

Justice and Peace

**Sida's Programme for Peace,
Democracy and Human Rights**

May 1997



SWEDISH INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
COOPERATION AGENCY

Department for Democracy
and Social Development

Justice and Peace

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Part A: Policy

1. Points of departure

Swedish development assistance to promoting peace, democracy and human rights responded to the concrete struggles which were unleashed in many countries during the 1990s to achieve democracy, pluralism and accountability. The results of these struggles have, however, not been uniformly positive; the number of armed conflicts has also increased.

During the two-year period 1994-1996, Swedish support totalling approximately 1,3 billion crowns went to over 1.000 activities, including activities financed through the NGO budget line, in 75 countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Central and Eastern Europe. Most of the projects were small and oriented towards groups or organisations in civil society.

This proposal on a Swedish policy combines a long-term perspective on development with a conflict analysis. Experience shows that unfolding democratic processes can fail in certain circumstances, and instead end up in armed conflict.

The consolidation of peace, the progress of democracy and the observance of human rights generally evolve through processes of constructive tension between the state and civil society. This interplay needs to be firmly based in democratic values and attitudes, and in respect for dissenting opinion and minority positions.

Development assistance can promote such creative interplay, as well as contribute to the strengthening of institutions within the state and civil society; but it cannot create them. The foundation of democracy is that people cooperate and are given space to organise themselves and participate in the political process.

In the final analysis, development cooperation within the ambit of this policy is about each person's intrinsic worth and rights, about facilitating people's participation on an equal footing in political and social life. These possibilities are determined *inter alia* by each society's norms and values and its legal framework.

Swedish foreign policy, including Sweden's ratification of the six principal human rights conventions, provides the necessary framework within which Swedish development assistance can be used to promote peace, democracy and human rights. Sweden places particular emphasis on respect for the rights of women and for the rights of the child.

Development cooperation is based on an assessment of the likelihood, on the long-term, that the desired results will be achieved. Democratic social development is one of the most essential preconditions for success. Once cooperation has been initiated it is important that it does not get interrupted as a result of minor and temporary deviations in course. In the opposite case, however, when development trends into the more distant future are adjudged to continue unfavourable from the point of view of democracy, cooperation should be reduced or terminated.

This proposal on a Swedish policy seeks to establish a balance, between clarity on principles and basic values on the one hand, and flexible adaptation of approaches to the concrete situation and the historical experience of each country, on the other.

2. Objectives

In countries with which Sweden cooperates in development, the aim of this policy is to promote people's chances of living in peace and participating in and developing the democratic process; as well as to promote observance of and respect for human rights. Particular weight is given to the rights of women and the participation of women in democratic decision-making. The rights of the child are also given prominence.

These goals will be addressed primarily through the facilitation of those processes and the strengthening of those institutions, in both the state and civil society, which contribute to promoting peace, democracy and respect for human rights. Complementarity between the support provided to the state and to civil society will be sought.

3. Approach

a) Development cooperation which has the promotion of peace, democracy and human rights as its primary goal will be made more transparent, goal-oriented and focused through being integrated as far as possible into country strategies and long-term country cooperation programmes.

b) Contributing to the creation of a democratic culture will as far as possible be integrated into other programmes of support, even where promoting peace, human rights and democracy is not their primary goal.

c) The impact of development assistance within these three areas will be heightened through a more systematic analysis of the context, approach and goals of each programme. During preparation of support, an analysis will also be made to ensure that the programme does not increase the risk of violent conflict or violate the human rights of individuals or groups.

d) Assistance will be directed to the following principal areas and countries:

- Long-term commitments will be made to *strengthening key institutions in the state and civil society*. This approach will be developed gradually and be earmarked for a limited number of countries which are making progress in democratisation and improving respect for human rights.

- *Shorter-term and more flexible approaches* will be applied to a wider circle of countries, aimed at groups and organisations within the state and civil society which are working to implement democracy and strengthen respect for human rights.

Both long-term commitments to institutional development and shorter-term flexible forms of support will be planned on the basis of a careful analysis of the context and of suitable cooperating partners in the countries concerned.

- Swedish popular movements and NGOs will continue to receive support through the NGO budget vote for their efforts to strengthen civil society.

- Support will be given to a selected number of *Swedish, international or regional initiatives and organisations* as a complement to the country-based programmes described above. Emphasis will be placed on supporting these organisations' work in advocacy and monitoring, norm-building and methods development in the three fields in issue.

- *The development of peace-building activities* will continue, within the framework of Swedish support to the prevention of armed conflict, or to building peace during and after an armed conflict. This type of aid is usually one part of a broader Swedish and/or international package which includes diplomatic and peacekeeping measures.

Peace-building within the assistance framework will encompass both activities of protection, to separate the contestants, and of dialogue to promote reconciliation. An *analysis of conflict risk* will also be structured into the planning of development assistance to countries in which armed conflict has occurred or seems likely to arise.

- *'Good governance' projects* designed to increase the accountability, transparency and accessibility of the public sector will be emphasised.

- *Popular participation* will be encouraged in Swedish-financed development cooperation programmes in sectors such as infrastructure, agriculture, water, health and education.

e) The following subject areas are adjudged to be strategic in the promotion of peace, democracy and human rights.

- Special attention will be paid to:

- the judicial system;
- the independence of the media;

- democratic local government;
- parliamentary functions and work methods;
- women's participation in the democratic process;
- organisations and groups working to improve respect for human rights;
- promotion of states' respect for and protection of women's human rights;
- promotion of states' respect for and protection of the rights of the child;
- promotion of states' respect for and protection of the human rights of persons with disabilities;
- dialogue with cooperating governments on the importance of guaranteeing democracy, ratifying international conventions and observing human rights.

- Support may also be provided in other areas such as:

other political bodies, parties and constellations than the above;

- capacity development for holding general elections;
- international networks and organisations for monitoring states' human rights performance;
- civic education, especially in human rights;
- trade union movements' work on democratisation;
- promotion of states' respect for and protection of the rights of indigenous peoples and specially discriminated minorities.

f) Support will be provided to research *activities* in these three fields, in order both to develop social science capacity in countries of cooperation, and to improve Sida's own knowledge and competence in the three areas.

4. Methods of work

Planning, implementation and evaluation of cooperation in the fields in question will be undertaken in the following way:

- Analyses and strategies relevant to promoting peace, democracy and human rights will as a rule be incorporated into country cooperation strategies and country programmes. In those countries in which Sida supports long-term cooperation directed towards institutional development, a thorough contextual analysis will be carried out.
- Policy dialogue is an important instrument in this type of cooperation. It should be carried out in close collaboration with the Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, as part of a broader assistance strategy.
- Swedish NGOs are important actors in these fields and comprise a substantial part of the resource base. The forms of collaboration, exchange of experience and methods development between Sida and the NGOs will be further developed.
- The resource base will be extended in order to cover priority areas such as the legal system, the media, and local government, as well as to carry out the requisite analytical work.
- Support will be provided to national community-based organisations, but care will be taken to avoid their becoming aid dependent by strengthening the requirement that they part-finance their activities and diversify their sources of funding.
- In some regions, a regional approach has shown itself to be effective and will be promoted, for example as regards peace-building and monitoring of states' human rights performance.¹
- The methods of planning, reporting, evaluation and follow-up will be tightened up.
 - Sida will improve its level of competence in these areas, partly through accessing specialists, and partly through training its managers and programme officers at headquarters and in the field.

Annex 1:

Policy Guidelines

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1. Goals and Points of Departure

The overriding aim of Swedish development assistance is to raise the quality of living of poor peoples. To attain this objective, Swedish Parliament has stipulated six sub-goals for development cooperation, one of which is the promotion of democratic development¹. Sida has prepared a separate action programme for another sub-goal, the promotion of equality between women and men; this issue is also an integral part of these guidelines. A third sub-goal, environmental quality, has bearing on these guidelines; Sida has also developed a separate programme of action for sustainable development.

¹ The other five are: Economic growth; Economic and social equality; Economic and political independence; Environmental quality; and Equality between women and men.

The government's cited Letter of Instruction notes that "Aid should support the transition to peace and democracy and contribute to preventing the outbreak of conflicts, inter alia through promoting popularly-based democracy. Development is intimately linked to peace, security, democracy and respect for human rights". This has also served as a guiding instruction.

A specific strategy for support to democracy and human rights in Central and Eastern Europe has been developed within Sida². This strategy shall serve as guidance for the Swedish support according to a decision by the Swedish government.

Sweden is a party to the major International and Regional Conventions on Human Rights and Protocols and to the International (Geneva) Conventions and Protocols on International Humanitarian Law, is bound to their observance and is committed to their implementation worldwide. These legal instruments form part of the framework of this policy; as do Sweden's undertakings in regard to the recent international conferences on children (New York), human rights (Vienna), population (Cairo), social development (Copenhagen), women (Beijing), and the sexual exploitation of children (Stockholm).

The policy covers an essential area of Swedish foreign policy. The areas under consideration are often highly politically sensitive, and this policy will thus require inter alia close liaison and collaboration between the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sida, and other Swedish actors, as regards both bilateral and multilateral programmes in these areas.

Swedish non-governmental organisations and popular movements have always had a high profile in Swedish development cooperation within these three areas. The experiences arising from this collaboration are an important point of reference for this policy.

2. Analytical Framework

2.1. Peace, democracy and development

Human rights and democracy are intimately linked also to peace, security and human development. Sida works for democracy and human rights to be reflected and respected in all bilateral Swedish development cooperation. Sweden can contribute through most of its development assistance to strengthening the conditions for peace and democracy, promoting human rights, supporting growth with equity, and preventing the insecurity from arising which leads to armed conflict and war; Sweden can also provide relief in conflict situations and assist in the rebuilding of societies which respect democratic principles and human rights and thereby build sustainable peace. In accordance with this policy, Sida will strive to focus Swedish assistance even more on reaching these ends.

2.2. Democracy, human rights and gender equality

Sweden works for women and men to have equal rights, duties and opportunities in all spheres of life. A democratic social order which respects human rights provides the best environment for equal rights between women and men to become a reality. A precondition for true democracy is that women and men have equal representation in decision-making bodies, especially - but not only - in the sphere of government. Such equality facilitates the making of legal reforms which break down bastions of male privilege and put traditional male powers and attitudes into question. Achieving greater equality between women and men in government is one of Sweden's special priorities.

² "Strategy in support of democratic development and respect for human rights in Central and Eastern Europe", Sida/Dep't for Central/Eastern Europe, January 1996.

2.3. The international context for promoting peace, democracy and human rights

The conditions for support in these interrelated areas have changed dramatically in the last decade. This includes the collapse of the communist system in Europe and of the apartheid system in Southern Africa, as well as the return to democratic rule in most of Latin America. Other notable features include general economic decline followed by the application of structural adjustment programmes in most of the world's poorest countries, particularly Africa; the transition from one-party or military rule to multi-party systems in many countries; and the economic boom in South-East Asia.

The end of the Cold War has released intranational and some international tensions and conflicts in which countries have been ripped apart and human rights have been grossly violated. Economic restructuring has played an active part in radically changing the role of the state in the process of development. In some cases, notably in Africa, the state's efficiency and legitimacy have been seriously undermined and remain very weak in spite of democratisation. In some cases, democracy is being linked to economic decline or regarded as a system imposed by foreign intervention.

Development cooperation is thus called upon in new circumstances to respond both to the needs of countries that are democratising and trying to improve their human rights records, and to countries that are plagued by armed conflict.

Sweden will pay attention to the necessary cultural and religious variations from country to country and continent to continent in approach to democracy and human rights, and will develop methods to tailor its support to each context. Sweden will not, however, support variations in interpretation which put into question the universality of human rights, the equality of women and men, or the essence of competitive legal democracy as defined below. Tensions will necessarily arise as regards respecting the principle of national sovereignty, but in this field, the universality of human rights will be given precedence.

2.4. State and civil society

The development of the institutions and culture of democracy and human rights takes place through constructive tensions between the state and civil society. Both a functioning state and a vibrant civil society are required to ensure democratic forms of governance and to secure human rights. For operational purposes, the division between state and civil society is taken to occur roughly along the divide between public and private social formations and institutions.

Democracy, human rights and positive peace are dependent on the good behaviour of the state in its policies and practice. Sweden promotes good governance in the public sector in general as being essential to developing a democratic state and society. Operationally Sida defines good governance as corresponding to the state governing in an accessible, predictable, accountable, transparent, participatory and effective way within the rule of law. In this context it is crucial that political parties are democratic and able to work in a way corresponding to these ideals.

The state is responsible for the realisation of human rights. An essential element in a flourishing democracy is, furthermore, that women and men recognise that they as individuals have rights but also responsibilities towards each other. Sweden supports extending women's and men's knowledge of social issues and their engagement in them through democratic organisations. This includes education in civics and participatory methods for children. However, external agencies can only support democratic forces and an active civil society, not create them.

Sweden will build its development cooperation in the fields of democracy and human rights and peace promotion on analysis of the philosophy, practices, strengths and weaknesses of both the state and the formations of civil society. Where suitable, complementary assistance will be provided to state and civil society institutions.

2.5. Culture and institutions

In order to flourish, peace, respect for human rights, and democratic governance all require a fertile cultural base which nurtures them, and a framework of institutions which protect and sustain them. The cultural base not only supports peace, democracy and human rights, but also

generates the institutional framework. The base comprises the cultural values of non-violence, mutual tolerance and respect, cooperation and equality, which are the bearers of justice and human development.

It is difficult for compatible institutions to arise in society in the absence of these values. However, the creation of institutions represents a big step forward in the protection, strengthening and eventual institutionalisation of these cultural values in society. Institutions thus not only constitute the external form of these values, but also build their content.

2.6. Analytical matrix

Sida thus holds that sustainable improvements in the quality of life must be founded on and developed through a set of social institutions, comprising organisations under the rule of law in both the state and the civil society. These institutions must be based in a democratic culture and supported by democratic values and attitudes, such as respect for others and tolerance for divergent views. The institutions of democracy need to be the expression of a democratic culture, and vice versa. Swedish assistance must reflect this intimate connection, which may be illustrated as follows:

Areas covered by Swedish assistance:

	State	Civil society
Institutional dimension	1	2
Cultural dimension	3	4

Today's programme of assistance is principally comprised of support to projects aimed at influencing values and attitudes through groups located in the civil society (cell 4, above). In contrast, there are relatively few projects aimed at long-term institutional development in the state and civil society (cells 1 and 2) and towards a democratic culture in state institutions (cell 3). Future assistance in all three fields should thus include the development and strengthening of institutions within the state and civil society.

In favourable climates, related government and non-government organisations answer for (and can be supported in) the safeguarding of peace, the protection of human rights and the functioning of democracy. The interaction of state and civil society at cultural and institutional level is derailed when the state exerts violence, violates rights and practices dictatorship; or when significant fractions of civil society turn to violence and terror to further their ends. Derailments of this kind usually affect democracy, human rights and peace negatively and simultaneously.

Depending on the situation, assistance can be provided to "restoring the matrix" at the cultural and/or the institutional level, and in cooperation with the state and/or the civil society. Careful analysis needs to be applied, within the reigning political constraints, to decide as to whether assistance should be given to a rogue regime in the interests of shoring up peace and pushing it in the right direction, or whether support should rather be given to its opponents in the civil society, with a view to protecting its victims and throwing it out. Where wide spread armed conflict breaks out, the long-term approach of working culturally and institutionally often has to be suspended, and other, short-term actions undertaken to restore peace so that the long-term processes of peace and democracy can be re-initiated.

Thus, in favourable environments, Sida works together with state and civil society on a long-term basis and at the cultural and institutional levels to promote peace, human rights and democracy. In unfavourable environments, Sida carefully selects partners, often but not exclusively

from the civil society alone, with a view to building up the conditions for positive peace, democracy and respect for human rights. In such situations, often key individuals and dynamic activist organisations need to be identified and supported. In cases of armed conflict, Sida supports actions to stop violence from escalating further and from there, to build sustainable peace.

3. Operational Definitions

Building on the above analytical framework, and with a view to focusing and guiding its work, Sida applies a set of operational definitions to the area of peace, democracy and human rights. Sida recognises that this area is constituted of complex interacting processes, but uses the following more static definitions to delimit its operations.

3.1. Peace promotion

Peace is a necessary foundation for development, democracy and human rights. The absence of war and other armed conflicts due to the repression of conflict is commonly referred to as *negative peace*; in contradistinction to *positive peace*, defined as a sustainable state of peace based on human security and non-violence.

Conflict is inherent in society, and functions as an agent of change and renewal. As long as conflict finds peaceful expression and resolution, such as expressed through the processes of democracy, it is the driving force of development. Where conflict is expressed in violent forms, however, it threatens human rights and development.

Sida *promotes peace*, and defines its assistance to this end as support for activities with the primary objective of improving the prospects for human rights and security and the non-violent resolution of conflicts. This can be achieved at both the cultural and the institutional level, through the mobilisation of women and men in civil society and the constitutional comportment of the government in defence of peace. For operational purposes, the perpetuation of peaceful coexistence in society can be defined at the two levels as:

- i) *A culture of non-violence*, characterised by the public internalisation of the value that conflicts should never be resolved by violence, but always by peaceful means. This cultural attribute is integral also to a culture of human rights and democracy. It can be strengthened inter alia through education and the media.
- ii) *A legal and institutional framework in support of peace*, which encompasses all citizens, both women and men, with equal rights and duties, and protects them from the violence of other citizens and of the authorities. The framework should include rules and means to deal with conflicts in a non-violent way. The governmental monopoly on the means of violence should be used to protect citizens, and applied with extreme caution. The rule system should clearly exclude the armed forces from intervention in political and civilian life, and set clear rules and limits on the use of force by the police.

Sweden will support organisations and initiatives to promote a culture of non-violence and peaceful dispute resolution. Support to these ends falls within the category of all actions designed to preserve peace and build positive peace, designated by Sida as *peace promotion*. Sida regards the development of respect for human rights and of democracy as being fundamental to promoting peace; most democracy and human rights activities can thus also be regarded as peace promoting activities.

In situations where armed conflict is developing, a specific form of peace promotion – *conflict management* – is essential.

3.2. Conflict management

Before armed conflict (civil war) breaks out, aid can be used to *prevent conflict* from arising through the means of targeted development assistance, democracy and human rights programmes, and facilitation of communication between contending parties.

After conflict breaks out, a strategic combination of measures, adapted to the context, needs to be applied. Such measures of *conflict management* involve i.a. peace-keeping operations; third party actions; official and unofficial diplomacy; mediation and community dialogue; mobilisation of domestic groups in support of peace; protection and rehabilitation of vulnerable groups; targeted resource transfer; and related actions aimed at stopping and dismantling armed conflicts. Aid for conflict management, provided in a class and gender-sensitive manner, can play a positive role by supporting:

- *peace-building*: financing activities of protection, to keep the contestants physically apart, and/or of dialogue, to promote reconciliation and bring the leaders together for mediation; *relief*: providing humanitarian assistance to the victims of the conflict;-
- *reconstruction*: contributing to the reconstruction of the society.

Actions supported by Sweden in a situation of armed hostilities on the diplomatic, military and humanitarian fronts, to build peace, provide relief and rehabilitation, and contribute to reconstruction, are defined by Sida as actions of *conflict management*. As the term implies, these actions should be *coordinated*.

3.3. Democracy

For Sida, there are two important dimensions of democracy: democracy as a set of laws and institutions, and democracy as a set of cultural values and social relationships. These dimensions are covered by the following operational definitions:

i) *Legal (constitutional) democracy*: a form of government involving the formal and universal participation of the adult citizenry of a country in the competitive choice of its representatives, who rule within the framework of a constitutional state backed up by the rule of law.

Legal democracy may be regarded as comprising a particular set of formal processes and functioning institutions, some of them official and some in civil society, which may vary from country to country, but in general comprise and operate four interrelated systems:

- (a) A system of regular, free and fair competitive elections;
- (b) A system of open, accessible and accountable government;
- (c) An independent judiciary;
- (d) A system that observes and enforces civil and political human rights, upholding the principle of non-discrimination and allowing inter alia free speech, freedom of association and assembly, and the free action of an independent media.

This basic definition of democracy is regarded by Sida as being of universal application. Sida seeks to promote legal democracy in all countries of cooperation as a minimum condition for social justice, realisation of human rights, gender equality, and sustainable social development.

ii) *Societal democracy*: a democratic culture of egalitarian co-existence expressed through relations of tolerance, willingness to compromise, respect for the differences between public and private life, and participatory opportunities in all institutions of the state and civil society.

Sida will actively promote the evolution of participatory societal democracy in the broader sense; often indirectly, through all of its assistance. This requires, firstly, an active civil society in which a democratic culture is nurtured; and secondly, the permeation of the formal institutions of legal democracy with a participatory culture. Sweden regards the sustainability of democracy as depending on the development of such a cultural base.

3.4. Human rights

Human rights and freedoms, consisting of rights in the civic, political, economic, social and cultural spheres, are universal, indivisible, and interdependent. They are defined through a set of 30 Conventions and Covenants, whose articles become binding on a country ("hard law instruments") when ratified by its government, and around 50 Human Rights Declarations, which are regarded as "soft law instruments" in international law. The six most important UN instruments, besides the Declaration of Human Rights; are the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (as amended by its 1977 protocols); the Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights; the

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination; the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women; the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The UN Standing Rules on the Equalisation of Opportunities for Persons with Disabilities are also significant.

In human rights observance the state is central and responsible. Human rights are mainly rights vis-a-vis the state, implying restrictions on its operations, as well as obligations on the state to protect its citizens, both women and men, against violations and to ensure them enjoyment of their rights. Democratic states have shown themselves to be those that violate human rights least and enforce them best; democracy by definition incorporates respect for civil and political rights. Promoting democracy is one central way of promoting human rights and peace.

For its purposes, Sida regards Human Rights Support as including all actions which have as their primary objective to improve governments' respect and protection of individuals' and groups' equal enjoyment of their civil, political, economic, social and cultural human rights. As with democracy, Sida identifies two operational dimensions:

i) *The legal human rights framework*: comprising formal processes and institutions which constitute the formal rule system for human rights observance. This comes about partly through government's creation of the minimum conditions for and subsequent ratification of the Conventions; partly through national legislation and institutional mechanisms of execution and monitoring, such as the judiciary and the ombudsman function; to some extent through targeted human rights training among the groups which are most prone to human rights abuses (police, prison officials etc); and partly through consciousness-raising, monitoring and the exercise of pressure through the civil society and its institutions.

Through policy dialogue, Sweden will act to persuade states to consolidate the legal framework of human rights through ratifying the Conventions (without reservations), and reforming their legislation in order to comply with the Conventions. Sida will also act to strengthen the principal state and civil society institutions responsible for the protection and observation of human rights, in particular, the democratic, law enforcement and legal systems.

ii) *A culture of human rights*, involving a broad knowledge and recognition in society of the values of tolerance, non-discrimination and respect for human dignity. This is achieved in part through broad educational efforts for men, women and children, through conscious attitude change in organisations, and through monitoring and legal mediation of disputes.

Sweden will continue its support to human rights organisations in civil society and be open for cooperation with positively-disposed democratic governments to help develop a culture of human rights. Sweden's other forms of development cooperation often contribute to this too.

4. Strategy

Within this analytical framework, Sida classifies its cooperation and aid into two categories of programmes on democracy, peace, and human rights (HR) criteria:

- a) programmes which have democracy and human rights, conflict management and the promotion of peace as their principal objective;
- b) programmes which have the promotion of peace, democracy and human rights as a significant objective, or within which their promotion is a natural component.

Sida will examine all other aid programmes and projects from the perspective that they do not have negative effects that are harmful to peace, democracy and human rights. Attention must be paid to promoting gender equality in all categories of intervention, in accordance with Sida's Action Programme for the promotion of equality between women and men.

Sweden will put more effort into dialogue on democracy, HR and conflict issues with all countries of cooperation. Dialogue is an important instrument for furthering such objectives within the aid relationship, but it must be used selectively and carefully. The use of conditionality on

development assistance to lever democracy and human rights reforms will as a rule, however, only be applied as part of coordinated political action between the Swedish government and other partners (with the possible exception of targeted Democracy and HR projects). Sida will conduct regular consultations with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs on the situation of conflict, HR and democracy in countries of cooperation and regions of concern.

4.1. Planning activities with the promotion of democracy, human rights and peace as their principal objective

Principal objective democracy, peace and human rights programmes will usually impact on the formal institutions of legal democracy and HR in the civil society and the state, especially public and private institutions within the legal system; but may also consist of strategic actions at the cultural level. Sida will be careful to make a fitting choice of partners for cooperation on such programmes. Where necessary in consultation with the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sida will assess the human rights, conflict and democracy situation in each proposed country of cooperation with a view to shaping its support according to the progress being evinced in relation to democratisation and respect for human rights.

Sweden will concentrate its bilateral long-term democracy and human rights cooperation on a small number of the countries for which it has a country strategy ("CS-countries"). It will pay special attention to CS-countries where Sweden has a development cooperation representation, which are progressing in their democratisation and whose governments show political will to respect and protect human rights. The country strategy will take heed of other donors' activities in this area and will also determine the objectives, scope, budget line and division of work as regards Sweden's commitments.

In the prioritised CS-countries where Sida can closely support on-going favourable peace, democracy and human rights development, Sweden will emphasise the development and strengthening of key central and local government institutions on a long-term, institution-building basis. At the same time, Sweden will sensitively apply the *principle of complementarity*, i.e. inputs to improving state performance in given areas will be complemented by inputs to assist associated civil society organisations to respond fully (but independently) to the changed situation. Taking heed of the dynamic nature of the democratic process, Sida may also finance complementary short-term activities of a strategic nature related to the long-term institution-building process.

In a wider group of countries, democracy support may be used strategically and with the support of policy dialogue to reinforce democratic processes, mainly but not exclusively within the civil society. Support to Swedish NGOs for their work on strengthening civil society will continue, financed through the NGO budget vote (see 4.3. below).

In countries where the government does not evince positive political will and progress in this regard, Sweden may use democracy and human rights support strategically to support positive forces, mostly through non-governmental channels, for strengthening the organisation of civil society and safeguarding human rights and the rule of law.

In choosing partners, Sida may also identify Swedish organisations, UN, other international and regional organisations which are specially competent and focused on specific peace, democracy and human rights issues, and support them in their work, either generally or in the context of a specific country, a specific issue or a specific field.

In cases where armed conflict is on the verge of breaking out or has broken out, a different approach will be used (see 4.4. below).

4.2. Activities where promoting peace, democracy and human rights is a significant objective

Significant objective programmes are development cooperation programmes which have another primary objective, but the kind and area of their activities and their methods of work make it natural for them actively to aim at promoting peace, human rights and democracy and their cultural base in the course of their implementation. Such significant objectives are:

- enhancement of individual and community participation in political, social and economic life, in development planning etc.;
- development of democratic forms of work within organisations in the civil society, in partner organisations to Swedish NGOs etc.;
- improvement of governance in the state and its structures;
- improvement of the observance and enforcement of various kinds of human rights within co-operation project activities;
- enhancement of the rights and equal participation of women.

In the planning of such programmes Sida will take their peace, democracy and human rights potential into account, and where relevant negotiate the inclusion of such secondary objectives in them. The potential of any given programme also to promote peace, democracy and human rights will be positively weighted by Sweden in deciding on whether to support it or not.

Four particular kinds of “enabling activity” will actively be supported by Sida in order to contribute to democratisation, peace and the observance of human rights:

Good governance at central and local government level:

Development of a generally effective, accessible, accountable and transparent state is a necessary part of democratisation. When activities aimed at building government institutions outside of the “core” of legal democracy are undertaken, as either the main activity or as a complementary activity of a programme, they should also be carried out in such a way as to foster good governance.

Democracy and human rights through education:

Sweden assists the education sector, and will support special programmes in the areas of adult education, civic education and education on human rights. Literacy, numeracy and civic consciousness are important steps towards development of a democratic culture and democratic forms of governance. Sweden’s support to universities can also have useful impact in this way.

Individual and community participation:

All organisations in society which work democratically play an important educational function. Although their main objectives may be different, this secondary function should be emphasised in Swedish development cooperation activities.

Sweden will encourage individual and community participation in political, social and economic life through the means of its support to development activities. The active participation of women on an equal footing with men will be promoted. Such participation gives impetus to the development of a democratic culture and is thus vital from the point of view of democracy, human rights and conflict prevention.

Support to the development of culture:

Swedish support to cultural development impacts also on the fostering of values of tolerance, equality between women and men, non-violence, and mutual understanding which are essential for democracy and human rights to flourish.

4.3. Promotion of pluralism in society

Historically, as one of the pillars of Swedish development cooperation, Swedish NGO’s have collaborated with Sida and also developed their own programmes of cooperation, usually with NGO partners in poor countries’ civil society. These programmes are almost always relevant for peace, democracy and human rights, either because their primary aim is to promote democracy and human rights - as noted, a large proportion of the Swedish programme is currently run by Swedish NGOs - or because the long-term effect of committed cooperation with civil society organisations abroad in areas of mutual interest is to promote the respective relevant values and attitudes.

Sida will continue to provide support to Swedish NGOs for their programmes, and will work to collaborate more closely with them, in some cases by requesting their assistance with longterm democracy and human rights projects or conflict management action, in others by inviting their collaboration in implementing the complementarity principle; thereby also learning more from their rich experience.

4.4. Peace promotion and conflict management

Sweden's aim is always to help create the conditions that prevent the outbreak of violent conflict, i.e. through its development cooperation, to build sustainable political, social and economic well-being. In this respect, all Sida's support can be regarded as promoting peace; and democracy and human rights support plays a particularly important preventive role.

In situations where armed conflict is visibly emerging or has arisen, Sida will on government instruction and in cooperation with other agencies and NGOs contribute to actions of conflict management. As a general principle, Sweden will not intervene unilaterally, but participate in restoring peace in alliance with other legitimate international actors, especially those with similar goals. Before armed conflict breaks out, this can include Sweden altering its aid profile or providing targeted support to contribute to conflict prevention.

In CS-countries, Sweden will give attention to analysing the conflict risks and conflict situation, and prioritise activities and work methods which reduce the level of tension in society and prevent conflict.

In non-CS-countries in an acute situation or with a lengthy history of conflict, where Sweden has long experience or special monitoring responsibility, up-to-date coverage of the situation and a high level of preparedness will be maintained.

Sweden will provide its support in conflict situations in a long-term perspective, aiming as far as possible at preventing hostilities, and thereafter at cessation of hostilities - restoring negative peace - and at reconstruction - building positive peace. The Swedish role in conflict management will be to offer assistance in the form of diplomatic intervention and participation in peace-keeping operations, as well as other resource transfers, which together in coordinated form make up a consistent conflict management package. The Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs is responsible for the political decisions, the diplomatic actions and the participation of Sweden in peace-keeping forces.

Sida's role will be to assist, within the framework of Swedish foreign policy, in providing aid to conflict management of three main types: peace-building, humanitarian assistance and support to reconstruction (see 3.2. above). Peace-building activities can aim to enhance both communication between conflicting groups and provide protection for them, as well as for innocent civilians and children. It can involve demilitarisation, demobilisation and disarmament of combatants and their reintegration in civilian life; de-mining, reconciliation efforts, arms control, and the repatriation of refugees. It may be directed to a wide range of sectors, such as infrastructure, health and education, and may also promote the institutions and culture of democracy and human rights, which Sweden considers to be the most effective long-term approach to restoring and sustaining peace. Sida notes, however, that the ability of aid to de-escalate conflict situations is necessarily limited.

Sida will use an organisational framework through which its contributions are well coordinated with those of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs and can more easily and rapidly be integrated into and respond to wider conflict management efforts.

4.5. Do no harm

All other development cooperation programmes involving Sida will be scrutinised during their planning and implementation, with a view to identifying unintended and negative effects that may be harmful to democracy and human rights. If Sweden supports economic adjustment programmes it will strive towards their being subjected to the democratic process, i.e. subject to public scrutiny and Parliamentary approval as regards their design and implementation.

In situations of armed conflict, Sida's minimum approach will be to seek to "Do No Harm" with aid, i.e. to identify unintended effects that may fuel conflict.

5. Priorities

Sweden needs its programme to be well focused, concentrated and effective. Sida's analysis is that effectivisation will best be achieved by better contextualisation and clearer goal formulation, with related closer attention to the compatibility between the goals set and the means and conditions availing. Prioritisation thus rather means making changes in the relative emphasis that Sweden will give to the various areas than to creating totally new programmes.

From country to country, through the medium of the country strategy process and in dialogue with the recipients, Sweden will identify the particular issues and relevant areas to be prioritised. In subject terms, given that a limited set of institutions and organisations is central to the democratic process and to the protection of human rights, Sweden will improve its capability to provide assistance in the following strategic areas and specially emphasise those marked with an asterisk (*):

* The legal system:

Improvement of the accessibility and functioning of the legal system and consolidation of its organisation in the public sector and civil society. This includes strengthening the independence of the judicial system, cleaning up legislation and seeing to it that it is applied, assisting in establishing legal aid and ombudsman functions, and reforming the prosecution, policing and prison authorities according to human rights criteria.

* Independent media:

Development of the independent press and other media, inter alia through support to regional media unions and to journalist training, and to developing press ombudsman functions, to assist the media in responsibly fulfilling its functions of upholding democracy and promoting human rights observance and peace.

Other core areas of the democratic system:

Support to the core apparatus of the democratic system, e.g.

- * improving the effectiveness of Parliament and the efficiency of the legislative process;
- through "sister party" cooperation, building the democratic capacity of political parties;
- * developing appropriate forms of local democracy, local government and local administration, which facilitate the development of democratic practice and the involvement of women and men in development planning and execution;
- providing electoral assistance, for the education of voters and institutionalisation of electoral systems and procedures, and participating in election observation;
- * promoting the participation of women in political office and political decision-making;
- promoting civic education (information and training).

Human rights observance:

Support to the observance and protection of human rights, i.e.:

- * engaging governments in dialogue on ratifying and observing the international and regional conventions on human rights, and helping finance their implementation;
- * strengthening of in-country human rights organisations, with priority to those training in and disseminating human rights, investigating and documenting violations, providing legal aid, and mobilising local and international opinion to pressure the authorities;
- strengthening the organisation and capacity of the trades union movement;

- * support through a select number of regional and international human rights networks and organisations to monitoring human rights conditions, providing assistance to the victims of abuses, developing capacity in HR-organisations at country level, and pressuring governments to improve their human rights performance.

- * Sweden will work through its development cooperation for gender equality and the human rights of women, and see to it that a gender perspective is incorporated in all its assistance, especially in the fields of democracy, peace and human rights and conflict management.

- * Sweden will support efforts addressing the respect for and protection of the rights of children according to the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

- * Sweden will support efforts to ensure that persons with disabilities enjoy equal human rights, in accordance with the UN Standing Rules.

Sweden will also seek to ensure that the human rights of indigenous peoples, specially discriminated minorities or other vulnerable groups are given high visibility in programmes with countries where this is a serious problem.

- * Significant objective programmes

Two kinds of “enabling activity” will be given priority by Sida in order to contribute to democratisation and observance of human rights:

- Good governance at central and local government level;
- Individual and community participation within and through cooperation programmes.

6. Methods of work

Development cooperation in these areas is more sensitive than in most other areas. Sweden will thus strive to base any intervention on a thorough analysis of the context, including identification of suitable cooperation partners. Flexibility will also be applied. The following considerations will guide Sida’s work:

6.1. Country Strategies

Sweden develops country strategies for all major cooperation partner countries (“CS-countries”). The relevant actors are consulted. The country strategy sets the frame for the objectives, scope, budget lines and division of work within Sida for democracy programmes.

The situation of peace, human rights and democracy is an obligatory part of the strategy. The strategy will cover “principal objective” inputs (if any) and cooperation areas where significant secondary impact should be sought, and critique the whole programme from the perspective of its possible negative effects on democracy and human rights and on the conflict situation.

Through the country strategy, support in these areas will be properly included in country programming in a long-term perspective.

6.2. Sector analysis

In the CS-countries chosen for special attention, a sector analysis will be carried out, involving consultation with significant actors in the country concerned, to contextualise the programme and to inform the country strategy process.

As regards other countries: In those with Swedish embassies, the Embassy reports annually to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs on the human rights situation. This reporting will be expanded and focused to some extent, so that a set of key issues, including democracy and conflict issues, is fully covered.

For countries with no permanent official Swedish presence, reporting by Swedish NGOs or by other agencies and NGOs on the situation of democracy, human rights and conflict will be used by Sida when required.

6.3. Policy dialogue

Policy dialogue has been identified as essential for the protection of human rights, promotion of gender equality, encouragement of democratic development, and prevention of conflict. Dialogue can conveniently be structured on a regular basis in the context of the planning, implementation and follow-up of democracy and human rights programmes. Additional dialogue opportunities should be sought when recipient policy or activity contravenes human rights or weakens democracy, especially (but not only) when such actions impact on the relations between the countries, of which development cooperation forms a substantial part. Coordination with other countries on issues for dialogue can also be explored.

In principle, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, through and with the Swedish embassies, is responsible for constructing and organising policy dialogue at the political or intergovernmental level. Sida supports the Ministry and the relevant Embassy with factual information and its understanding of the issues. Sida personnel is responsible for carrying out relevant dialogue with recipient organisations at the project level and within the project context, under guidance of and in collaboration with Embassy political staff.

6.4. The role of Swedish organisations

Sweden supports two principal forms of cooperation between Swedish civil society organisations and developing countries. Swedish non-profit NGOs which develop programmes of cooperation with partner organisations on their own initiative and responsibility will continue to be encouraged and funded by Sida on an 80:20 basis. This funding is provided if the NGO programme is compatible with Sweden's development cooperation goals. Such cooperation will continue for developing democratic relations and the culture of democracy in and through NGO partner organisations.

Sida also cooperates with specialised Swedish NGOs and may support them or commission them to work on programmes in these areas. Sida will continue to draw on the accumulated expertise and experience in the NGO community in this way. Sida will facilitate exchange of experiences and consultations between and with the Swedish NGOs, for joint planning and mutual capacity building purposes.

In recent years intergovernmental contacts relating to the democracy and human rights field have also been increasing. Sida will seek further to engage Swedish state institutions in democracy and human rights programmes, in the form of institutional cooperation.

6.5. Development of the Swedish resource base

Sida will pay further attention to developing the Swedish resource base in areas which are key to the implementation of this policy as indicated under 4. above:

- Areas of the legal system of special relevance to democracy and human rights
- Capacity building for the press and other media
- Democratic local government
- Civic and human rights education
- Policing, defense, safety and security
- Conflict management operations
- Gender equality promotion
- Research, monitoring and documentation in the three fields.

Sida may engage resources outside Sweden (including locally and regionally) to cover apposite areas or areas where the Swedish resource base is insufficient.

6.6. Cooperation with local civil society organisations

The principle of complementarity implies considerable cooperation between Sweden and the local NGOs which play an important role within the legal system, the observance of human rights, and so on. Support to these NGOs will continue unabated, as it constitutes an important form of assistance to strengthening the role of civil society.

Sida will, however, seek to avoid imposing its programmes on local NGOs and also to avoid creating relations of financial dependency and external accountability with them. Where possible, Sida will thus try to relate to local NGOs through intermediary channels, such as Swedish NGOs, regional NGOs or local autonomous funds.

If Sida commissions a local service-delivery NGO to implement a programme, the NGO must first demonstrate that its participation enjoys the real support of its constituents or members. If a community-based organisation (CBO) seeks financing, Sida will apply a *principle of self-commitment* to the funding, i.e. the NGO should demonstrate that it will also engage or mobilise other resources for its activities itself, such as voluntary work or local fundraising, to avoid undue dependence on Sida. Sida will of course take into account the conditions within which the CBO is carrying out its activities.

6.7. Cooperation with regional and international democracy and human rights organisations

Sida provides funding to a number of regional and international public organisations in democracy and human rights promotion and defence. Many of these organisations play an important role in monitoring and thus enforcing human rights, as well as in promoting peace, and Sida sees them as important players within these fields.

Some organisations have become dependent on Sida for their survival. Over the next three years, Sida will evaluate the role and performance of the organisations to which it provides core funding, aiming to concentrate and reduce such support to a select few. As regards the other organisations, Sida will in stages shift only to funding those activities in priority regions, countries and sectors which are relevant for Swedish development assistance.

In all cases, Sida will avoid providing any such regional or international organisation with more than 50% of its total funding.

6.8. Regional approaches

Country variations will primarily determine the profile of Swedish support. In some regions, nevertheless, there may be reason for Sweden to adopt a regional approach or to prioritise specific areas and programmes.

In some regions, network organisations monitoring and promoting democracy and human rights have evolved. Regional cooperation and networking between NGOs, and even inter-statal initiatives, have come to play an increasingly effective role in strengthening democracy and human rights, advancing women's human rights and status in society, and promoting peace. Sweden may support these on a core funding or programme financing basis. Sweden may also contribute to peace promotion by supporting regional initiatives taken by states adjacent to the conflict area.

6.9. In-country capacity building

This policy envisages a gradual strengthening of focus on those countries of cooperation which strive to develop democratic forms of governance and to improve their respect for human rights. Priority will thus be given to in-country institutional capacity building in a long term (ca 5 year) perspective. One area of concern is that many local NGOs would benefit from training in planning and financial management, parallel with support to their activities.

The training of local trainers, especially women, is a good approach to capacity building in some fields. Sida, however, does not regard training on its own as being a generally successful means of achieving democracy and human rights objectives sustainably. Sida prefers training built into a supportive organisational context and related to complementary institution-building activities; and will reduce its support to programmes made up of isolated training activities.

6.10. Capacity building in Sida

This policy and programme will require new forms of capacity to be recruited to and developed in Sida and the Embassies. HQ and field personnel will be trained in the application of this policy in project planning and administration, as well as in relation to understanding conflict, “Doing No Harm”, and promoting the culture of democracy and human rights.

6.11. In-country coordination

At the country level, Sweden will seek to promote coordination and rationalisation between donors, international NGOs and in-country actors. The primary objective of such coordination efforts will be full ownership of the activity by the developing country partners. In countries with a “positive” government, Sweden will encourage the government to take a leading role in coordination. In other countries, different constellations of actors will need to be developed, with donors perhaps coordinating among themselves to pressure government into respecting human rights and freedoms.

Sweden will also take part in the DAC initiative on strengthening country-level coordination for participatory development and good governance³.

6.12. Relationships with international actors

This policy conforms to DAC’s “Orientations on Participatory Development and Good Governance” (1995) which cover inter alia development cooperation in the democracy and human rights area, and whose more general application Sweden will endeavour to promote. In this, Sida will seek to cooperate with like-minded donors, in particular other Nordic countries. Sweden will also use this policy to inform its participation in DAC’s Task Force on Conflict, Peace and Development Cooperation, to assist in good guidelines being agreed upon.

In the EU, Sweden will work for the coordination of member country policies, especially on a recipient country basis, and work for EU assistance to conform to DAC best practice; in part through the mechanism of EU Country Strategies. Sweden will also encourage the development of EU conflict management policies which increase coordination of inputs and reduce unilateral partisan intervention in conflict situations by self-interested member countries.

In regard to donor agencies which have different interests or different policies, Sweden will attempt to persuade them to agree on cooperation at the country level, and to implement their programmes through the appropriate decision-making channels, in accordance with the recipient country’s democratic system and law.

6.13. Result-oriented work methods and evaluation

Sida will seek to concentrate its support, and will take more initiative in programme identification. It will insist on more careful prioritisation of activities, more clear and realistic goal formulation, and more long-term and sustainable programmes. It will also follow up programmes more strictly. Sida will prefer rather to finance clearly defined projects than to give organisations general core funding.

Sida will, wherever circumstances permit, place renewed emphasis on the reporting of results and the evaluation of activities in these fields, in order to satisfy itself that its support is

³ OECD Development Assistance Committee: Policy Note on Strengthening Country Level Coordination for Participatory Development and Good Governance (endorsed by High Level Meeting, 6-7 May 1996)

achieving the desired and planned effects. The evaluation of the results and effects of such assistance is by its nature and context a complex matter, and Sida will in consultation with its collaborating partners seek to develop more stringent methods in this regard.

7. Research Cooperation and Analysis

The strengthening of research capacity in the areas covered by this policy will contribute to a firm contextual and cultural configuration of Swedish support. Research capacity on these issues needs also to be located close to policy makers and other actors in the countries and regions concerned to inform their decisions and actions.

Regionally, Sida will focus in future on regional organisations in Central America and Africa, especially Eastern and Southern Africa.

Within countries of cooperation, studies on elections and democratisation have been and are currently being conducted. Sida could extend support also to research on human rights and problems of conflict. Sida will investigate the feasibility of such support when preparing bilateral research cooperation agreements, especially in African countries.

Swedish universities and institutes have built considerable research capacity in some areas relevant to democracy, peace and human rights, and a lot of research is being done. Sida will continue to encourage such research through the form of long term institutional support. Another important area is support to research cooperation between Swedish researchers and universities, and NGOs in developing countries. In the coming three year period, five Swedish research departments will receive long term institutional support and seven cooperative research projects will be supported.

For its own ends, Sida will also commission targeted research in the area. Such research will be subject to Sida's quality demands and standards as applied to non-commissioned research. Research cooperation in general will take proper regard of gender equality.

8. Application of the Goals in Sweden

Sida's own internal department and its behaviour towards its civil society counterparts, its recipient organisations and governments, should at all times be exemplary as regards being free from all suspicion of malpractice, building democratic values and relations, and encouraging and respecting the participation and opinions of interested parties.

Sida will strive to offer suitable role models in relation to gender equity by creating a balance between women and men in consultancies, on missions and in its own staffing. Attention will specially be paid to this as regards fieldwork in the areas of good governance, conflict and peace, where women's participation from the Swedish side has thus far not been prominent.

Annex 2:

Strategy for Support to Democratic Development and Respect for Human Rights in Central and Eastern Europe

The Riksdag (Swedish parliament) has resolved that one of four objectives for co-operation with Central and Eastern Europe shall be to deepen the culture of democracy. Sida has been instructed by the Swedish Government to propose a strategy to indicate how democratic social development and respect for human rights should be supported in the context of co-operation with Central and Eastern Europe. It is proposed that the strategy, which is overarching in character and intended to furnish general guidelines for Swedish support, should apply until otherwise decided. The point of departure is the special conditions prevailing in Central and Eastern Europe.

1. Democracy and respect for human rights in Central and Eastern Europe – current developments in brief

The transformation of Central and Eastern Europe towards democracy and a market economy is in many ways a promising process of historic importance.

It is important to bear in mind, however, that democratic traditions are largely lacking and that residues of the old system live on. The term “democracy” is often given a different meaning from what we expect. The process of transformation has to penetrate the whole society and is bound to take a long time. In addition to the change of system with regard to politics, economic affairs, the judiciary, social systems, public administration and so on, a great deal of mental adjustment is required on the part of the citizen.

In many respects these countries share a common heritage, and with it many obstacles to the process of democratisation, such as the absence of legal safeguards and democratic decision-making procedures, as well as political parties, trade unions, other interest organisations etc. At the same time there are many differences between them, not least regarding the way in which the process of adjustment is being conducted and the amount of headway it has made in various fields.

The formal framework of democracy has now been established, in the form of constitutions based on general elections and some form of democratic power-sharing. Electoral legislation, of mainly acceptable content, and the competence for holding elections are also in position.

The party system remains at the build-up stage and presents the fragmentation and volatility often to be found in newly established democracies. There is a good deal less public realisation than in western countries of the problems and opportunities presented by the country's economic and political affairs. In certain countries, the impact of democracy remains limited, due to an inability or unwillingness on the part of the electorate to exercise their voting rights in a responsible manner.

The media situation has improved, although attempts at political domination do occur. General standards are relatively high, but experience of impartial, investigative and explanatory journalism is limited.

Respect for human rights has improved, and systematic, gross violations of civil rights and liberties no longer occur. This is not true, however, of the regions, beyond Sweden's immediate surroundings, which are in a state of civil war or armed truce.

Statutory safeguards for human rights and liberties have been improved, but often their actual implementation has fallen short of an acceptable level. The institutions which, between them, are charged with protecting the rights of the individual system – the police, the courts, administrative

authorities etc. – are frequently understaffed and their employees either poorly or inappropriately trained. Rates of pay are low, not only compared with Western European conditions but also in relation to the cost of living and pay levels in the expanding private sector. Often civil servants do not subscribe to the rule of law and its basic view of relations between the citizen and the state. Corruption among public servants remains widespread.

Organised crime exists to a varying extent. Its main focus is on drugs, prostitution, illegal gaming and suchlike traditional fields of activity, but it also has business ramifications. Honest citizens, it is true, can avoid these activities, but their existence detracts from belief in the rule of law as a living social reality.

Citizens are adversely affected in a variety of ways by the self-seeking abuse of position and contacts, to the detriment of the general good, which accompanies the transition to a market economy and, according to western views and legislation, for the most part would probably be a punishable offence, as it often is under the laws of the country concerned. Legal safeguards for citizens are being partly undermined as a result of society not having evolved effective means of curbing these kinds of criminal behaviour.

Civil society is poorly developed. Influential democratic civic associations capable, for example, of asserting respect for human rights and of sustaining a democratic culture do not yet exist. Citizens, to a great extent, lack the experience and interest needed for trying to influence and assume responsibility for the development of society.

On the formal level, equality between men and women is relatively good. In practice, though, there are considerable differences and in certain respects the ongoing transformation has impaired the situation for women.

The situation and development tendencies described above make up the framework and point of departure for the deliberations presented below concerning the focus of support for democracy and human rights. Conditions, generally speaking, are favourable, in the sense of support being given to processes to which the countries themselves attach a great deal of importance and which, in the majority of cases, they themselves are promoting.

2. What kind of development does Sweden wish to support?

Sweden wishes to contribute towards a consolidation of the formal framework of democracy at national, regional and local/municipal levels, and towards a development of the culture of democracy so that it will increasingly permeate the different sectors of society.

This will involve measures to make the formal machinery of democracy a working proposition and to induce the citizenry to exercise their right of influencing the political life of the country and the governance of society. To make this possible, Sweden wishes to augment opportunities of access to, as well as improving the supply of accurate, relevant information from the public sector to citizens.

In the course of co-operation, Sweden wishes to make clear that citizens have not only rights but also responsibility for national development.

Sweden wishes to encourage the participation of men and women in the democratic process and political life, on equal terms and to an equal extent.

Sweden wishes to strengthen free speech and to encourage the media to discharge their role in democracy in a competent, efficient manner and with respect for accepted ethics of journalism.

Sweden wishes to promote knowledge and commitment among women and men concerning public affairs, partly through democratically organised popular movements.

Sweden wishes to contribute towards a strengthening of legal institutions. In addition, Sweden wishes to counteract ideologies at variance with human rights, as well as promoting a climate in society of tolerant co-existence. The most articulate ideologies in this respect are those which, on ethnic, linguistic or religious grounds, refuse to respect the rights of other groups of the population. The discrimination of women and lack of respect for children's rights are less articulate but have considerable consequences.

Sweden wishes to augment the possibilities of persons and institutions with key roles in the further development of democracy and human rights taking part in international networks. These networks may be newly established on a regional basis or pre-existing on a European or higher international level.

The aim of Swedish support is to bring about viable development towards the above stated ideals. We will participate for some of the way, but the development process will have to be completed by citizens and states on the strength of their own resources.

3.Can democratisation and greater respect for human rights be accelerated by outside support?

Support for democracy and human rights depends partly for its success on the existence of strong enough endogenous forces in favour of the intended development. It is these forces which have waged the struggle against oppression, dictatorship and foreign domination, even though, in many situations of severe oppression, outside support has been a vital ingredient of success. It is important to bear in mind that liberation from communism in Central and Eastern Europe was achieved by the countries themselves. Once oppression has ceased and the process of democratisation begun, opportunities appear for outsiders to contribute, but the importance of native forces remains as crucial as ever.

Foreign support of knowledge transfer and experience interchange, for the consolidation and deepening of democracy and human rights, can play an important part in this connection, not least by creating wide interfaces and helping to transmit new impressions and impulses capable of reinforcing and accelerating the process.

4.What different possibilities does Sweden have of influencing democracy and human rights in Central and Eastern Europe?

There is a strong desire on the part of the Central and Eastern European countries to move closer to the rest of Europe. Contacts at governmental level between Sweden and these countries, therefore, can have implications for democracy and human rights. Sweden can and should also make its voice heard when the actions of interstate bodies in relation to Central and Eastern Europe are being decided.

Swedish non-governmental organisations, in their dealings with similar organisations in Central and Eastern Europe, can play a part in communicating something of the culture of democracy. Not only contacts focusing directly on this, but all manner of exchanges in the cultural, sporting and other fields can also influence the social climate of these countries in the right direction.

One central aim of support to Central and Eastern Europe has been to promote the transition to a market economy. This is also based on the conviction that common prosperity will benefit from this in the long run. For large groups of the population, however, the standard of living has fallen, which may have impaired their faith in democracy. Continuing support for greater economic efficiency, therefore, would probably improve the standing of democracy in many people's eyes. Swedish support is being provided partly in the form of commercially instigated contacts and through knowledge transfer. In both cases, moreover, it is to be expected that contacts with Swedish attitudes will have a positive side-effect in favour of democracy and respect for individual rights. Even if measures aimed at achieving economic and social development contribute towards democratic development, this aspect is not dealt with here. The present strategy is limited to fields of activity having democracy and human rights as their principal objective. The strategy emanates from a desire on the part of the countries concerned to develop democracy and respect for human rights. It also takes as its starting point a political situation permitting co-operation in these fields. In the event of a reversion to dictatorship, the forms and emphases of Swedish support will have to be reconsidered.

The choice of channel for supporting democracy and human rights must be governed by what is appropriate in the individual instance.

The support through Swedish NGOs for projects in the field of democracy and human rights is subject to the general provisions for support to NGOs.

5. What type of support does the strategy refer to?

The strategy is confined to projects aimed above all at promoting democracy and greater respect for human rights.

Many would include support for culture, education and research among measures for the promotion of democracy. The present strategy employs a somewhat stricter definition. Such projects may indeed be justified from many points of view and may also contribute towards democracy and human rights, but they are not included in the main target fields for Swedish support to a democratic development.

Measures to improve the social and economic conditions of underprivileged groups in society are needed and can be taken. Projects of this kind can be integrated with the purpose of human rights by reference to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The difficulty is that nearly all support can be ranged under this convention, in which case the strategy loses nearly all of its guiding and delimiting effect. Therefore, support to projects and programmes of this kind in Central and Eastern Europe are not being counted as part of support for democracy and human rights. Any such measures which are taken should, for the sake of clarity, be separately accounted for.

Measures for the prevention of conflicts, for mediation in and the resolution of conflicts, to eliminate causes of a resumption of armed conflict and so on have been taken by Sweden, both in Europe and in other continents. Continued or new assistance in Europe may come to be considered. Measures of this kind, however, will not be dealt with here. Viable democracy and true respect for human rights, not least for the rights of minorities, are in the long term the most effective means of preventing armed conflicts, but the difference in methodology makes it justifiable for these types of support to be separately treated. The fact of this strategy not including measures of conflict management does not imply any standpoint on the possibility of Sweden taking such measures in Central and Eastern Europe.

The present strategy refers to all State-funded support for democracy and human rights in Central and Eastern Europe. The strategy should also furnish guidance for NGOs with regard to State-aided measures for the promotion of democracy and human rights.

6. International co-ordination

The European Union is giving substantial support to Central and Eastern Europe and to the Asian territories of the former Soviet Union. Assistance is divided between two programmes: TACIS, focusing on Russia, Byelorussia, the Ukraine, Moldova and other countries of the former Soviet Union further east, and PHARE, focusing on the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe. About two per cent of this support goes on measures for the promotion of democracy and human rights.

The annual volume of support for the special programme for democracy and human rights equals roughly MECU 20. In addition, a certain amount of support for democracy promotion is provided under the regular national aid programmes. Most of the special democracy programme goes to NGOs for relatively small projects, on the basis of an application procedure. Selection is based on the quality of the projects and a desire for a balanced geographical distribution on both the donor and the recipient side. In discussions between EU and the different countries concerning agreements of various kinds and future membership, the EU attaches importance to democracy and human rights and sometimes initiates measures aimed at making it easier for the various countries to meet these requirements. This support, however, is not very extensive.

The Council of Europe has a programme for democracy and human rights in Central and Eastern Europe, on a level of roughly MSEK 50 per annum. The subject focus corresponds on the whole to that proposed below for Swedish support, with certain other fields added. The "De-

mosthenes” and “Demosthenes Bis” programmes refer to the basics of democracy. For support in the legal sphere there is the “Themis” programme, and for local democracy there is the “LODE” programme. Great importance is attached to helping the countries to meet the requirements of the European Convention on Human Rights. The Council of Europe is also acting to promote compliance with the European Social Charter, by supporting the build-up of social security systems and suchlike. Culture, education and youth affairs are also among the responsibilities of the Council of Europe.

The UN Centre for Human Rights in Geneva has comparatively scanty resources for support to Eastern and Central Europe. The UN Development Programme (UNDP) provides a certain measure of support in the field of democracy and human rights. The western donor nations between them provide quite a substantial amount of support for democracy and human rights in Central and Eastern Europe. Geographically, the bilateral donors have different points of emphasis. This adds up to something of a division of labour, and in these terms there is no reason why the priority field for Swedish support should be altered.

Typically speaking, none of the above mentioned donors specialises so clearly or provides such a great volume of support in any of the subject fields discussed in this strategy as to warrant the general conclusion that support from Sweden is unnecessary. No new initiatives exist for an agreement between the donors on subject specialisation and division of labour. When working out the strategies for Swedish support to the individual countries, it might be found that the assistance requirement in some field is adequately provided for by some other donor. The principal method of co-ordination, however, is to find out, when preparing individual projects, which inputs are being made or planned by other donors for the intended purpose, and to judge whether, in such a case, the Swedish support contemplated is justified.

7. Which countries are to be included for Swedish support?

In response to proposals by the Government, the Riksdag has resolved that Swedish bilateral support to Central and Eastern Europe is to be concentrated on Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Northwest Russia, but that this concentration on Sweden's immediate vicinity does not rule out co-operation with other countries in the region.

There can be reason, especially where support for democracy and human rights is concerned, for measures also to be undertaken in other countries of the region, primarily as a part of internationally co-ordinated programmes.

In the case of Russia, it is proposed that Swedish support is limited to the Northwestern regions and cities of the country. This, however, should not rule out strategic support targeting institutions and central authorities in Moscow.

8. Which are to be the fields of priority for Sweden's support of democracy and human rights?

Sweden's support of democracy and human rights in Central and Eastern Europe is to emanate from conditions in each individual country and is to be adapted to the pace of national development. This overriding strategy is intended to furnish general guidelines for Sweden's support of democracy and human rights for the years immediately ahead. The selection and design of different projects will require closer definitions, taking into account the conditions in the individual countries. The analyses and conclusions in this respect should form part of the special country strategies.

The strategy refers primarily to the countries of priority but should also be relevant to other countries.

Generally speaking, an initial phase of the democratisation process in Central and Eastern Europe has now ended. The formal foundations for democracy and human rights are for the most part in place. Accordingly, several types of projects are, on the whole, no longer necessary. These include support for:

- the framing of constitutions;
- the framing of electoral laws;
- the build-up of competence for the holding of elections;
- large-scale election surveillance by foreign observers;
- the repeal of provisions directly contrary to the conventions on human rights;
- modernisation of individual laws;
- basic press liberty.

The countries are now going through a phase with their transformation into full democracies and legal states in which consolidation and actual implementation of the ideals formally subscribed to is the main and often difficult task. The Swedish embassies report that, generally speaking, a greater or lesser amount of support is needed for implementation and deepening in virtually all fields with a bearing on democracy and human rights, not least so as to give professional support to the recipients' efforts to translate the ideals into practice.

The bulk of Swedish support for democracy and human rights in Central and Eastern Europe over the next few years should be concentrated on the fields indicated below. These fields, in the Swedish view, are of pivotal importance for continuing development, at the same time as Sweden should be able to contribute useful experience, models, solutions and attitudes.

A. Function and performance of legal institutions

No serious criticism can be made concerning the agreement of individual laws with the international codes of human rights. New laws are being drafted and passed in swift succession. It is not very difficult for the legislators to obtain examples from the West. Expert assistance is also being offered. The task of harmonising all this new legislation into a coherent whole, with consistent implementation of certain solutions of principle (out of several conceivable ones, all of them acceptable from a legalistic viewpoint) is not really amenable to foreign support. The painstaking task of law-building should be performed by the countries themselves.

The greatest weakness, however, lies in the practical implementation of laws. Legal institutions are short of competent personnel. There are also deficiencies with regard to technical aids, routines and attitudes. Support to strengthen legal institutions is highly desirable. The police, prosecutors, courts, enforcement authorities, penal system, lawyers and legal aid, parliamentary commissioners and suchlike all have their part to play in ensuring that civic rights become a reality to the individual, and to women and men alike. Most of these improvements will have to be achieved through prolonged and persistent endeavour by the countries themselves, based on their own resources. Outside support may be needed, with emphasis on measures which have big spin-off effects and are adapted to local needs.

Although poor rates of pay are a problem, Sweden should not subsidise salaries and other regular overheads. Support of this kind entails many problems, as well as being expensive.

B. Local democracy

Local democracy is poorly developed. The co-operating countries need extensive support in this, a field where Sweden has solid experience and a good reputation. It is at local level that people can see the connection between politics and their own everyday lives. In this way they can eventually be convinced that the management of common affairs is open to influence, and can learn how this is done in a democracy. In this way the currently widespread suspicion of and dissociation from "government" can be allayed. It is expected that the same insight will then be extended so as to include national politics.

This support can be constructed in a whole variety of ways. Advisory support for defining the division of responsibilities and forms of co-operation between municipalities, counties and the state is one way. The support indicated below, under point E, for defining the allocation of roles, drafting methodology etc. at local level as well is another way. Pooling experience and solutions of all kinds with regard to municipal contacts with and relations to their residents is a third.

Deeper twin-town co-operation can in this connection provide continuity and confidence which will also make it possible to touch on more delicate problems.

The main purpose of the support must be to strengthen democracy. Strong demand on the part of politicians and officials in the local administrations of the receiving countries for technical and practical solutions of immediate problems must not obscure the fact that this co-operation aims at democracy and not only at the general enhancement of local government efficiency. Support in practical and technical matters can be a way of creating close co-operation and obtaining illustrative examples of democratic procedures, but the element of democratic reinforcement must be distinct and significant. It is important that support for local democracy should also contribute towards the equality of men and women.

C. Competence and attitudes in the media

The existence of basic press liberty is an insufficient yardstick of the extent to which media discharge their role in a democracy. The use made by the media of this liberty is crucial and is governed mainly by competence and values within the media. There is a general need for upgrading the professional competence of the media. There is no longer any need, on the other hand, for general overviews of the role of the media in a democracy. We may assume that further training of a professional kind, offered with the assistance of Swedish expertise, will also lead to positive conditioning of attitudes concerning the role of the media in a democratic society. This should be attainable within the framework of professional support, e.g. for the development of economic journalism, crime reporting and political coverage. The target group for this type of support is distinct and Sweden has a lot to offer.

Although the lack of physical and economic resources today is a major impediment to the discharge by the media of their role in a democracy, it has to be realised that subsidisation by Sweden will not help to make the media viable in the longer term. Support for a press ombudsman function, on the other hand, could be considered.

D. Equal opportunities

Sweden wishes to promote equality of opportunity between men and women in the participating countries. This can be done in two ways. One way is to select projects having a primary purpose of this kind, e.g. support for the elimination of formal discrimination from regulatory codes. Mapping of the impact of the transformation process on the situations of women and men may be necessary as a starting point for action.

Similarly, the gender aspect may require attention when assessing the extent to which the state and the system of justice genuinely enable men and women to exercise their rights. Special measures may be needed to facilitate women's participation in public debate. The proportion of women in elected assemblies has declined. Measures to counteract this may merit support.

When framing support for civil activity and civil information, it may sometimes be appropriate to support special associations of women. Inputs having this primary purpose of promoting equality of opportunity are to be included in Sweden's assistance. In addition, every opportunity is to be taken of constructing every measure of assistance in such a way that it will contribute towards the furtherance of equal opportunities. Insofar as Sweden supports the compilation of statistics, gender-segregated statistics are to be aimed for. A normal stipulation should be for a considerable proportion of those taking part in different training programmes and projects to be women. The design of projects and programmes must raise the equal opportunities aspect in every relevant connection.

E. Drafting of policy decisions. Interaction between political bodies and the administration

Whereas formal democracy on the whole is working acceptably, practical democratic influence is restricted by a number of conditions affecting interaction between the administration and political power.

The main deficiency is the vagueness of role perception on the part of both politicians and officials, at central, regional and local levels alike. There is great uncertainty regarding the respective tasks, responsibilities and powers of a politician and an official and regarding demarcation between the two.

It is natural that the roles of politicians and officials in relation to private enterprise should also be touched on in connection with projects in this field. For many people, the definition of frames within which private enterprise may operate and, on the other hand, refraining from interference other than with legal support, is something new. It is still more difficult to see the limits to informal co-operation between national/local government and business enterprise. This demarcation has an important bearing on citizens' confidence in their elected representatives actually representing civic and not private, vested interests.

A closely related issue concerns the process whereby policy decisions are drafted, both centrally and locally. Much policy making, not least within the legislative sphere but also locally, provides insufficient scope for influence by persons outside the directly responsible portion of the administration and official experts. There is no system of committees or commissions and no consultation procedure, which impairs both opportunities for influence by different groups in society and the empirical soundness of the decisions made. The quality of the whole drafting process within the government chancery and parliament is therefore an important issue interlinked with democratic opportunities for the communication of opinions and facts.

The flow of information between the central functions of government, i.e. parliament, government and presidency, needs to be improved. There are deficiencies here in the management of business and administrative functions, as a result of which, relevant supportive documentation is often unavailable to the decision-maker when a decision is taken, although it could have been available if better routines had existed. Measures in this field could also facilitate a decentralisation of drafting activities within government chanceries, which in turn would mean greater transparency.

Support may also be needed with regard to rules concerning public access to official documents and for the creation of units responsible for service to the general public and the media concerning current activities within the government chancery and parliament. Measures to improve the competence and methods of the administration within the above mentioned fields, coupled with a certain amount of training for politicians, would increase the impact of democracy and at the same time lead to greater efficiency.

F. Administrative controls and auditing

Democratic involvement in policy-making presupposes sufficient confidence that these decisions will be put into effect and will not be negated by incompetence and corruption. The general public needs opportunities of insight into implementation. Often this is achieved by the media, as representatives of the general public, keeping watch on events. Measures promoting public access and transparency are therefore highly important.

Access to public documents for the general public and the media, however, will not in itself guarantee their ability, with a reasonable amount of effort, to gauge developments in an extensive and complicated public sector. Bodies are also needed which have the resources for professional and independent scrutiny of the administration and whose findings will be available to the general public. Bodies of this kind also have the task of giving government and parliament opportunities of verifying the acceptable discharge of their duties by subordinate bodies and of verifying that policy decisions have the intended effects.

The same applies at regional and local levels. Often one finds that improvements are needed in several systems within the administration, such as systems for budgeting, accounting, payments and statistics. Improvements of this kind often demand heavy and prolonged support. Control and auditing should be included among the priority fields for the support of democracy. Measures to improve the above mentioned information systems may often be amply justified from various points of view. In the present connection they should have top priority only if they are believed in the individual instance to have an important bearing on democratic development.

G. Civil education and civic activity in public affairs

The level of popular knowledge concerning the conduct of public affairs is low. The same can be said of civic activity in public affairs. Non-governmental organisations in the participating countries are not yet playing the part they should for these purposes, which is a serious matter from the viewpoint of democracy. The difficulty lies in finding effective methods of tackling this situation. Support for local democracy has already been indicated as one possibility. There is no

really effective form of measures to be performed through cooperation between authorities in the receiving countries and Swedish authorities. Other channels may be more feasible.

The point of departure should be an organisation built up round a core of dedicated men and women in the receiving countries who have the confidence of the general public. As a rule they will probably have to be persons outside the sphere of public power. Support can be given to organisations of this kind for successive mobilisation on a particular social issue. The natural associate on the Swedish side is an NGO, but twin-town co-operation or other interfaces may also have this effect. Where support of this kind is concerned, great importance should be associated to the express aim of augmenting civic activity in public affairs. In cases where support is given through Swedish NGOs, these will be expected to make direct contributions in the normal manner.

One special variant of civic activity is that of associations for the prime purpose of strengthening the status of human rights in society. Associations of this kind engaging in appropriate activity deserve support. The rights mainly qualifying for support are general civic rights and liberties and the rights of women, children and minorities.

Support should also refer to women's and men's participation in public affairs. True, there is a certain democratic value in the training in co-operation and, hopefully, democratic decision-making processes obtainable in associations concerned, for example, with sport or music, but it is essential that support should primarily be given to activities directly concerned with influencing the course of the development of society, e.g. for the benefit of persons with disabilities. In this respect the co-operative and trade union movements occupy an intermediate position, since, in addition to promoting the direct economic interests of their members, they usually play an active part in a wider public debate. They therefore deserve support for measures of this kind. Special attention should be paid to the role of women in these organisations.

One of the basics of democracy is the freedom of citizens to elect whichever parties and representatives they please. Party fragmentation and inability to form a government which will tackle the country's problems are among the hazards of democracy. One may ask how far these risks can be reduced through development cooperation. The support resolved on by the Swedish Riksdag for bodies affiliated to the Swedish political parties for the strengthening of management of parties in new democracies is one manifestation of belief in the feasibility of development co-operation measures as a means of supporting party political machinery. In this way the recipients should gain access to useful Swedish experience. Direct support through Sida, on the other hand, should not be provided for activities directly concerned with the building of political parties.

9. Drafting and monitoring of projects

One essential criterion for the choice of projects is that, with due regard for the situation of the country concerned, it should support a process of unambiguous importance for the country's movement towards greater democracy or greater respect for human rights.

Project proposals must have the support of the participating country and must be co-ordinated with other ongoing activities. Aims and targets as well as performance indicators should be clearly defined.

The support should pertain to the transfer of know-how and competence. Equipment and overheads will only be funded if constituting a minor but necessary part of the project.

Requests for support are to be assessed with reference to identified needs in the receiving countries and with reference to the prospects of the input achieving the intended effect. An assessment is also to be made of the cost-efficiency of the project as proposed. It should normally be stipulated that the recipient is to make a distinct direct contribution in some form, as evidence of determination to carry out the activity concerned.

The support is to contribute towards the process of transformation and is to have long-term influence as its objective. The aim must be for Swedish support over a limited period to lay good enough foundations for further development based on the country's own resources, and so the

duration of projects should be clearly defined. Delimitation or staging also provides an opportunity of adjusting the support to the rapid pace of development in the receiving countries.

The support is to be made subject to the normal stipulations concerning the reporting of activities and results.

10. Summary

The democratisation of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe implies a profound transformation of society affecting both political and economic structures and individual attitudes.

By supporting the development of democracy and respect for human rights, Sweden wishes to:

- contribute towards a consolidation of the formal structure of democracy and towards a development of its actual content and the culture of democracy,
- underline the duty of citizens themselves to take part in the political life of their country and to influence the governance of society, with men and women participating on equal terms,
- strengthen free speech and support democratically organised popular movements,
- contribute towards achievement of the rule of law, with special consideration for the rights of women, children and minorities, and to counteract discriminatory ideologies.

Central responsibility for democratisation and respect for human rights rests with the citizens of the countries concerned, but Sweden and other donors can make a useful contribution by means of knowledge transfer, diplomacy, commercial co-operation and wide-ranging contacts on all levels. Support for economic development can also have certain side-effects beneficial to democracy.

Swedish support is to concentrate on Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland and Northwest Russia. Co-operation may also come to be considered with other countries in the region where democracy and human rights are concerned, primarily through internationally co-ordinated programmes.

Sweden's support for democracy and human rights is to be framed with reference to the specific conditions prevailing in each individual country. The present overarching strategy lays down general guidelines for Swedish support, with democracy and human rights as the main objectives.

It is proposed that support be made to concentrate primarily on the following fields:

- Viability of legal institutions.
- Local democracy.
- Competence and attitudes within the media.
- Equal opportunities for men and women.
- The procedures of drafting of political decisions and interaction between political and administrative bodies.
- Administrative control and auditing.
- Civic education and civic activity in public affairs.

Other conceivable fields of co-operation are improved systems for administration, with special emphasis on greater transparency. The proposal does not include general support for culture, research and education, where the promotion of democracy is mainly indirect.

Swedish support is expected to make a long-term contribution towards the transformation process and to be of strategic importance. Projects must be actively supported in the receiving country and co-ordinated with other international support. All inputs are to be framed with special consideration for equality of opportunity between women and men.

It is proposed that Swedish support should mainly involve attitude conditioning and the build-up of know-how. Providing support for a limited period is intended to lay the foundations of continuing development, based on the country's own resources. Equipment and overheads will be funded very restrictively. The recipient is to demonstrate commitment by making a substantial independent contribution.

The choice of channel for support is to be governed by what is appropriate in each individual instance.

