who influenced the roots of many academic discipline. While Kant's studies on liberal state thought and republican institutions led to important discussions on political philosophy, his famous work 'Perpetual Peace' maintains its



importance among the sources used to solve the problems of today's international arena (Gözen, 2014, p. 32). As a result of the developments in the 20th century, studies on international relations are almost under the occupation of questions on the 'causes of wars'. However, especially after the end of the Cold War and the start of proxy wars, the questions in international relations have started to change, too.

The main and new questions of the international relations discipline after this change consist of problems like the reasons for the implementation of state policies (Palmer & Morgan, 2006), foreign policy decision mechanisms (Jervis, 2017), the effect of differences in state regimes on international relations (Doyle, 1982, 1986; Garnham, 1986), differences between cultures/civilizations (Huntington, 1993), global security (Deudney & Deudney, 2009). However, the question of the sustainability of peace in an international arena without interstate wars and but with proxy wars also occupies the minds. Kant's work titled 'Perpetual Peace' has given a very effective legacy for answers and also for critics about the sustainability of peace. At this point, the democratic peace theory is one of the products of the various efforts aimed at revealing this legacy of Kant. On the other hand, Kantian political philosophy should be revisited to see the unheeded dimension before entering the critics on the efforts of Democratic Peace Theory.

Kant has put forward important views on relations between states long before the launch of the first academic chair of international relations (Gözen, 2014, p. 32). Within years of ages, a substantial and wide literature has existed on Kant's contributions to international relations. However, just as Kant's ideas in a wider range can be adapted to many disciplines, there is no single application within the discipline of international relations. The ideas that Kant put forward did not reflect in a single direction within the discipline of international relations. Many different flows of information and theories in the international relations discipline led to the formation of different academic branches about Kant's thoughts in this discipline. However, two poles in the international relations literature seem like becoming prominent which can be called cosmopolitanism and sovereign state.

Whereas the pole of cosmopolitanism suggests that Kant's idea generally predicts international law based on the morality of duty, the pole of the sovereign-state argues that political philosophy should be under-



stood within the logic of the nation-state. In the second half of the 20th century, some theoretical and academic efforts have been made to bring these two poles closer to each other. However, even these efforts are separated into two categories and can be called as unsuccessful. One side argued that cosmopolitanism is at the center of Kantian philosophy although sovereign-state has an important place. On the other hand, the other side suggested the reverse, and that sovereign-state under the concept of a federation of states is at the center of Kantian philosophy whereas cosmopolitanism has an important place.

Michael Doyle and Andrew Linklater are famous representatives of this dilemma between the poles of sovereign-state and cosmopolitanism, respectively. Linklater is very famous with reference to Kant's legacy for cosmopolitanism (Franceschet, 2001, p. 216). For Linklater, Kant's legacy means the concept of human emancipation, which is the founder of the concept of nation. He suggested that the biggest problem of the modern world is the emancipation of man, and the way Kant showed is eye-opening. Linklater argued that Kant showed the awareness of the human's capacity to construct the social world as the only way for human liberation (Franceschet, 2001, p. 217). The reason why Linklater is at the cosmopolitan pole of the dilemma in the literature on Kant emerges through his answer to the question of how humans can take a role in this construction process.

Linklater suggested the irrelevance of Kant's arguments on sovereign state with the role of humans in the process of constructing the social world. Although Kant himself had given this construction role to the state, Linklater emphasized that the state today has no common with the Kantian state. The Kantian state consists of a structure that guarantees the emancipation of people and is responsible for ensuring that they can be safe while they are liberated. The Kantian state fulfills this emancipation duty towards everyone, who lives within the borders of the state and who signs the national contract, with its commitment to the Declaration of Human Rights issued after the French Revolution. As a result, the Kantian state is inclusive in contrast to the case of the state today.

For Linklater, the state ceased to be inclusive and became a more exclusionary actor within the process. For instance, the immigration policies of states of today can be a very important exemplification for the transformation of the state from inclusiveness to exclusiveness. Addi-



tionally, it is controversial to what extent the state structure and powers represent the will of people, as well. As a result, Linklater suggests that today's state is not the same as Kant's envisioned state and therefore it cannot be the main actor of Kant's main issue, the liberation of man. In other words, Linklater tried to explain how Kant could achieve peace not through states, but with a post-sovereign world structure (Waller & Linklater, 2003, pp. 1–4).

Doyle is accepted as the founder of the Democratic Peace Theory which constitutes the other pole of Kant's studies. He claimed important liberal legacies in Kant's writings. The first one is the taming of anarchy, and the second one is about the aggression of liberal countries towards non-liberal rather than liberal. Doyle argued the realization of both legacies is dependent on the establishment of the republican government regime because the republican regime literally tames anarchy within the state borders. Beyond this capability of republican government regime in domestic politics, it also causes liberal countries to force non-liberal countries transiting to a republican regime. For Doyle, the relation of Kantian Philosophy to the international relations exists at this point: The inherently-peaceful liberal countries due to their republican regime will inherently enforce non-liberal countries to be peaceful by leading them to accept republican regime as the government system. In other words, as Kant put it, republican countries are more inclined to determine and coordinate their will and actions in accordance with the basic principles of international justice.

In this perspective of Doyle, the increase in the number of liberal states in the world guarantees the Kant's dream of Perpetual Peace, as well. Therefore, a sustainable peace is possible only among liberal states. In other words, liberal countries do not resort to war to resolve their problems. This argument with an empirical test clearly reveals Doyle's argument on Kant's legacies. To put it briefly, because of the absence of wars among liberal states, problems between any two liberal states can be resolved in accordance with the international law. As a result, if all countries in the world had become liberal, then the biggest problem of the humanity, war, would be totally eliminated from the world.

As a result, studies on Kantian Philosophy have grounded in international relations literature on a dilemma between cosmopolitanism and sovereign-state. Therefore, as the dilemma in the Kantian philosophy appeared, the idea that Kantian political philosophy was insufficient to



understand international relations has disappeared (Ağcan, 2012, p. 2). However, studies in international relations based on Kantian philosophy need to ignore never the possible vicious circle resulting from avoiding the other side of this dilemma. More clearly, a study on the pole of cosmopolitanism cannot get respectful results by avoiding the impacts of sovereign-state. And the reverse for studies on the pole of the sovereign state is also true, too.¹ Because of the high probability to get into this vicious circle, Bartelson has explained the reason for this high probability as the following:

“Most contemporary studies on Kant tend to miss some of Kant’s thoughts by ignoring or unknowingly skipping his thoughts on his founding political philosophy. Instead, they kept repeating the problems that Kant was trying to solve on his own” (Bartelson, 1995, p. 255)

This article examines the idea that Democratic Peace Theory led by Doyle has also got in such a vicious circle and has failed to solve the problem. This article argues that the arguments of the Democratic Peace Theory cannot be based on Kant. The main question in this debate is to what extent the liberal state in Democratic Peace theory corresponds with the liberal republic state predicted by Kant. This article also argues that the answer to this question is embedded within how a country democratizes. In other words, Kant gives his priority to study on democratization of society whereas Democratic Peace Theory accepts systemic democratization as sufficient. The next section discusses the essential characteristic in the Kantian Philosophy that Democratic Peace Theory has missed.

THE BLIND SPOT OF DEMOCRATIC PEACE THEORY: THE CULTURAL/SYSTEMIC DEMOCRATIZATION DEBATE

This article interprets the reduction of Kant’s philosophy on international relations to the forms of the relationship between states and people as an incomplete understanding. The reason is that Kant doesn’t see the meeting of the relations between people and states on a democratic basis as sufficient ground for the realization of the Perpetual Peace. If a study misses the difference between the democratization process of state structure and of society, getting into the vicious circle is the destiny of that study. This unawareness results in the inability to establish the context of international relations with Kant through the right channels.

1 For a detailed literature review on Kantian political philosophy, please see (Ağcan, 2012)



This article sees overlooking the context of the democratization process of society as the main cause of the unawareness in the cosmopolitanism/sovereign-state dilemma. This section reveals the transformation of the cosmopolitanism/sovereign-state dilemma to the cultural democratization-systemic democratization dilemma. For this purpose, the definitions of cultural democratization and systemic democratization in Kantian philosophy must be made.

Maybe, the most important concept in Kantian political philosophy is the morality of duty. People and states must principally fulfill their duties to live in peace within states and in international politics. No person can live in peace with another person without fulfilling his moral duties in daily life. No states can make peace sustainable without fulfilling its moral duties in international politics. Therefore, not only Perpetual peace but also even instant peace in international relations depends on the fulfillment of the morality of duty.

Kant defined the morality of duty as the awareness of a person about the rights of another person, too, for pursuing his all freedom while he knows his own rights to pursue his own freedom. An individual can become a moral and virtuous individual to the extent of this awareness. Therefore, anyone acting without unawareness on others' rights, won't have fulfilled his social duty, and at the end, he will lose his existing rights in process, as well. In Rustow's words, it is impossible for individuals without internalization of democracy by this awareness to prepare a just and democratic constitution (Rustow, 1970, p. 337). Therefore, fulfillment of moral duties, in other words cultural democratization, is at the core of democratic constitutions.

On the other hand, systemic democratization is the other important pole of the dilemma about Kantian philosophy and reflects the sovereign state. Its importance arises from its role in guarantying the occurrence of cultural democratization. In other words, systemic democratization protects the gains from the fulfillment of the morality of duties by individuals, by forming state institutions. However, as cultural democratization needs the majority fulfilling the morality of duties, systemic democratization needs the sustainability of democratic institutions. At this point, one of the biggest problems for the sustainability of institutions has been whether a generation can pass on its achievement for democratic institutions to the next generation. The main reason, too,



for the possible failure in the sustainability in democratic institutions is the uncertainty for the acceptance of the next generation on democratic institutions.

A comparison in ideal between generation X and generation Y can be a good exemplification. Assume that generation X lives before generation Y and has an important experience for issue A. On the other hand, for the collective mind in generation X, issue A can be also a problem for generation Y in the future. In case that generation Y experiences issue A, its collective mind can behave differently from what generation X behaved about issue A. Therefore, generation Y will probably be able to live the problems that generation X prevented. Across this probability for generation Y, generation X has two alternatives:

1. Transferring the experience in issue A to generation Y
2. To make the response of generation X to the issue A systemic independent from the incumbent generation

The success of the first alternative always depends on generation Y, because generation Y may not be able to be as successful as generation X in taking action against issue A. This failure results in the continuity of issue A. However, generation X doesn't want the continuity of issue A, not only because of its visionary worldview but also because of some rational purposes. Considering the common period in which generation X and Y live and under the governance of generation Y, the remain of issue A can have some real consequences for generation X as well. Therefore, preference for the first alternative always carries a risk for generation X. In reverse, the second alternative seems more correct for generation X to choose. More clearly, if generation X establishes a system that permanently eliminates the problems from issue A, then generation X can have the chance to protect itself against the negative consequences of issue A, regardless of the attitude of generation Y. As a result, the establishment of systemic institutions can be seen the definitive solution for generation X.

The Kant question "how to achieve peace" can reflect the 'systematization' problem between generations X and Y. To understand such kind of reflections, assume that Kant is from generation X and that generation Y would come to the governance of the society, in which Kant lived, after 40 years. Kant as a member of generation X has given the answer to the question of how to achieve peace in his workings. If human beings fulfill



the morality of duty and do their part within the framework of this morality, they will realize their cultural democratization. In a society consisting of individuals who have achieved their cultural democratization under the guidance of their individual and rational mind, peace can be achieved. If the cultural democratization in question can be sustained for generations through systemic democratization, Perpetual peace will be achieved.

Thus, Kant not only raised the question of how to achieve peace but also raised the question of how to preserve peace and sought an answer to this. The preservation of democratization for generations X and Y has been possible by systemic democratization as a result of the establishment of social contracts and republican institutions. As a result, due to the republican institutions, the peace provided by Kant's generation will be transferred to generation Y, and thus the Perpetual peace will be achieved.

THE PRIORITY OF CULTURAL DEMOCRATIZATION OVER SYSTEMIC DEMOCRATIZATION IN KANTIAN PHILOSOPHY

The answer of Kant's political philosophy to the question of how to achieve Perpetual peace can be read in this way in the dimension of cultural-systemic integration. However, when a question is asked following the reverse logic, a problem arises. In our opinion, the dilemma experienced in the studies on Kant within the discipline of international relations stems from this. The reverse logic is this: Does cultural democratization come first or systemic democratization in order to achieve Perpetual peace in Kant's philosophy? Before defending the article on this question, it should be noted that the reason why studies under the discipline of international relations remain between the cosmopolitanism-sovereign state dilemma is that these studies prioritize systemic democratization. Because both the sovereign-state and the idea of cosmopolitanism were built on protecting the gains of democratization against potential dangers, protecting is a function of systemic democratization. The sovereign-state is the main tool of preventing people and events that do not fulfill the morality of duty from breaking the social contract, thus protecting democratic values and gains.

On the other hand, cosmopolitanism also paves the way for people living in different borders and who may have prepared different constitutions for this reason, to continue their democratic gains beyond



borders. In other words, cosmopolitanism is an international constitution that protects people's rights in the international arena. As can be seen, both the cosmopolitanism school and the sovereign-state school focused more on the preservation of the Kantian philosophy than on the establishment of peace. But the answer to the question of whether cultural democratization or systemic democratization comes first is given in this article as cultural democratization comes first. Because you cannot protect something without creating it. Therefore, it is necessary to establish mechanisms for establishing peace, not peace keeping mechanisms. In this respect, cultural democratization precedes systemic democratization.

Kant's favoritism for cultural democratization can be resourced from his idea that a non-philosopher law-man can only apply existing rules and determine whether these rules need improvement. For Kant, non-philosophers think of the superiority of power in social relations; however, it hasn't superiority. In reverse, philosophical considerations are superior and the resource of power in social relations (Kant, 1983, p. 126). In this respect, the priority of cultural democratization over systemic democratization is very clear in Kant's own studies.

The following question is essential about the prioritization of systemic or cultural democratization in Kantian Philosophy: is it possible for a state and constitution formed by unjust people to be just? For Kant, it is impossible, because he stated that "a people or a union of people needs a system of laws, a just structure, that is, a constitution, under a will that unites them, since they interact with each other" (Kant, 1996). Therefore, first people must have the concept of rights and consciousness on the morality of duty for their state to be just. Additionally, the state built on the concept of right and justice cannot be established without relying on "pure reason". For only pure and virtuous reason necessitates the constitution, which is the basis of just laws between individuals. Therefore, constitutions based only on pure and virtuous reason cannot be just. Consequently, the occurrence of just laws depends on the existence of virtuous people with pure reason. As a result, because people's justice is before the state, cultural democratization precedes systemic democratization in Kantian philosophy.



DEMOCRATIC PEACE THEORY UNDER THE LIGHT OF THE PRIORITY OF CULTURAL DEMOCRATIZATION

In his article, titled “Kant, Legacy of Liberals and Democratic Peace”, Doyle suggested a correlation between the increase in the number of liberal states in the world and the decrease in the number of wars. Doyle determined four criteria about the liberalization of states, inspired by Kant’s Perpetual Peace. These are 1. market economy and private property, 2. independent sovereign policies, 3. citizens to exercise their legal rights, and 4. the existence of a liberal and republican government that represents the free and independent elections of citizens. According to these criteria, Doyle divided the states in the world as liberals and non-liberals and determined that wars between liberal states are less. The reason for fewer wars between liberal states is their non-aggressive policies against each other and this will decrease wars as the number of liberal states in the world increases. In this respect, Doyle has made an empirical analysis of wars in the world, based on Kantian philosophy.

But these criteria are purely for systemic democratization because they are all institutions of a liberal system. However, as we presented in the relevant section, Kant’s main claim is not just about the systemic democratization of the state. On the contrary, the prerequisite for the system to establish these institutions is that citizens fulfill their morals of duty. This is also referred to in this article as cultural democratization. At this point, the question is whether Doyle’s suggestion about peace between liberal states would change under the lights of the prioritization of cultural democracy over systemic democratization. In other words, is Doyle’s claim about the sustainability of peace between liberal countries failed under the perspective of cultural democratization? To answer this question, it would be useful to examine Doyle as well as his critics of democratic peace theory.

The criticism of the Democratic Peace Theory under the cultural-systemic democratization dilemma is not unique to this article. Layne’s famous article could be the first critique on Democratic Peace Theory and emphasized the non-persuasiveness of its suggestions due to the inappropriateness of the claims to the facts (Layne, 1994, p. 6). Moreover, Layne argued that even democratic institutions didn’t produce the results as the predictions by Democratic Peace Theory in various cases. For this article, this failure of Democratic Peace Theory stated by Layne



must be examined from the cultural-systemic democratization debate. The contribution of this article may be to transfer the critiques on democratic peace theory from the case studies to philosophical studies. The main argument of this article is the democratic peace theory has not the capability to affect the cultural-systemic democratization debate but is affected by it.

Based on Kant's argument on Pacific Peace, Doyle argued in the pool of peace between liberal states. In other words, liberal states either never fight each other or they rarely threaten each other with force when they come to the point of war (Doyle, 1982, p. 213; Layne, 1994, pp. 7–8). In contrast, the warlessness cannot occur between totalitarian and autocratic regimes. Despite any occurrence of peace conjuncture, nonliberal states like autocratic and totalitarian regimes cannot maintain that conjuncture because their interests can be lacked of anytime in that peace conjuncture (Doyle, 2006, p. 214). As a general formulization, liberal states tend to be naturally in peace whereas non-liberal states are naturally in tendency to be in war. However, for democratic peace theory, the peace tendency of liberal states are conditioned to the regime of their interlocutors. Therefore, liberal states' tendency to warlessness is only for liberal states.

On the other hand, it must be noticed that the democratic peace theory suggests the peaceful tendency of liberal states not arisen from the peace pool, because the peace pool is the result of attitudes of liberal states to each other rather than being the reason of their attitudes. In other words, a liberal country is not inclined to war against another liberal country; but it can take an aggressive and belligerent attitude towards an non-liberal country. In addition, as Doyle admits, according to statistics, liberal countries can even be more war-proneness than non-liberal ones (Chan, 1984, pp. 617–648). In conclusion, for democratic peace theorists, non-liberal states have not any choice but being liberal to be a part of the peace pool and to avoid the war-proneness of liberal states (Russett et al., 1995, pp. 164–184).

Doyle examined the formation conditions for peace pool between liberal states in the Three Definitive Articles in Kant's writings titled Perpetual Peace (Doyle, 1986, 2006; Russett et al., 1995). For the first article, legislative, executive and judicial institutions must have created a check and balance system as signals of separation of powers. For the second article, states with republican and liberal institutions form an interna-



tional federation among themselves. For the third article, a cosmopolitan law within the international federation is established appropriate to the domestic republican liberal law. If these three conditions are realized, then the Perpetual Peace can be achieved. The governments in liberal states cannot decide on war due to the fact that their citizens have a say about the aftermath of governments because of their unwillingness to respond to the citizens about the material and moral costs of the war.

THE CULTURAL-SYSTEMIC DEMOCRATIZATION DEBATE AND THE DEMOCRATIC PEACE THEORY UNDER THE LIGHTS OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE INDEX

After the hidden dimension of Kantian philosophy titled cultural-systemic democratization dilemma has been discussed, this section reveals, positively or negatively, the connections between the democratic peace theory and this dilemma. The raising question at this point is on the relation of democratic peace theory with the cultural-systemic democratization debate. Critical studies on democratic peace theory generally concentrates on the war-proneness of liberal states regardless of the regime of interlocutor countries (Layne, 1994, pp. 50–86). However, Doyle rejected this kind of critics by remembering that liberal states are prone to war against illiberal states. Therefore, the peace tendency is only valid for liberal states.

At this point, the critics of democratic peace theory can be criticized because of their failure to tackle with unit of analysis. The raising question about the relation between the war-proneness of liberal states and cultural democratization can be the starting point. In other words, how can a liberal state assumed with cultural democratization be war prone even to the non-liberal states? Therefore, the war-proneness of liberal states can be explained if systemic democratization is taken as the unit of analysis whereas it is impossible when cultural democratization is taken as unit of analysis.

After revealing the theoretical failure of democratic peace theory on liberalization of world states, this article will also check this argument with an empirical analysis. This test will be made through controlling whether cultural democratization or systemic democratization is the main driver of peace pool. The null hypothesis is that cultural democratization is the main driver. In other words, in contrast to the democratic peace theory arguing in the sufficiency of republican and liberal



institutions, this article hypothesizes its insufficiency without cultural democratization because of the misjudgement of the democratic peace theory on the first three articles of Kant's Perpetual Peace. To make the control this null hypothesis, this article takes numerical data from three different databases which are World Governance Index (WGI) 2016, the Uppsala Conflict Database Program 2016 (UCDP), and Project Polity IV.

The World Governance Index measures the perception of 214 states and state-like structures in the world in the eyes of their citizens in six governance dimensions under three headings. These six dimensions can be seen in Figure X. Accordingly, the perception of a state administration can be monitored under three main headings: the election, observation and changes of governments, whether they actively implement their policies and the respect of the citizens and states of the country for economic and social institutions. Within the cultural-systemic democratization debate, the first two of these titles will be able to measure systemic democratization, while the last one will be able to measure cultural democratization.

This conclusion can be reached by starting from Kant's philosophy. The respect of citizens and state institutions towards economic and social institutions corresponds to Kant's morality of duty. We can see this clearly when we look at the criteria under this heading: rule of law and corruption control. While the rule of law principle fully corresponds to Kant's morality of duty, corruption control can also be considered within the same framework. As a result, the formation of a perception that there is no corruption in a state can be considered as an indication that people and the state respect each other's economic rights and know where their economic freedom ends. Therefore, in this article, the rule of law and corruption control will be considered as indicators of cultural democratization.

In addition, the second database to be utilized, UCDP, is the product of a project that records any conflict and conflict-like events around the world since 1989.² According to UCDP, for an event to be coded as a conflict, 'an organized party must have caused at least one death by using its armed force against another organized party or against civilians' (Sundberg & Melander, 2013, pp. 523–532). The aim of UCDP is to analyze whether the determination of the democratic peace theory about the war past of liberal and of non-liberal states is correct. In

2 To reach all information in this dataset, please visit <http://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/>



this respect, it will be evaluated whether the non-democrats are in a non-fighting attitude by determining the states of the states between the years of war 1989-2015 according to the regime types.

The database of the Polity IV project will be used to determine which state is democratic and which is not. The Polity IV project is a database project that shows the periods when states entered into schism, faced military coups, experienced revolutions and moved away from democratic rule, and classifies states from 1946 to the present under four groups, from democracy to autocracy. This project scores 167 countries around the world on a scale of -10 to 10, with full democracy (10), democracy (6:9), open anocracy (0:5), closed anocracy (-5:0) and autocracy (-6:-10).) are classified as The information obtained from the Polity IV project, on the other hand, will show the status of the examined state on the basis of systemic democratization.

Thus, the cultural democratization of countries by looking at WGI, the systemic democratization of countries by looking at Polity IV project and the situation of countries about war and conflict by looking at UCDP will be examined. As a result, in the triangle of Kant, cultural-systemic democratization and democratic peace theory, it can be questioned where the theoretical discussion corresponds to in practice. A few points need to be highlighted here. First, since the number of countries covered in all three databases is not the same, the number of states covered in this section will be limited to the minimum number (167) that the Polity IV project has examined. Although this situation does not harm the health of the analysis, it results in the inability to examine some countries in the world.

Secondly, the criteria of the WGI and Polity IV projects were considered to agree with Kant's criteria in the cultural-systemic democratization debate. This has also been explained. However, although this subject needs to be criticized, this subject is left to future studies. The third point is that while the citizens themselves should be taken as the analysis unit, the analysis unit in all the databases here is the state. It should be noted here that, as emphasized in the relevant section, it is very difficult to obtain data on the level of cultural democratization of citizens. But the perception of states in the eyes of citizens can serve as a proxy for cultural democratization. Therefore, although WGI has produced results at the state level, it ultimately gives an idea of the state of society.



The first conclusion obtained by looking at the aggregated analysis of the databases is that countries ruled by autocracy can also create a pool of peace. We can explain this argument as follows. According to the WGI, cultural democratization – the rule of law and corruption control – is high (0 out of 0). According to the UCDP data of the autocratic countries, there has been no war between them since 1946. It is necessary to make a point here. When the subsequent studies are examined, according to the data of the Polity IV project, some countries that were autocratic in 2013 have been transitioned to democratic orders since 1946.³ For this reason, a claim can be made such as “The fact that countries that were autocratic in 2013 have not been in a state of war since 1946 does not mean that the autocracy can create a pool of peace among themselves” and it can be argued that the main argument of the article in your hand is invalid. But in our opinion, this inference would be wrong. Because the main argument put forward in this article is not that a pool of peace can be formed among autocratic countries. This situation does not seem to fit the facts.

However, the main argument in this article is that it is important not to be a systemic democracy, but to be a cultural democracy for the peace pool that Kant claims to be. Therefore, even if it is an autocratic country, a state whose society has completed the cultural democracy stage has a situation where it does not prefer war in the international arena. However, we can support our argument with democratic countries as well. As an example, Pakistan and India are two countries governed by democracy according to the Polity IV project. However, the cultural democratization levels of these two countries are low according to the WGI. In fact, it has started to fall below 0 in the last few years. However, according to UCDP data, there have been 20 armed conflicts with more than 25 deaths between these two countries since 1946 at the state level, and this situation still continues. Therefore, although both are democracies, these two countries do not hesitate to use arms against each other. Therefore, although they have finished their systemic democracy stage, the low level of their cultural democracies caused these two countries to not hesitate to use weapons against each other.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

One of the most important theories of the second half of the 20th century, which focuses on Kant’s contribution to the field of international

3 To see the figures on rule of law and corruption based on WGI, you should see Annex 2.



relations, is the theory of democratic peace. The main argument put forward by this theory is that liberal/democratic states will not prefer to use arms against each other and therefore a pool of peace will be formed between liberal/democratic countries. They based these claims on Kant's political philosophy. But, as demonstrated in this article, both theoretically and practically, this argument of the democratic theory of peace is wrong or incomplete because the theory misread the first of Kant's three defining articles. In Kant's political philosophy, there is a bi-polar discussion area: cultural and systemic democratization. The democratic peace theory saw Kant's requirement for countries to establish republican institutions as the completion of the systemic democratization of countries. However, Kant emphasized cultural democratization, not systemic democratization. For the establishment of republican institutions, it is imperative that citizens fulfill their morals of duty. In order to examine this argument on a practical level, a harmonized analysis of the WGI, Polity IV and UCDP databases has yielded data supporting this argument of the article in your hand. As a result, we can say that the democratic peace theory, which we can see as the successor of Kant in the field of international relations, has reached wrong data about Kant. Therefore, in order to understand Kant's contribution to the field of international relations, it is necessary to study not only the dimensions of the discipline of international relations, but also political philosophy without ignoring it.

REFERENCES

- Ağcan, M. A. (2012). Immanuel Kant ve Uluslararası: Egemen Devlet, Kozmopolitan Siyaset ve Evrensellik/Farklılık. *Uluslararası Hukuk ve Politika*, 8(32), 1-41.
- Bartelson, J. (1995). The Trial of Judgment: A Note on Kant and the Paradoxes of Internationalism. *International Studies Quarterly*, 39(2), 255. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2600849>
- Chan, S. (1984). Mirror, Mirror on the Wall...: Are the Freer Countries More Pacific? *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 28(4), 617-648. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022002784028004003>
- Deudney, D. H., & Deudney, D. H. (Eds.). (2009). *Bounding power: Republican security theory from the polis to the global village* (3. printing, and 1. paperback printing). Princeton University Press.
- Doyle, M. (1982). *Kant, Liberal Legacies, and Foreign Affairs*. Philosophy and



- Public Affairs, 12(3), 205–235.
- Doyle, M. (1986). Liberalism and World Politics. *The American Political Science Review*, 80(4), 1151–1169.
- Doyle, M. (2006). Kant and Liberal Internationalism. In P. Kleingeld (Ed.), *Toward Perpetual Peace and Other Writings on Politics, Peace, and History*. Yale University Press.
- Franceschet, A. (2001). Sovereignty and Freedom: Immanuel Kant's Liberal Internationalist "Legacy." *Review of International Studies*, 27(2), 209–228.
- Garnham, D. (1986). War-Proneness, War-Weariness, and Regime Type: 1816–1980. *Journal of Peace Research*, 23(3), 279–289.
- Gözen, R. (2014). Uluslararası ilişkiler teorileri.
- Huntington, S. P. (1993). The Clash of Civilizations? *Foreign Affairs*, 72(3), 22. <https://doi.org/10.2307/20045621>
- Jervis, R. (2017). *How statesmen think: The psychology of international politics*. Princeton University Press.
- Kant, I. (1983). *Perpetual peace, and other essays on politics, history, and morals* (T. Humphrey, Trans.). Hackett Pub. Co.
- Kant, I. (1996). *The Metaphysics of Morals*. Cambridge University Press.
- Layne, christopher. (1994). Kant or Cant: The Myth of the Democratic Peace. *International Security*, 19(2), 5–49. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2539195>
- Palmer, G., & Morgan, T. C. (2006). *A theory of foreign policy*. Princeton University Press.
- Russett, B., Layne, christopher, Spiro, D. E., & Doyle, M. (1995). The Democratic Peace. *International Security*, 19(4), 164–184.
- Rustow, D. A. (1970). Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model. *Comparative Politics*, 2(3), 337. <https://doi.org/10.2307/421307>
- Sundberg, R., & Melander, E. (2013). Introducing the UCDP Georeferenced Event Dataset. *Journal of Peace Research*, 50(4), 523–532.
- Waller, M., & Linklater, A. (2003). *Political loyalty and the nation-state*. Routledge.



ANNEX I. REGIME TYPES IN POLITY IV - 2013

COUNTRY	REGIME TYPE	CAYMAN ISLANDS	N/A
AFGHANISTAN	Failed	CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC	Failed
ALBANIA	Democracy	CHAD	Closed Anocracy
ALGERIA	Open Anocracy	CHILE	Democracy
AMERICAN SAMOA	N/A	CHINA	Autocracy
ANDORRA	N/A	COLOMBIA	Democracy
ANGOLA	Closed Anocracy	COMOROS	Democracy
ANGUILLA	N/A	CONGO, DEM. REP.	Open Anocracy
ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA	N/A	CONGO, REP.	Closed Anocracy
ARGENTINA	Democracy	COOK ISLANDS	N/A
ARMENIA	Open Anocracy	COSTA RICA	Full Democracy
ARUBA	N/A	CÔTE D'IVOIRE	N/A
AUSTRALIA	Full Democracy	CROATIA	Full Democracy
AUSTRIA	Full Democracy	CUBA	Autocracy
AZERBAIJAN	Autocracy	CYPRUS	Full Democracy
BAHAMAS, THE	N/A	CZECH REPUBLIC	Democracy
BAHRAIN	Autocracy	DENMARK	Full Democracy
BANGLADESH	Closed Anocracy	DJIBOUTI	Open Anocracy
BARBADOS	N/A	DOMINICA	N/A
BELARUS	Autocracy	DOMINICAN REPUBLIC	Democracy
BELGIUM	Democracy	ECUADOR	Open Anocracy
BELIZE	N/A	EGYPT, ARAB REP.	Closed Anocracy
BENIN	Democracy	EL SALVADOR	Democracy
BERMUDA	N/A	EQUATORIAL GUINEA	Closed Anocracy
BHUTAN	Open Anocracy	ERITREA	Autocracy
BOLIVIA	Democracy	ESTONIA	Democracy
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA	Failed	ETHIOPIA	Closed Anocracy
BOTSWANA	Democracy	FIJI	Closed Anocracy
BRAZIL	Democracy	FINLAND	Full Democracy
BRUNEI DARUSSALAM	N/A	FRANCE	Democracy
BULGARIA	Democracy	FRENCH GUIANA	N/A
BURKINA FASO	Closed Anocracy	GABON	Open Anocracy
BURUNDI	Democracy	GAMBIA, THE	Closed Anocracy
CAMBODIA	Open Anocracy	GEORGIA	Democracy
CAMEROON	Closed Anocracy	GERMANY	Democracy
CANADA	Full Democracy	GHANA	Democracy
CAPE VERDE	Full Democracy	GREECE	Full Democracy



GREENLAND	N/A
GRENADA	N/A
GUAM	N/A
GUATEMALA	Democracy
GUINEA	Open Anocracy
GUINEA-BISSAU	Closed Anocracy
GUYANA	Democracy
HAITI	Failed
HONDURAS	Democracy
HONG KONG SAR, CHINA	N/A
HUNGARY	Full Democracy
ICELAND	N/A
INDIA	Democracy
INDONESIA	Democracy
IRAN, ISLAMIC REP.	Autocracy
IRAQ	Closed Anocracy
IRELAND	Full Democracy
ISRAEL	Full Democracy
ITALY	Full Democracy
JAMAICA	Democracy
JAPAN	Full Democracy
JERSEY, CHANNEL ISLANDS	N/A
JORDAN	Closed Anocracy
KAZAKHSTAN	Autocracy
KENYA	Democracy
KIRIBATI	N/A
KOREA, DEM. REP. (North Korea)	Autocracy
KOREA, REP. (South Korea)	Democracy
KOSOVO	Democracy
KUWAIT	Autocracy
KYRGYZ REPUBLIC	Democracy
LAO PDR	N/A
LATVIA	Democracy
LEBANON	Open Anocracy
LESOTHO	Democracy
LIBERIA	Democracy
LIBYA	Failed

LIECHTENSTEIN	N/A
LITHUANIA	Full Democracy
LUXEMBOURG	Full Democracy
MACAO SAR, CHINA	N/A
MACEDONIA, FYR	Full Democracy
MADAGASCAR	Open Anocracy
MALAWI	Open Anocracy
MALAYSIA	Democracy
MALDIVES	N/A
MALI	Open Anocracy
MALTA	N/A
MARSHALL ISLANDS	N/A
MARTINIQUE	N/A
MAURITANIA	Closed Anocracy
MAURITIUS	Full Democracy
MEXICO	Democracy
MICRONESIA, FED. STS.	N/A
MOLDOVA	Democracy
MONACO	N/A
MONGOLIA	Democracy
MONTENEGRO	Democracy
MOROCCO	Closed Anocracy
MOZAMBIQUE	Open Anocracy
MYANMAR	Closed Anocracy
NAMIBIA	Democracy
NAURU	N/A
NEPAL	Democracy
NETHERLANDS	Full Democracy
NETHERLANDS AN- TILLES (FORMER)	N/A
NEW ZEALAND	Full Democracy
NICARAGUA	Democracy
NIGER	Democracy
NIGERIA	Open Anocracy
NIUE	N/A
NORWAY	Full Democracy
OMAN	Autocracy
PAKISTAN	Democracy
PALAU	N/A

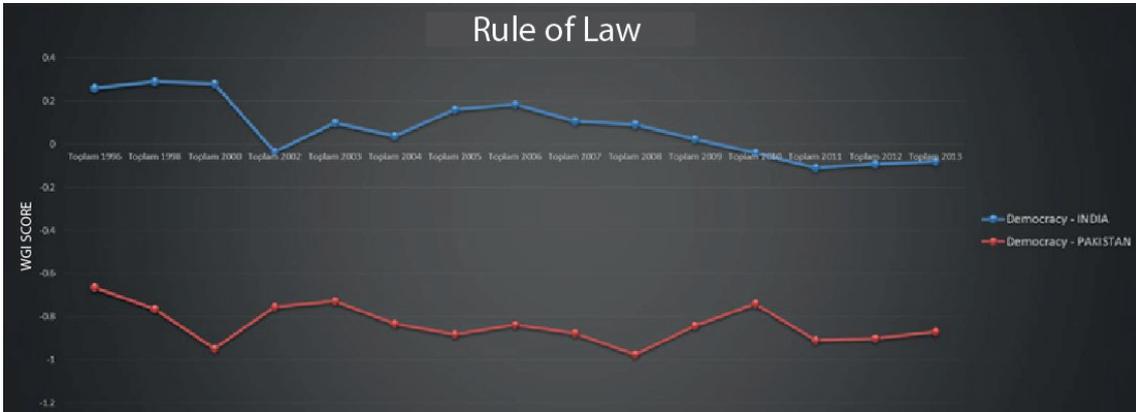


PANAMA	Democracy
PAPUA NEW GUINEA	Open Anocracy
PARAGUAY	Democracy
PERU	Democracy
PHILIPPINES	Democracy
POLAND	Full Democracy
PORTUGAL	Full Democracy
PUERTO RICO	N/A
QATAR	Autocracy
RÉUNION	N/A
ROMANIA	Democracy
RUSSIAN FEDERATION	Open Anocracy
RWANDA	Closed Anocracy
SAMOA	N/A
SAN MARINO	N/A
SÃO TOMÉ AND PRINCEPE	N/A
SAUDI ARABIA	Autocracy
SENEGAL	Democracy
SERBIA	Democracy
SEYCHELLES	N/A
SIERRA LEONE	Democracy
SINGAPORE	Closed Anocracy
SLOVAK REPUBLIC	Full Democracy
SLOVENIA	Full Democracy
SOLOMON ISLANDS	Democracy
SOMALIA	Open Anocracy
SOUTH AFRICA	Democracy
SOUTH SUDAN	Closed Anocracy
SPAIN	Full Democracy
SRI LANKA	Open Anocracy
ST. KITTS AND NEVIS	N/A
ST. LUCIA	N/A
ST. VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES	N/A
SUDAN	Closed Anocracy
SURINAME	Open Anocracy
SWAZILAND	Autocracy
SWEDEN	Full Democracy

SWITZERLAND	Full Democracy
SYRIAN ARAB REPUBLIC	Autocracy
TAIWAN, CHINA	Full Democracy
TAJIKISTAN	Closed Anocracy
TANZANIA	Closed Anocracy
THAILAND	Democracy
TIMOR-LESTE	N/A
TOGO	Closed Anocracy
TONGA	N/A
TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	Full Democracy
TUNISIA	Open Anocracy
TURKEY	Democracy
TURKMENISTAN	Autocracy
TUVALU	N/A
UGANDA	Closed Anocracy
UKRAINE	Democracy
UNITED ARAB EMIRATES	Autocracy
UNITED KINGDOM	Full Democracy
UNITED STATES	Full Democracy
URUGUAY	Full Democracy
UZBEKISTAN	Autocracy
VANUATU	N/A
VENEZUELA, RB	Open Anocracy
VIETNAM	Autocracy
VIRGIN ISLANDS (U.S.)	N/A
WEST BANK AND GAZA	N/A
YEMEN, REP.	Open Anocracy
ZAMBIA	Democracy
ZIMBABWE	Open Anocracy



ANNEX II. THE GRAPHICS ON DEMOCRATIZATION OF PAKISTAN AND INDIA





ANNEX III. THE GRAPHICS ON DEMOCRATIZATION OF PAKISTAN AND INDIA

Toplam Number	SütunE etiketleri	Government of Honduras	Government of Jordan	Government of Malaysia	Government of Netherlands	Government of Nicaragua	Government of Pakistan	Government of Russia(Soviet Union)	Government of Syria	Government of Thailand	Government of Tunisia	Government of Turkey	Government of United Kingdom	Government of United States of America	GenelT oplam
Albania													11		
Argentina													11		
Cyprus												1			1
El Salvador		1													1
France										11					2
Honduras						1									1
Hungary								1							1
India							20								20
Indonesia				41											5
Israel			1						2						3
Panama														11	
GenelT oplam		1	1	4	1	1	20	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	37

Table 1. Wars of Democracies

Toplam Number	SütunE etiketleri	Government of Ethiopia	Government of India	Government of Iraq	Government of Myanmar(Burma)	Government of Russia (SovietU nion)	Government of SouthK orea	Government of Taiwan	Government of Vietnam(NorthV ietnam)	GenelT oplam
China			21			14				10
Eritrea		3								3
Iran				10						10
NorthK orea							5			5
GenelT oplam		3	2	10	1	1	5	4	10	36

Table 2. Wars of Autocracies