
A DIPLOMAT'S HANDBOOK

for

Democracy Development Support



The Diplomat's Handbook is a project commissioned by the Community of Democracies, and produced by the Council for a Community of Democracies with the financial support of the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, Freedom House, the Princeton Project on National Security, the U.S. Department of State, the Government of India, and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade of the Government of Canada. *Disclaimer: Financial contributors may not necessarily agree with all the contents of this Handbook*

The *Handbook* project was conceived by Ambassador Mark Palmer. Preparation of the *Handbook* has been a partnership between project Head, Ambassador Jeremy Kinsman (jeremykinsman@diplomatshandbook.org), who has been principally responsible for the text of the *Handbook* itself, and the Director of Research, Kurt Bassuener (kurtbassuener@diplomatshandbook.org), who has been principally responsible for producing the accompanying case studies.

The project benefits from the active partnership of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs of Princeton University, whose graduate students have conducted extensive research and prepared written drafts for country case studies, namely Bryan Crawford-Garrett, Hanna Jung, Britt Lake, Bart Szewczyk, and Taya Weiss. Patricia Marsden-Dole and Terry Jones, who served as Canadian High Commissioner and as Deputy High Commissioner in Dar-es-Salaam, drafted the Tanzania case study.

The text which follows and the case studies benefit from the generous contributions and advice of many former and current diplomatic practitioners, scholars, members of policy centers and nongovernmental organizations, and development experts.

Designed and produced by the Office of External Affairs, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University, in collaboration with the Council for a Community of Democracies.

Please consult www.diplomatshandbook.org.

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Preface by President Vaclav Havel, Leader of the Velvet Revolution in Czechoslovakia

Prague, April 2008

I was thrust into top-level politics by the revolutionary events at the turn of the year 1989/1990 without any diplomatic training – “from the prison cell straight into the presidential palace” so to speak. At the same time, hundreds of my similarly unprepared fellow-citizens found themselves, like me, in high office or posts of influence. I often envied all those graduates of diplomatic schools with their command of several languages and international law, and their wealth of personal experience. During those first months, we were obliged to overcome any shortcomings in the introduction of democratic standards in our country by means of improvisation, dramatic invention and concepts based more on common sense than on hundreds of analyses and expert documents. I am still amazed that in those years it was possible to push through things in a single week that in conditions of stability would take several years to prepare and have approved. I also recall how many governments were taken unawares – as often before in history – by the lightning course events in countries, whose evolution and situations have been monitored for years by hundreds of diplomats and international observers, who had provided thousands of detailed reports. I cited those two examples simply to demonstrate that diplomacy cannot function properly without personal commitment and a strong determination to find solutions and attain objectives, it cannot simply rely on the recommendations or decisions of central machinery. I hope that this book will inspire all its readers to take a creative part in the propagation of civic freedoms and democratic standards throughout the world.

Vaclav Havel 

Ministers' Foreword

Responding to requests from civil society and governments, diplomats make important contributions to democratic development. Their work is largely unknown. Outdated stereotypes of our profession persist. This “Diplomat’s Handbook” begins to tell our story through case studies of practical measures diplomats from many democratic countries have taken across the globe.

The “Handbook” recognizes that democracy cannot be exported or imported. It must be developed by the citizens of the country concerned. There is no one formula for success. But outside assistance is often requested, and there is a dearth of professional material for training and guiding our diplomats in deciding how they can appropriately respond. Civil society as well as governments can benefit from the “Handbook”, gaining a better understanding of what they can request from diplomats, who in today’s public diplomacy represent their own civil society as well.

Therefore the “Handbook” offers a menu of choice, a tool box of steps which have worked, beginning with listening and understanding and proceeding through many forms of cooperation.

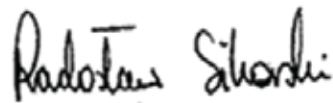
We urge the 125 diplomatic services represented in the Community of Democracies to use and to contribute to this new tool for our profession. The “Handbook” is a “living” document. The Community’s Convening Group and Secretariat, the nongovernmental International Steering Committee, the Council for a Community of Democracies and Canadian Ambassador Jeremy Kinsman, the Handbook’s primary author, and its Research Director Kurt Bassuener will regularly update it and welcome your comments and contributions online at: www.diplomatshandbook.org. We wish to recognize the work of our democratic diplomats by featuring them in further case studies and through practical examples.

Signed by



Luís Amado

Minister of State and Foreign Affairs, Portugal
Chair, Community of Democracies



Radosław Sikorski

Foreign Minister of Poland, Host to the Permanent Secretariat, Community of Democracies

Chapter 1: Introduction

THE RATIONALE

The Community of Democracies was convened in Warsaw in 2000 to find ways “to work together and strengthen democracy.” As Cambridge scholar John Dunn has observed, while democracy has come to “dominate the world’s imagination”, it has also aroused fear and suspicion.

Democracy is not an end in itself. As a form of governance relying on the consent of the governed, democracy is a means of fulfilling individual lives and pursuing common purposes. As such, democracy expresses human aspirations which are judged to be universal.

By most counts, the number of “free” states has more than doubled in the last few decades, while the number of states considered “not free” has dramatically declined. Observers point, however, to a negative trend beginning to emerge. Democracy has suffered recent reverses.

Also, some authoritarian regimes are banding together in their own form of cooperative resistance to democratic change. Some of them laud the stability of “liberal authoritarianism” over the dangers of “illiberal democracy”. But it is hardly plausible that humans anywhere would prefer governments which ignore the principle of consent of the governed in favor of coercion. Moreover, repressive government in the longer run is counter-productive: as Gandhi observed, “Even the most powerful cannot rule without the cooperation of the ruled”, truer than ever now, when democratic models are much more universally apparent because of the information revolution.

While no single model of democracy has pride of place, the essential positive components of democracy can be defined. Among the most prominent are: elected, accountable government; the transparent rule of law; independent media; protection of human rights and freedom of speech; and equal participation by all in selecting political representation. These democratic values represent achievable ideals which today do depict the political cultures of most of the world’s peoples and the aspirations of many others.

Favorable evolution proceeds on every continent; notable examples of democratic restoration, consolidation, or advance in recent years include Ghana, Mali, Nepal, Taiwan, and Ukraine – and, as Chilean novelist Isabel Allende declared, “Latin America has opted for democracy.”

John Menru of Tanzania was thinking of a new political climate for Africa when he cited these goals to the late Polish journalist Ryszard Kapuscinski, but his aims were universal:

- a. adopt as binding the principle of dialogue;*
- b. ensure society’s participation in public life;*
- c. observe fundamental human rights;*
- d. begin democratization.*

Orderly succession of democratically selected political leadership is also a universal need. In announcing the winner of the Mo Ibrahim Prize for African Leadership in October, 2007, Kofi Annan cited particularly Joaquim Chissano’s efforts to build Mozambique democracy on conciliation among ex-opponents.

THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS AND NON-VIOLENT CHANGE

Of course, each democratic culture emerges from civil society in a singular way. But many of the challenges in achieving and consolidating democracy are shared, especially the always challenging transition from a non-democratic society toward democracy, via the building blocks of civil society.

The most successful route for transformation by civil society of authoritarian repression has been that of organized civil resistance. Gandhi created the model for nonviolent civil disobedience against unjust laws in the first campaigns for human rights he launched in South Africa, which he then applied in subsequent campaigns for the self-determination of India.

Of course, democracy activists and members of civil society struggling to create democratic conditions under non-democratic regimes often face the harsh dilemma of finding the most effective methods for wresting change from unbending authoritarians. Impatient partisans of change are tempted sometimes by the option of violent direct action. But repressive state security machinery can impose a cruel upper hand against violent insurrection which, in any case, can alienate the majority of citizens concerned about safety.

John Dunn records the history of democracy's triumphs as a "history of political choice." To succeed, the choice must be a demonstrably effective one, not just for the majority reaping the spoils of electoral victory, but across society as a whole. Democracy relies on the realization of certain basic human needs and must aim for their improvement. The test of the democratic process is at the intersection between the participation of citizens in their own governance, and the effectiveness of governance in confronting practical challenges individuals face.

For example, freedom from extreme poverty has been termed the first of the essential freedoms – or, as Amartya Sen put it succinctly, "Freedom and development are inextricable."

It has been charged that democracy can impede the firm conduct of foreign relations or the organization of defense especially at a time of peril, but the record of free peoples on both accounts is eloquent. In recent years, democratic societies have debated the need to constrain some measure of civil liberties in the interests of national security and counter-terrorism. The outcome is often one of dissatisfaction, as this can be a long and winding road.

It is also debated whether specific economic conditions and models favor democracy taking roots in a society. Paddy Ashdown has speculated that "democracy is what people choose when they have enough prosperity that they want a system of government that would protect it". The rule of law which is favored by democratic government is certainly an essential legal framework for free market economies. Socially responsible private investment can undoubtedly support democratic transformation. But the rewards need to be felt generally by the population as a whole. What is clear is that to sustain public confidence, governments must be able to show positive economic achievement with public benefit.

Democratic practice has to be learned. Even once embarked, the democratic journey is an on-going and changing process. Dr. Jennifer Welsh of Oxford University reminds us that elected and accountable government provides the ability of a society to "self-correct" in its pursuit of such policy goals. Or, as Senora Allende observed, "A country, like a husband, is always open to improvement."

THE COMMUNITY OF DEMOCRACIES

While the Community of Democracies has no ambition to be a bloc defined by or formed in antagonism to non-democratic states, member states have made clear they applaud further peaceful progress toward democratic governance in the world. If this general preference is contradicted by selective support for non-democrats as a function of energy, economic, or security interests, there are costs to credibility. As UK Foreign Secretary David Miliband recently said in Oxford, "We must resist the arguments on both the left and the right to retreat into a world of *realpolitik*".

This is not to dismiss lightly the merits of foreign policies grounded in realities as well as aspirations. But the adage "do no harm" also has merit. There is a harmful "*realpolitik*" history, especially during the Cold War, of democracies intervening to influence democratic outcomes elsewhere, or of subverting democratically elected governments for perceived reasons of international competition.

More recently, there have been efforts to force democracy on others. Ill-prepared attempts to democratize unstable states without the support of the people can lead to ethnic or sectarian conflict. This *Handbook* favors outside arms' length support for the long-term development of civil rights and civil society, with the emphasis on responsive support for citizens, democracy activists, or human rights defenders already engaged in the peaceful effort to realize empowerment.

There is, of course, something of a paradox involved. On the one hand, there is a long international history of democrats aiding each other, from the inter-mingling of the American and French revolutions, to the waves of change which swept over Europe in 1848, or in 1989. On the other hand, democracy is about people developing popular self-government for themselves.

Diplomats from democracies need to carry on the tradition of supporting democrats and sharing practical know-how, while being respectful that ultimately democracy is a form of self-rule requiring that things be done by a domestic civil society itself.

It is in this spirit that Community members greatly value being able to respond to the support for reform-minded groups and individuals struggling to introduce and improve democratic governance and human rights in their own societies, and to working with governments and nongovernmental groups everywhere to improve democratic governance. As the *Handbook* will set out, the rights to help and be helped are consistent with the aims and obligations of the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the UN Declaration on Human Rights Defenders.

THE ROLE OF DIPLOMATS AND THE HANDBOOK

In seeking such help, civil society groups have often turned to Embassies or Consulates of Community of Democracies' member states for advice and assistance. There is no codified set of procedures for diplomats to follow in order to respond effectively. Each situation is different, presenting unstructured problems and opportunities which diplomats need to interpret according to local as well as general merits, including the bilateral relationship itself. However, there has been considerable past experience which might be helpful on a case-by-case basis in the field. The *Handbook* attempts to record it.

This *Diplomat's Handbook for Democracy Development Support* is accompanied by a representative variety of case studies documenting and explaining specific country experiences. It also identifies creative, human, and material resources available to Missions, the ways in which Missions and diplomats have supported requests in the past, and describes how such support has been applied. The *Handbook* means to cover a full range of conditions and situations, from regimes which are flatly undemocratic and repressive to post-conflict recovery to democratic consolidation.

It is important that each case study be seen for its specific contextual properties. Every case is different, but there are characteristics which obviously recur. Moreover, it should always be borne in mind that activities and outcomes in one locale can have ripple effects in the region and on wider or specific other relationships.

We hope in future to collect a growing number of examples of "older" democracies adapting democratic techniques from "younger" ones; the democratic learning experience is not all one-way. For example, innovative Brazilian methods for enabling citizens to participate in budget-setting exercises in local government have been adapted for use in the United Kingdom.

A review of all these experiences bears out the validity of our belief in our inter-dependence. It will hopefully also provide practitioners with encouragement, counsel, and a greater capacity to support democrats everywhere.

Chapter 2: The International Context

SOLIDARITY

Globalization has radically altered the context for democratization by multiplying awareness through greater ease of communication even within formerly closed or remote societies.

While each country experiences in its own way the passage toward the democratic form its citizens choose as most suitable for their own society, there is one point in common to all such passages: democracy cannot be imported from outside, much less imposed. Reform movements can only emerge from within societies.

Of course, the odds against them can often seem uneven. As US author Robin Wright observed, the contests between “inexperienced democratic activists with limited resources” and regimes “who have no intention of ceding control” can seem an “unfair battle”. While external support and mentoring of skills can help them succeed, outside allies and helpers should nonetheless always follow the lead of domestic reformers and agents of change.

International conventions and organizations promote the acceptance of human rights but ultimately these are subject mostly to circumstances within states. Moral philosopher Tzvetan Todorov pointed out in his Oxford Amnesty Lecture that the inhabitants of most countries derive their rights much more as citizens of states than as citizens of the world. The Community of Democracies counts as an important objective the strengthening of the capacity of states to assure the rights of its citizens.

Still, the “venerable practice of international solidarity” has been an important contributing force in the encouragement of democrats and the widening of democratic opportunities for citizens everywhere. In 1989, Vaclav Havel wrote to the International PEN Congress in Montreal which he was not permitted by Czechoslovak authorities to attend in person:

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“In today’s world, more and more people are aware of the indivisibility of human fate on this planet, that the problems of anyone of us, or whatever country we come from – be it the smallest and most forgotten – are the problems of us all; that our freedom is indivisible as well, and that we all believe in the same basic values, while sharing common fears about the threats that are hanging over humanity today.”

A GLOBAL INFORMATION SYSTEM

Almost 20 years later, the revolution in information technologies and techniques has deepened the truth that all democrats are potential partners. The international reality, at least for those with the necessary means, is virtually free access to information from outside. The globalization of information encourages connections, awareness of norms elsewhere and the comparing of notes on best policies and practices. The young who are increasingly literate are especially connected with the outside.

Western radio and TV broadcasts hastened change in Eastern Europe; fax machines connected Chinese students to the outside world in 1989; text messaging a few years later mobilized popular demonstrations in South-east Asia; the Internet was pivotal in rallying widespread participation in civil resistance in Serbia and Ukraine, while Internet bloggers briefly enabled the world to witness the harshly violent repression in Burma of peaceful demonstrations.

In some constrained societies, even though moves to limit connectivity run counter to national interest in enhancing competitiveness, targeted efforts to restrict Internet access and close off sites persist, or flare up during periods of agitation or protest. In more technology-fluent societies such as China, such walls are frequently circumvented with the assistance of supporters outside, by the persistence and ingenuity of the more than two hundred million citizens who use the Internet. Nonetheless, many foreign news outlet sites or specific stories are periodically blocked by “The Great Firewall” created by the Chinese Government to keep Internet users from communicating freely with the outside world in an enduring effort to impose a considerable degree of censorship.

A NEW PARADIGM FOR DIPLOMACY

Once, the conduct of diplomatic relations was strictly on a state-to-state basis, conducted through private exchanges between diplomats and government officials. In recent years diplomacy as practiced by many democratic nations has “gone public” and has taken on more of a human face. For most democracies, the days are past when their Embassies were concerned only with maintaining “good relations” with the host government, irrespective of its character, as a former diplomat recalled of his mandate in Burma in the 1980’s, when human rights were not high in the hierarchy of Embassy priorities.

Today, Ambassadors and diplomats are much more likely to engage the people of the host countries and not only government officials, and to make consistent messaging on human rights and governance a central part of their country mission, as agreed with authorities at home. Moreover, diplomatic relations are only one international channel: everywhere, international networks of contacts are forming around issues, interests, and tasks, and have become the working landscape for internationalists and democratic activists.

The Princeton University project on national security, “Forging a World of Liberty Under Law” outlines as a common goal of democracies the support of “Popular, Accountable, and Rights-regarding governments (“PAR”)”. The approach eschews interference, but advocates that “the best way to help bring governments up to PAR is to connect them and their citizens in as many ways as possible to governments that are already at PAR and provide them with incentives and support to follow suit”.

It is in this spirit that in contemporary diplomacy, Embassies and Consulates become vehicles of public diplomacy and outreach, and brokers promoting contact and communications between the peoples and nongovernmental organizations and groups of both sending and host countries. Democracy development and human rights are among the most active topics of such communication.

In addition to encouraging and facilitating some of these connections, Embassies are called upon to promote and defend the rights of people to so communicate. They also intervene when necessary to defend and support threatened human rights defenders and democratic activists, either demonstrably in public view, or, as the case merits, privately, below the radar. The *Handbook* will illustrate the many ways this has happened in the past, including occasions when authoritarian governments attempted to intimidate or expel diplomats for such legal activity. In such circumstances, of course, it is essential that diplomatic initiative in support of human rights defenders and democratic activists be welcomed and even rewarded by the career culture of foreign ministries.

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REVOLUTION, REFORM, AND EXTERNAL SUPPORT – CASE STUDIES

There is in practice a “right to be helped” as well as a “right to help”. The role of outsiders is never primary, but their support can be catalytic.

All situations are different

Each country and situation is different. This *Handbook* is meant to be applicable in different ways to a wide variety of conditions. Diplomats of democratic governments have different challenges depending on whether they are assisting democrats living under repressive regimes, assisting fragile emerging democracies, including in post-conflict recovery conditions, or assisting recently transformed democracies to consolidate democratic gains.

But there are common patterns in how international solidarity benefits extended struggles for human rights and self-determination.

The *Handbook* documents peaceful transitions in self-governance, such as in Tanzania. It is an obligation of solidarity to support the wide array of countries, and civil society, in the difficult process of democratic development and consolidation.

The *Handbook* presents case studies of successful transitions from repressive societies to democracy, such as in South Africa and Chile. There, and in other countries where democratic activists had worked to end authoritarian

conditions, transitions to democracy were greatly aided by opportunities over the years for democrats to develop their competence in law, economics, and other key areas of governance via access to programs administered internationally.

But the *Handbook* also presents case-studies of ongoing situations, such as in Myanmar and Zimbabwe where repressive regimes are seemingly indifferent to outside counsel, at least from democracies, and where diplomats operate in difficult circumstances of minimal productive communication with host authorities.

International solidarity

International solidarity's support for civil society over time can also contribute to the resolution of short-term crises, such as protecting the integrity of early electoral processes in Ukraine.

Internal, domestic actions which were decisive in these and other struggles for democracy – the demonstrations, boycotts, and other forms of non-violent civil resistance – drew from a supportive external framework of psychological, political, and practical measures which circumscribed the options of non-democratic governments.

Inside activists and reformers often seek inspiration from models other societies provide, and take counsel from the comparable prior experiences of other reformers, most of which are relatively recent. After all, the consolidation of effective democratic systems is mostly a phenomenon of the latter half of the 20th century, spurred by the aftermath of World War II, decolonization, the end of dictatorships in Greece, Portugal, and Spain in the mid-1970's, and most recently, the end of Cold War competition.

The Gandhian example of nonviolent conflict has served as a template for hundreds of millions of aspiring democrats. More recently, the experience of the Solidarnosc movement in Poland had immense influence beyond its region. Institutional example can be passed on, such as the Chilean effort to construct a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, whose model proved useful a few years later in South Africa. Their lessons are studied in turn in other post-authoritarian and post-conflict locales, such as Afghanistan, where a truth-seeking and reconciliation effort with the financial support of democratic allies is underway.

Positions taken internationally by outside democratic governments can be crucial. Not taking a position in support of democratic activists or reformers can also be negatively crucial. As the President of Venezuela Carlos Andres Peres once said, non-response can be a form of intervention.

Authoritarian regimes do try to claim legitimacy by pointing to support from countries reliant on them for security or other interests. It is important that democracies offset these claims via coordinated international action such as the targeted sanctions and arms embargos on the South African apartheid regime. These made its finances unsustainable, especially in regard to the expenses of equipping for war with front-line states. Sanctions can always be controversial because they can hurt the innocent in an oppressed society unless carefully targeted. In this case, the crucial factor was that external sanctions were demanded by South African anti-apartheid movements, the ANC and UDF.

As noted above, there have been many occasions when democratic governments and their representatives have protested the violation of human rights, as in Burma today, and have conditioned state-to-state cooperation (except humanitarian aid) on the modification of behavior. But it is vital for democratic governments to do more than episode-by-episode protest and maintain sustained programs of democratic development support, including ongoing dialogues with the host countries. Even many authoritarian regimes feel obliged to feign some reformist intentions. These can provide activists, reformers and diplomats with potentially valuable openings and opportunities.

In Chile, external support to civil society began with humanitarian action offering asylum to thousands of refugees after the coup d'état of September 11, 1973. For the next 15 years, the resulting diaspora of Chilean exiles kept the repressive political condition of Chile high in the consciousness of democrats everywhere.

In consequence, trade union movements in Europe and North America, political parties, such as European social and Christian democrats, and individual political leaders such as German Chancellor Kohl or Senator

Edward Kennedy provided Chilean citizens with confidence that they were not alone in the struggle which began to build up against the Pinochet dictatorship's repression.

Sustained support for civil society

In such struggles as Chile or South Africa, broad-based coalitions of activists and reformers were able to come together as allies in seeking a democratic outcome for their country with the encouragement and assistance of links forged with civil society outside. Local groups formed around the issues of women's and youth rights, ecological protection, a free press, culture, and professions such as law or architecture, have had the support of the extensive international networks of foundations, agencies, and organizations in democratic countries with a mandate to promote contact and democracy development across borders.

There have been many efforts by authoritarian regimes to ban outside financial and other assistance from foreign governments. Outside advocacy groups and organizations benefit from some government financing under growing democracy support programs, but their independent operation in the field should necessarily be at arms' length to government, which in any case often enhances their effectiveness.

Democracy-building and the pursuit of human rights are secular political issues for the vast majority of activists. But it is not surprising that the sense of values at the core of democracy support in foreign policy has also helped enlist church groups in promoting human rights. Particularly noteworthy was the expulsion of the South African Dutch Reformed Church from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches which deepened the sense of isolation felt by those parts of the public on whose support the apartheid regime relied. The Roman Catholic Church played a central ethical and practical role in comforting opponents of the dictatorship in Poland, Chile and the Philippines. Buddhist monks' are at the forefront of opposition to dictatorial rule in Burma, and in support of human rights in Tibet today.

ELECTIONS

Although there is much more to democracy than free and fair elections, the right of people to freely choose their representatives in government is a basic requirement of democracy.

International agencies help and advise in the technical organization and administration of elections, as well as the elaboration of electoral laws. Several development assistance programs support projects designed to assist and engage greater public understanding of how citizens benefit from and participate in the electoral process.

Such regional or inter-regional organizations as the European Union, the OSCE, the OAS, or the Commonwealth of Nations, prescribe democratic practice as a pre-condition of membership, and monitor and verify elections as free and fair or not. However, some OSCE members pay only lip service to democratic practice. They even contest the organization's prerogatives to verify their elections, some of which have not been judged free and fair.

A highly successful international experience in election support was the ASEAN-led "Friends" of Cambodia exercise before, during, and after the first Cambodian-run multi-party elections in 1998, including the establishment and counseling of an inaugural National Election Commission. Indonesia and the Philippines headed a multi-nation group and with prominent Japanese involvement, brokered talks to permit all political leaders in exile to return to participate. The elections resulted in a hung Parliament and diplomats encouraged and helped King Sihanouk then broker a negotiated and stable political outcome.

When elections are at risk of being manipulated, a full range of international contacts and experience in mobilizing civil society can come into play. Ongoing NGO contacts had a key role in electoral crisis management such as occurred in Ukraine in 2004, or earlier in Slovakia, Croatia, Serbia, and Georgia, and later in Kyrgyzstan. The 2008 Presidential elections in both Kenya and Zimbabwe have been especially challenging. These experiences have shown that it is important to help emerging democracies to do more than mimic election management techniques: human rights need to be embedded in law. Effective mechanisms for mediation of conflicts need to be established to ensure post-election stability. And office-holders need to habituate themselves to the competition of those who legitimately oppose them, which does run against the grain of custom in many societies.

The success in redeeming the election's integrity in Ukraine was due to the democratic and reform movements' mass protests and pressures, but sustained international support over time from governments, Embassies, and people-to-people NGOs was also important, as the *Handbook* case-study on Ukraine will demonstrate.

DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

To repeat, holding elections represents only the starting point for democracy. In some cases, election winners once in power are tempted to limit democracy or slide back toward outright autocracy. "One person, one vote, one time" was a slogan skeptical of democracy in South Africa, but sadly has described a tendency elsewhere which has had deeply corrosive effect on public morale which can endure for many years. As opposition leader in Zimbabwe Morgan Tsvangirai, has pointed out, a political culture of abuse and corruption can outlive any specific authoritarian leader, as beneficiaries seek to consolidate and perpetuate their dominance.

This underlines the need to sustain a dual time-frame to democracy development: the short-term challenges and opportunities of free elections, and the longer haul of democratic consolidation which requires democratic support to continue long after the first elections are held.

Most fledgling democracies do not need to confront armed resistance to democracy. But their challenges are nonetheless daunting. There is a "legitimacy moment" when a new democracy needs immediate support. But new and fragile democracies also need sustained assistance. To cite a contrary example, in 1996, Sierra Leone managed fair and successful elections despite the efforts by a rebel rejectionist army to block them. However, the development assistance needed to consolidate the fragile democracy was not forthcoming even though resident Ambassadors of potential donor democracies tried to persuade their capitals of its importance and urgency. The brave democratic experiment under President Kabbah fell within a few short years to the armed rebels bent on seizing power. (Progress toward democracy has since been restored, as illustrated in the case-study attached.)

The establishment of the International Centre for Democratic Transition in Budapest, endorsed by the Community of Democracies at its Biennial Conference in Santiago in 2005, was designed to aggregate 20 years of efforts by the international community to support democratic societies by offering to aspiring democracy activists the experiences of successful transitions, and to help those in transition consolidate their gains. Over those 20 years, errors of foresight and misplaced emphasis abound, but lessons have been learned.

What is clear, as Fareed Zakaria has warned, the "long, hard, slog" of democratic consolidation means that donor and partner democracies must accept "constant engagement, aid, multilateral efforts and a world not of black and white, but of grey." The citizens of the new democracies are the ones who will bring clarity and definition to their society. External support can play a secondary role in helping to provide them with the greater capacity and means their development process requires, but its design aims at enabling them to choose their own government representatives and policy goals. As Salvador Allende predicted for Chile, it is the people who make history.

Successful democratic transition has been realized on every continent. No people anywhere should be judged as incapable or ineligible for ultimately settling their own destiny, nor judged as "not ready" as has happened in Hong Kong.

WORKING TOGETHER

The effectiveness of democratic development support is enhanced when democratic partners work together.

Such concerted action – representation on human rights, or activity in support of democratic development – is what the Community of Democracies members' diplomatic Missions can aspire to achieve on the ground. The succeeding Chapter on Toolbox applications is meant to spell out the ways such efforts, coordinated and individual, have succeeded, or not, in the past.

Chapter 3: The Diplomat's Toolbox

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 3 sets out the sorts of opportunities and constraints diplomats encounter in democracy development support from 3 perspectives: 1) the resources and assets at a diplomat's disposal; 2) the ways in which diplomats have deployed these assets in support of civil society and democratic development in a multitude of situations over the last decades; and 3) their applications in favor of local partners, policy goals, and programs.

It is emphasized that these are tools of “soft power”. A review of the many narratives of democratic transition of the last decades shows that just as democracy cannot be imposed on a people from outside, nor is it likely to succeed using violent means from inside.

The context for the presentation which follows is that of bilateral diplomatic representation: what Embassies and diplomats can do on their assignments to other countries to support democracy's development. It is noted, however, that the *Handbook* project is itself an undertaking of a multilateral organization, the Community of Democracies.

There is, of course, considerable activity in **multilateral** fora on human rights and democratic development: indeed, the UN's Human Rights Council is meant to be a central location for seeking their advancement, although its effectiveness remains stymied by the maneuvering of some non-democracies determined to block scrutiny of their abuses.

Still, democratic development is now a major theme of the work of the UN, as well as of other international organizations, such as the Commonwealth of Nations, and is considered to be inter-dependent with the themes of economic development and human security. There is much evidence that mentoring of emerging democracies from regional partners is particularly effective because of the shared perspectives of regional and often social adjacency. Strengthening the capacity for democracy assistance within regional organizations is a current multilateral theme, including in Asia.

However, this Handbook does not attempt to cover the essentially diplomatic delegation activity associated with the development of the human rights and democratization agendas of multilateral fora, confining itself to the “in-country” mandates associated with bilateral relations.

THREE CAVEATS

In the conduct of foreign **bilateral** relations, the *Handbook* assumes that foreign ministries accept a need to adapt diplomatic representation to the new paradigms of public diplomacy. But there are three noteworthy caveats:

a) At any time, a country usually has a range of public and discrete interests reflected in a bilateral relationship which diplomats in the field need to manage simultaneously. Incontestably, there are many examples of human rights and democracy support being soft-pedaled so as not to undermine security or economic goals at stake. But the spread of democracy assists international security and legal protection for investment and trade. There is no conflict between “interests” and “values”, as the pursuit of democratic values is in the national and international interest. The historical record shows that democratically-elected governments inter-relate in ways which enhance and contribute to general peace, security, and prosperity, and to the overall interests of democratic partners. Democracies should be able to represent all of their interests simultaneously and effectively, especially if there is a context of solidarity with other democracies.

b) Diplomats have to work consistently with their countries' interests and aims. But they are also on their own initiative. Canadian diplomat Pierre Guimond described democracy support activity in Prague in the 1980's, “Diplomats have to know where the governments want to go in terms of foreign policy and then the ambassador is responsible for delivering the policy. But it's impossible for people in the capital city to decide ‘you should go to all the demonstrations, and you should do this and you should do that’. The foreign ministry knows what we do because we send regular reports. It is result-based, not event-based. It's not because we've been to 36 demonstrations that anything will happen. We were there because something is happening.” What “is happening” becomes the outcome, and its fate is in the hands of local reformers and activists but with the legitimate encouragement of democratic Embassies.

c) It is also important to acknowledge that often, the impact of constructive outreach activity or demarches in support of democratic development is not readily apparent. It takes consistent and sustained effort to contribute to building the self-confidence of civil society and to restraining repressive behavior on the part of non-democratic authorities. But in authoritarian societies, the gains of democracy can also come swiftly. Repressive regimes tend to implode from within. “Living in any authoritarian country, while you’re in the midst of it, it’s hard to see that they’ll ever cede power or go away. But actually, they cause their own destruction. And their foundations are rotting. It’s a question of time.” (Shari Villarosa, US Charge d’Affaires, Burma)

That being said, clearly some support practices will be more effective than others. Without trying to be prescriptive, there would be merit in future phases of this project in outlining such “best practices” in an evidence-based analysis from the growing catalogue of examples of democracy development support.

TOOLBOX RESOURCES AND ASSETS

Diplomats can under-estimate their potential impact in contributing to the self-confidence and success of civil society. The inherent resources and assets at their disposal are potentially significant. The following are some of the resources and assets diplomats have drawn from in the support for civil society we describe in the chapter and case-studies which follow.

IMMUNITY; the unique asset of diplomatic immunity can be employed and virtually shared in ways which benefit individuals and groups pursuing democratic development goals and reform.

Nota bene: Host countries can’t withdraw immunity, but several have expelled diplomats for alleged interference in internal affairs. The excuse is often that they had supported specific political or partisan outcomes rather than democracy development in general. Intimidation is a frequent recourse of authoritarian regimes, including against the families of diplomats.

Examples: There is an extensive record of democratic governments’ diplomats preventing punitive state violence by their mere presence at the scene.

In Kiev, in 2004, representatives of the French Embassy and the European Commission arrived at the home of a youth leader just as police were about to arrest democratic activists present. The police retreated. In Nepal, in 2005, threatened dissidents had been granted visas by resident Embassies; diplomats of asylum countries accompanied them to the airport and to departure gates to block their seizure by authorities.

There is also a record of harsh state reaction to intervention on the ground by diplomats against repressive action, often against the most publicly visible intervenors. In 1973, in Chile, diplomats from several democracies made their ways to the stadium and other locales where the military putschists had assembled arrested activists, many of whom were subsequently imprisoned or killed. The regime expelled the most prominent of the diplomats, Swedish Ambassador Edelstam. Expulsions of foreign representatives have since occurred under many repressive regimes, most recently in Sudan, Burma, and Belarus. But the number of times diplomats have deployed physical presence to discourage arbitrary repression of legitimate activity has increased to a larger degree, to considerable effect. Missions also have a record of using their immunity to provide asylum to democrats under threat, extending to providing them shelter as the U.S. Embassy did for much of a year after Tiananmen for Chinese scientist Fang Lizhi.

There is a similarly long history of repressive governments warning individual diplomats that their activities threaten to compromise their immunity, and that expulsion could follow. Such warnings are often accompanied by presentation of police photos of diplomats attending demonstrations, or meeting activists, a specialty apartheid South Africa copied from police states in Eastern Europe and the USSR itself. Pressure sometimes extended to intimidation and even violence against family members to underscore the warning that immunities should be seen as a two-way street. A more pernicious technique is the use of gangs of toughs to harass and try to intimidate diplomats by proxies, such as the disturbances created by the Kremlin-sponsored youth group “Nashi” against the UK Ambassador in Moscow. Old habits of intimidation die hard, even if they seldom succeed.

In that diplomats are only acting in support of civil society, the efforts to intimidate and discourage have usually been in vain over the long-term, especially as diplomats point out to local authorities that their own governments will react in kind against any such unwarranted expulsions. That being said, there are examples emerging of a genre of isolated and internationally shunned dictatorial regime which is indifferent to or which disdains the benefits of diplomatic interchange altogether, to the costs of local society. Diplomats in Belarus and Burma are working today in such an atmosphere of withdrawal from international reality, as our case-studies on those countries will illustrate.

THE SUPPORT OF HOME AUTHORITIES: such support from their own authorities in sending capitals provides diplomats with effective leverage, the ability to link benefits to behavior, and in extremis, the opportunity to recommend the imposition of sanctions.

Nota bene: Diplomatic relations are reciprocal. As benefits are a two-way street, their leverage can work as much in favor of greater freedom of action for diplomats in support of civil society as it can as a weapon against them by local authorities. Diplomats can urge their own capitals to facilitate or discourage access for visiting host country officials seeking potentially advantageous business or other partners, and home-state cooperation programs and connections. Diplomats also promote crucial support from home authorities when their own nationals come under attack abroad.

Negative leverage in the form of sanctions is a powerful tool, but it may be true that the possibility of sanctions can sometimes be a greater influence on behavior than the finality of sanctions themselves.

Many episodes requiring the support and even intervention of diplomats develop rapidly. It is essential that officers in the field be able to respond to the requirements without worry that their actions will be second-guessed at headquarters, and their careers affected negatively. This is a powerful argument for training foreign service officers in democracy support and human rights beforehand.

But once on an assignment, multi-tasked diplomats are often stressed under the burden of a variety of reporting and representational requirements. There can be a tendency of senior managers discouraging democracy development activity in favor of more apparently immediate bureaucratic functions. This argues for clear and explicit corporate support from Headquarters for human rights and democracy defense as core priorities of the country programs.

Examples: The leaders of authoritarian states generally still want the status and positive exposure of international travel, not to mention business partnerships sought by industry and economic interests at home. This enables democratic Embassies to condition their support for such media, political, and business contacts on moderation of anti-democratic behavior.

In cases when authorities try to intimidate diplomatic representatives, the support of home authorities is crucial. Canadian diplomats reacted to South African Foreign Ministry warnings of expulsion in the 1980's by pointing out that the South African Embassy in Ottawa would suffer swift retaliation with a corresponding negative impact on South African economic and other interests.

It is now apparent that in 2004, the warning by senior US diplomats that the United States Government would freeze personal off-shore assets of Ukrainian officials in the event of government repression had considerable restraining impact on behavior. Such selective targeting of responsible top officials' personal off-shore financial and other transactions is increasingly used against anti-democratic regimes, as exist in Zimbabwe and Burma.

Sanctions are a powerful weapon to moderate repressive behavior. Even when regimes feign indifference as Pinochet did when the US cut off all but humanitarian aid to Chile in 1976, the international opprobrium of sanctions stings, as does the economic impact. Diplomats on the ground advise home authorities on timing, targeting, and potential impact overall. For example, the EU's targeted sanctions of travel bans and asset freezes on 31 individuals in Belarus, and 126 in Zimbabwe, were developed in consultation with EU missions. However, the threatened use of sanctions in the absence of behavior modification can sometimes be as influential if not more so than the finality of sanctions themselves.

Diplomats may also find they need to discourage home authorities from seeking to reap tempting domestic political dividends from sanctioning an unpopular regime in ways which may then adversely affect the most vulnerable in civil society, or which constrict exposure to international visitors and otherwise impede beneficial contact with the outside. International solidarity is very pertinent particularly since the impact of sanctions can be neutralized when there are off-setting flows of material support from non-democracies or opponents of sanctions, as in Zimbabwe, Burma, or Belarus today.

When nationals who are human rights activists are threatened or arrested, the declaration of support for their positions can be crucial. As James Mawdsley, who was imprisoned in Burma for human rights work, put it, there are “ways in which consular duties were more than consular”. He commented “If the FCO had not said the same thing on the outside, I would have been beaten up. But the regime was too afraid to beat me up over issues where the FCO gave me backing”.

But a cautionary note about megaphone diplomacy is called for. Taking a public stand to denounce the clear abuse of rights of individuals, or suppression, is important. But if the motivation is more to cater to a domestic public audience by “bashing” an adversary in public, the effect on the ground for Embassies and democratic civil society allies can be negative.

INFLUENCE: in the new paradigm of public diplomacy, diplomats are more conscious of representing their society to the host society. The reputation of the society they project locally, its experience, values, and capacities to help, are deployable assets. The experience gained by democracies which have only recently emerged from repressive conditions has special value. The effect of public diplomacy is obviously reinforced where there is local popular respect for the sending country's institutions, achievements and governance and for the way people live, which also adds credibility to the force of example in dialogue with local authorities on democratic development.

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Examples: Countries in transition benefit from the examples of those with which they wish to strike closer relationships. The most applicable examples can often be those of countries with recent comparable experience in democratization. As a Czech Ambassador expressed his country's interest in democracy support, “We were grateful for the help we received from the West in the 1980's. So it should be a priority in our foreign policy to help”.

Outside inducements to undertake a rigorous program of democratization and institution-building also emerge from conditionalities which are increasingly prominent features of multilateral and bilateral relationships on every continent, including from regional organizations.

African peer pressure, the efforts of the African Union, and the best practices approach of The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), as well as positive governance conditions from international economic institutions, have had positive effect in several African countries. Their work has been reinforced by the obligations of membership in the Commonwealth of Nations and l'Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie both of which place the encouragement of democracy and human rights at the core of their activity and purpose. The ability of democratic forces to prevail in such African countries as Ghana, Lesotho, Sierra Leone, Mauritania, and Mali are examples of these shared efforts.

The European Union's requirement that applicants for membership fulfill the “acquis” of democratic and effective governance has had a profound influence on building what is an enlarging arc of stability and democracy across Europe. The OSCE and NATO are also dedicated to monitoring the democratic governance of member states.

The Organization of American States reinforces the strength of democratic development in Latin America. ASEAN is making governance increasingly part of its mandate, as can be seen by its criticism of the regime in Burma. Australia's enhanced regional cooperation programs via the Pacific Islands Forum place governance development assistance at the center of their mandate; both Australia and New Zealand have been strong players in efforts to encourage democratic outcomes in East Timor, the Solomons, and Fiji.

The central point here is that such various influences from the outside can only take hold when civil society inside the affected countries perceive that their effort to emulate in a nationally-suitable way the governance and effectiveness of democratic societies can be realized because of easier access to outside support. This outward aspiration provides diplomats geared to the merits of public diplomacy multiple opportunities. By identifying more with the assets and features of their own society which are most admired – for example, the way US diplomats can bond with Lebanese esteem for the high quality of American post-secondary education – diplomats can help to compensate for any perception of policy differences between governments. The US Fulbright program and the EU’s Erasmus Mundi constitute people-to-people tools, which have many counterparts elsewhere, and which greatly improve the context within which diplomatic representatives operate. But very persuasive tools are often in the hands of diplomats whose countries have themselves had recent experience in winning and consolidating democratic reform.

***FUNDS:** small amounts of post funding can be precious to start-up reform groups and NGOs. While most democracy development financial support is provided through NGOs and institutions, small-grant seed money for grassroots organizations from discretely-administered and easily-disbursed post funds can have swift direct positive effect.*

Examples: In 2002/03, the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs established its “Transformation Policy Unit and Fund” to enable Embassies to support democratization, human rights, and transition-related projects in countries with repressive regimes. Most of these projects are deliberately small to enable disbursement directly to local civil society actors without the local government’s scrutiny and involvement.

There are numerous examples of Embassies being empowered in this way. Sweden provides its Embassies funding specifically for democracy development support. In South Africa, in the 1980’s, the Canadian government created a large Embassy-administered fund with a mandate for direct assistance to civil society, and especially assistance to victims of apartheid, because of the perception that the diplomatic representatives on the ground were, in liaison with international NGOs, best placed to identify suitable partners and beneficiaries. The funds helped groups to sustain essential activity and often enabled small but identity-building successes, such as the distribution of t-shirts, or publicity for rallies.

Many Embassies from democratic countries in Russia in the early 1990’s had also found that such small amounts they could disburse rapidly from Post funds directly to soup kitchens, orphanages, women’s groups, etc., were having a clearly helpful humanitarian effect and were earning the Embassies a degree of public credit often not available from the heavily-funded large-scale infrastructure programs which characterized transitional assistance in those years. In Ukraine in 2004, Embassy funding requiring little if any paperwork was critical to the survival of such youth groups as Pora! without much administrative capacity but able at the critical time to stand up for the integrity of Ukraine’s elections and for democracy itself.

***SOLIDARITY** is a valued asset at all phases of democratic development. NGOs and democratic reformers and activists value the solidarity of mentors with prior experience in democratic reform. Solidarity in democratic assistance programs among like-minded missions and international NGOs multiplies impact and minimizes duplication. Solidarity also enhances political messaging through witnessing trials, joint demarches on human rights and other issues, and reduces the ability of authoritarian regimes to play the commercial interests of partners off against each other.*

Examples: In the transitional countries of Europe building up to and following the great changes of 1989, mentoring by successive reformers contributed to the self-confidence and effectiveness of catalytic groups in civil society – Solidarnosc mentored Czechoslovakian and Hungarian reformers in the late 1980’s; Slovakian reformers helped Croatians, Serbs, and Ukrainians in 2000-2004; the Serbian youth movement Otpor aided Pora in Ukraine in 2004. Many of these efforts were facilitated or channeled by diplomats from the countries which had undergone the earlier reforms, a pattern which has been apparent in Latin America and which now characterizes the foreign policies of many newer democracies in their relationships throughout the world.

Solidarity among western democracies and with international NGOs has been instrumental in avoiding duplication or errors of omission in democratic support programs. In Serbia in 2000, democracies and NGO’s cooperated via a “donors’ forum” which greatly increased the effectiveness and coverage of such

assistance, a technique now in good use among democratic country Embassies and NGO's in many locales.

The most effective form of solidarity among donors and democracy supportive-Embassies is that which avoids competition and which benefits from comparative advantage: as stated by a Czech Ambassador, "We learned how to plug-in from the Dutch, the Norwegians and the US. We tried to find where we would have the most value-added, and learned quickly that our democratic transition experience was that. So we concentrated on transfer of know-how. Not everything is transferable, of course. But we still had a lot to offer. If they want, they can even learn from our mistakes".

Solidarity in diplomatic representations by joint demarches can also multiply effectiveness, especially if the concerned presenters are close allies of the authorities, as was the case in 2005 when the U.S., the UK, and Canada made a joint demarche to Afghan authorities against curbs on freedom of speech.

Solidarity among diplomats has been especially important in support of human rights defenders and democratic activists on trial for their activities. This conveys to the authorities that the conduct of such proceedings is indeed being monitored by democratic partners, and not only by the country which may be more specifically concerned if there is an issue of dual nationality or some other national tie to defendants. Prominent early examples would include the trial of Nelson Mandela in 1963, and the trials of Vaclav Havel and other human rights activists in Prague in the 1980's, followed by many in recent years. Solidarity can also extend to the monitoring of prosecution of violence against human rights defenders, when its perpetrators are brought to trial because of international or other pressures: for example, methodical attendance by resident EU diplomats at the trial of security personnel who had beaten to death Canadian-Iranian photojournalist Zahra Kazemi-Ahmadabadi in Tehran.

LEGITIMACY; Many democratic activists would agree with Francis Fukuyama that "in today's world, the only serious form of legitimacy is democracy". Diplomats can draw for support from a variety of basic international agreements. Examples include the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the UN Declaration on Human Rights Defenders. These set out the international norms which diplomats of democratic countries can legitimately claim to represent. Repressive jurisdictions may well maintain these texts are not internationally binding and that such activities amount to interference in internal sovereign matters by foreign representatives. But international norms on human rights are increasingly conditioning behavior and limiting the number of countries which insist on the primacy of national sovereignty, in part because specially mandated regional and other transnational authorities monitor performance.

Examples: The UN Secretary-General's Special Representatives on Human Rights, and on Torture, the Special Rapporteur on Human Rights Defenders in Africa, the African Union itself, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, the OAS, the OSCE, the Commonwealth of Nations, and "La Francophonie" are examples of certifying bodies diplomatic representatives can point to for validation of the legitimacy of their own efforts at democracy development support.

Regional agreements have shown themselves to be particularly effective in conditioning the behavior of an increasing number of countries, although there are regimes which remain hermetically sealed from outside opinion, such as Burma or North Korea. The most prominent example of an effective regional agreement is the provisions of the Helsinki accords of the CSCE, which in the 1980's provided the benchmark textual references for Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia, and for the Sakharov-Bonner campaign in the USSR, and for freeing up information and expression generally. These agreements were effective because they had been signed by the states in question.

A potentially comparable recent development has been the signature by Cuba of the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which means to guarantee the rights to self-determination of citizens, their peaceful assembly, their freedom of worship, and their freedom to leave the country. Only time will demonstrate the extent to which Cuban authorities alter long-standing practice to deny these rights, but the fact of Cuban signature ought to enable diplomats to support with greater assurance the straining of civil society toward their exercise.

2. 15 WAYS DIPLOMATS HAVE MADE A DIFFERENCE

In putting their assets to work on behalf of supporting civil society's democrats and human rights defenders, diplomats draw from a toolbox of activities and techniques. The tools described below are potentially powerful, especially when deployed using the pro-active and public outreach approach which is the hallmark of modern democratic diplomacy.

Arranged in escalating sequence from more conventional diplomatic activities to more interventionist action, taken together these tools represent a potential for diplomats to develop and refine specific professional skill sets in democracy development support, which, of course, are integrally related to their work in support of economic and social development, as well as human security. Democracy, after all, does not sit astride a hierarchy of needs: economic development, human security, and human rights are inter-dependent and equally essential to the human condition.

The Golden Rules

LISTENING, RESPECTING, AND UNDERSTANDING; all diplomats make it their task to try to grasp the culture, psychology, and situation of their country of accreditation. Additionally, it is a sign of support for civil society when diplomats seek contact with local NGOs and groups on taking up responsibilities, especially when Heads of Mission make introductory calls. The first step is to ask for advice from local civil society how best to support their efforts. Respecting and understanding the different roles and interests of all partners in the democratic development process is a basic requirement for productive relationships and successful support. Outsiders also have to understand and respect the ways in which the local reform process needs to take account of traditional values: social and political practices common in one country can be abrasive in another.

Nota bene: Overall, the first maxim of “respecting” is to listen (ideally in the language of the country). This includes the need for diplomats to recognize the risks and sacrifices incurred by democratic activists, as well as the challenges they face in running for political office in authoritarian settings. Usually, dissidents believe that contact with diplomats is protective and helpful, but their judgment should prevail. Sometimes particular Embassies/governments are more “radioactive” than others, leaving room only for the less controversial to sustain contact and protection. A differentiation of roles which best enables particular countries to play to comparative strength, credibility, and experience is very useful. In some circumstances, the initiatives of civil society are best pursued without any evidence of outside support from government representatives, and diplomats find it useful to defer to the different and often primary roles played by international NGOs in local activity.

Such as: the demonstrable value to civil society groups when newly arrived US Ambassador Harry Barnes made introductory calls to them at the same time as calling on officials of the Pinochet regime in Chile. When the UK was in the Presidency of the EU in 2005, UK diplomats and officials consulted Russian NGO's prior to EU-Russia dialogue meetings, and took pains to debrief them afterward.

But it should always be recognized that democratic activists need space, and often discretion. A Czech Ambassador confides that countries which have themselves “experienced life under a repressive regime are often best placed to understand the situation of dissidents having to face their families and friends' vulnerability to reprisal – loss of job, imprisonment, worse – for their anti-regime activity”. In Iran today, there is a campaign by women's groups to obtain a million signatures from Iranian women on a petition to change the status of women under property law; this effort would be undermined if opponents could show evidence of support from outside. On occasion, democratic activists, human rights defenders, and reformers in Iran, Cuba, or elsewhere have sent the message that temporarily they needed to pursue their work without outside support.

International NGOs are frequently closer to the ground than diplomats and better able to pursue productive working partnerships with civil society. Diplomats need to know when to seek partnerships with them and when to recognize that the integrity of NGO work also needs distance from government connections, even when project funding is provided by government programs in capitals.

In many traditional societies, local values can collide with the practices of outsiders, a condition which has made it imperative in such locales as Afghanistan to respect the strength of tradition in supporting democratic transition on such essential but challenging issues as gender_equality. Yet, some diplomats such as US Ambassador Barbara Bodine in Yemen have been able to support expanded women's rights without creating local traditionalist backlash by respecting the need of local groups to build their bridges to others.

SHARING: solidarity among democracies multiplies effectiveness. Like-minded Embassies, Community of Democracies members, and engaged international NGOs need to share information, and practice project coordination and team play in order to optimize beneficial impacts. Monitoring elections is frequently done as a shared diplomatic project. All these efforts are most effective when local partners are also part of the sharing process and able to assume responsible local "buy-in". Diplomats in the field can become "cohering agents" of support programs combining democracy and development.

Nota bene: It is generally easier to organize informal cooperation in the field than among capitals, especially among representatives of like-minded countries seeking to organize informal international policy groupings. These often also include international NGOs which are well-placed to provide a wider and more authentic picture of grass-roots and technical activity to promote democracy development. An emphasis on "sharing", however, must be very conscious of respecting the apt division of labor, as, for example, between Embassies and NGOs. An expanding interest on the part of Embassies in democracy assistance needs to defer to the primary and often locally preferred engagement of NGOs in the field.

Such as: Missions regularly compare analyses of country situations, specifically regarding human rights in countries such as China, where the situation is complicated and evolving, making assessments difficult. In repressive situations such as in Burma, some democratic Embassies work closely together to exchange information and coordinate strategies, and then regularly meet with a broader group of democratic Embassies from the region.

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The central point is that there should not be a competition among like-minded democratic Missions, resident and non-resident. The best outcomes are when Missions work within informal "affinity groups" permitting some to defer to work already on-going, or to specifically advantageous roles of others. In Burma, some European democratic representatives plugged into other countries' programs which were already running, such as the Netherlands' "foreign policy training" seminars in the region for young refugees from Burmese ethnic groups. Some Missions enjoy or have connections to cultural facilities which can be shared by other Embassies, or used by non-resident diplomats, as the French cultural organization, the Alliance Francaise, has done in Burma.

In rapidly-developing crises, democratic Embassies and international NGOs have created coordinating and clearing-house groups for fast-disbursal of aid to local civil society and the electoral process, such as the "Donors Group" in Belgrade in 2000.

In situations of more enduring difficulty for democratic activists and civil society, diplomatic representatives share duties to monitor and verify functions such as court dates and trials of democracy activists or scholars, or cover such events in force, thereby highlighting the international political stakes for repressive regimes. The practice has been extensive, from South Africa in the 1960's to Burma and Iran today. Joint demarches are also de rigueur on human rights and democratic transparency.

Sharing information on development issues, including on governance support activity, is becoming recognized as essential to avoid duplication or omissions. The practice is now more frequent on the local level and here as well includes international NGOs and multilateral agencies in the field. It is most productive when democratic host governments are themselves dynamic partners in the process (though not when more authoritarian regimes insist on control of all development funding, as in Nepal when NGO funds had to be channeled through the Queen).

In Bangladesh there is a "Local Consultative Group" which brings together 32 Bangladesh-based representatives of donor Missions and multilateral agencies with key local officials. There are also supplementary groupings such as the "Like-minded Donor Group" comprising local representatives of Canada, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden. These groups work in turn with groups of NGO's,

such as the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), or the Association for Development Agencies (ADAB), which have track records of enhancing the democratic input by civil society into the development process. The process can go beyond co-ordination into joint programming: In Ghana, with the support of a government and civil society seeking governance development assistance, like-minded donor countries (Canada, Denmark, the Netherlands, the UK) have created a collaborative \$8 million program (the Ghana Research and Advocacy Program).

There has been, of course, a myriad of experience of inadequate donor coordination particularly in circumstances of post-conflict reconstruction where the aid flows are very substantial and usually urgent. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the international tendency was initially toward an excess of humanitarian assistance, not always strategically coordinated, but insufficient development assistance, as well as inadequate coordination of planning and operations for development and security. Later, in Afghanistan, the aid effort began in 2001 with an unprecedented degree of donor coordination that enabled an overall development strategy. But in recent years, it has fallen much more to Mission diplomats, aid officials, and the military to ensure coordination and effectiveness on the ground, and “coordinating groups” have proliferated with only mixed results as far as international coordination is concerned.

Truth in Communications

REPORTING: confidential assessment is at the core of diplomatic responsibility. In reporting on the likelihood of a democratic process emerging or being successfully sustained, Missions have to assess the local situation, capacity, and psychological, political, or even cultural constraints. Making analysis of the situation and prospects for human rights and governance in a host country part of a regular reporting process to capitals (and to public outlets as the case may be) encourages rigor in analysis. It also helps the development of a template approach to benchmarks and norms to assist in comparisons and common evaluations by NGOs and centers of excellence.

Nota bene: Reporting must be demonstrably comprehensive and also balanced in its sourcing. Diplomatic professionals always heed the question as to whether their confidential and value-added reporting of circumstances and conditions in the host country draws from a wide range of contacts in the society (such as the “township attaches” at the British Embassy in South Africa, early 1990’s), and avoids excessive deference to official sources or to over-arching security or other bilateral interests.

Such as: There are multiple examples of regular human rights reporting, since this is a core vocation of diplomatic representation. In high-profile and relatively open crisis situations, Mission reporting is supplementary to that of international media but often plays a crucial role in providing context or important background. But in situations such as Burma today where international media have been basically expelled, the responsibility of Missions to report the conditions and prospects for change is enhanced, though rendered more difficult by a regime very suspicious of contacts between citizens and foreign representatives.

Many less fortunate examples in reporting exist. A failure to do people-level reporting has led to persistent and damaging mis-readings and assumptions of continuity in power, inability to prevent tragedy or to encourage positive change. In some countries, a repressive strategic ally has frowned on diplomatic representatives contacting the opposition, or providing adversary political analysis, such as in Iran prior to 1979. Then, some situations are potentially so extraordinary there is a tendency of empathetic diplomatic representatives to “look away from the dark signs”, as occurred in the build-up to unimaginable atrocity in Rwanda in 1994.

INFORMING: in circumstances where the host state severely circumscribes information, providing the public with pertinent objective information is a public service of open diplomacy. Supporting the emergence of local independent media which is an essential companion of democratic governance is a valued contribution by democracies, as is assisting the development of objective public broadcasting in transitional and emerging democracies.

Nota bene: independent media support has become a basic tool of public diplomacy. Though international communications services such as BBC World Service, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Radio-France, Al Jazeera, etc., are globally available, their transmissions are often jammed in crisis situations. The emergence of independent local media is an essential component of democratic governance. In its absence, regular

communication of news bulletins and information by Missions can help fill gaps and correct the record on international or other matters, especially as authoritarian regimes are wont to expel foreign correspondents who criticize them. In such circumstances, diplomats can also serve as witnesses of developments otherwise hidden from international view, including indirectly back to the closed society itself via external broadcast services. Defense of journalists in support of Journalists without Borders and PEN International is an important part of human rights defense.

Such as: there are many examples of support for independent media in transitional situations, such as *Ukrainska Pravda*, or *Feral Tribune*, Croatia, or “Sud” in Senegal. The purpose of independent media outlets is commonly associated with political opposition, but from both developmental and governance points of view, the existence of sustainable independent media able to monitor and advocate the quality of governance is an under-recognized but essential asset, including, of course, in developed democracies.

Multiple international programs exist to support the upgrade of journalistic norms. Diplomatic officers scout for candidates for individual journalist support programs particularly suited to the circumstances of the country. In Colombia, for example, the UK Embassy proposed safety training for journalists, and a training program to help them report more effectively on specific issues there, such as child abuse. In some societies with severe limitations on the press, Czech Embassies have provided non-political courses in basic film and media training – how to write an article, work with a camera, edit, promote.

Helping start-up independent media outlets has been an increasing activity in democratic development support. The Portuguese Embassy in Moscow gave seed funding to a fledgling private radio station which became the flagship of a communications “empire”. In Senegal in 1985 a journalist/editor sought start-up funding for a desktop-published newspaper. The US Embassy put him in contact with the Ford Foundation and within months the daily newspaper “Sud” was on its way to its current preminent position as a daily newspaper at the center of a conglomerate, “Sud Communication”. A diplomat there at the time observes, “Through its reporting it has made government more transparent and opened new channels for political dialogue thereby bolstering Senegal’s political system”.

In Algeria, democratic governments contributed to such start-ups but at the same time supported the improvement and expansion of standards and coverage on the part of state press and broadcasting. In post-authoritarian circumstances, state broadcasters in particular benefit from outside journalistic training. In South Africa, a consortium of public broadcasters from Australia, Britain, and Canada aided the conversion of radio and television from being instruments of state propaganda into responsible news and information organs. In all these transitional circumstances diplomatic Missions have useful contributions to make – in content as well as in training.

Helping to use the visits of foreign democratic leaders and their in-country press events is also useful. For example, in Algiers, the robust exchanges between visiting political leaders and their accompanying press corps had an exemplary effect on the normally passive local journalists witnessing the journalistic give-and-take of the visitors.

Access to outside news is crucial in societies deprived of communications normal elsewhere, as in Burma where the cost of cell phones is about \$2000, and where the regime has proposed to increase license fees for satellite TV sets from \$ 5 to \$1000, in an attempt to cut off access to outside information. In such circumstances, Embassy and Consular information offices, libraries, and cultural centers provide precious connections to the outside world. The American Cultural Center, Rangoon, is a survivor of the sorts of information outlets the US maintained decades ago, and plays a vital role in making books, DVD’s, internet connections, seminars, and English lessons available to an avidly interested population. Burma’s totalitarian regime which sporadically expelled foreign journalists as during the latest violent repression of demonstrations in 2007, also shut down Internet access. Certain democratic missions – Australia, the US, the UK and others – were able to report publicly to the outside what they were able to witness, and these reports were then played back to the Burmese via global news outlets and exile news organizations, often in frontier areas, where the state was not able to block incoming transmissions entirely. UK Ambassador Mark Canning has been objectively describing to outside journalists the “fearful and angry” mood of the population, and the likelihood “we are going to see more demonstrations”, since concessions granted by the regime are merely “tactical”. His words have found their way back to the Burmese public.

Diplomatic representatives are in a position to attempt to persuade local authorities to recognize that a freer flow of information is inevitable. A famous example of outside intervention of this kind occurred when senior Gorbachev adviser Alexander Yakovlev informed communist authorities in Prague in 1989 that their practice of jamming the broadcasts of Voice of America was contrary to obligations undertaken under the Helsinki Convention to which both the USSR and the CSSR had formally subscribed.

Working with the Government

ADVISING: helping government and civil society develop and sustain capacity for effective and transparent democratic governance is increasingly a core vocation of many diplomatic Missions and diplomats from Community of Democracies member states.

Nota bene: Wide-spread transitional assistance programs for democracy development and consolidation are often coordinated by diplomatic Missions which also have a role in scouting for opportunities, making contacts, and identifying programs which are not working, as well as helping to ensure that assistance takes account of local conditions, capacities, and needs. Diplomats in the field can also advise how to support groups in civil society most capable of encouraging bottom-up and “middle-out” change essential to the process of democratic transformation.

Such as: Considerable experience has now been accumulated concerning advice to governments managing democratic transitions, especially in Europe post-1989, and in Africa. Initially, emphases were on economic governance, but increasing attention has been paid to reforms aimed at improving machinery of governance and oversight, and deepening democratic accountability, as well as advising on how to encode human rights, legislative and electoral practices, and the role of civil society. Diplomatic representatives have even been able to advise on areas believed to be culturally sensitive by situating the advice carefully, such as the work of US Ambassador Barbara Bodine in counseling Yemeni authorities on expanding the rights of women in Yemen.

The body of best practices over the years comprises a substantial record of different techniques. Some advice is transferable from direct analogous experience, such as Chile’s counsel to South African authorities on the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Often, regional programs to improve democratic governance have a special resonance as they draw more directly from experience of nearby countries which recently passed by roughly similar phases of democratic development. Diplomatic representatives who were part of that experience have a special credibility and role to play.

There is also a long record of ineffective or counter-productive practice, often from over-reliance on outside consultants with little experience with working conditions in the country. The founder of a Russian bank recalls asking outside financial consultants sent by an international financial institution to leave his premises, on the grounds their advice was hewn entirely from optimum conditions available in Western financial centers, but not in Moscow. He agreed to invite them back only if they first observed how local employees needed to relate to local conditions and capacities, and then tried themselves to function in the local circumstances before attempting to work together to upgrade the operation. It is up to donor missions to make the point that there may be an over-reliance on expensive outside consultants with little familiarity with local culture and practice, and to propose experts with more relevant expertise.

DIALOGUING: diplomats on the ground take part in, and supplement, regularly scheduled government-to-government human rights and democracy discussion which can place democracy development and respect for human rights at the center of the relationship, and signal that cooperation programs are conditional on improved governance. Such regular discussion can also serve to legitimize democracy development support work undertaken by missions in collaboration with local civil society. The promotion of dialogue processes to promote common ground in divided societies is a strong emphasis of such international NGOs as IDEA (Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance) which has undertaken several participatory dialogue exercises in support of positive change in such countries as Guatemala, Mauritania, and Nepal.

Nota bene: It is important that such government to government discussions be regular. They need to cover the “end-state” aims in democracy development and not be confined to specific human rights violations or outrages. In order to avoid the “fig leaf” effect of going through the motions for the sake of appearances,

discussants should ideally not be limited to host country diplomatic authorities but also include authoritative representatives of “power ministries”, as well as having the in-country support of security agencies of both sides.

Such as: many Community of Democracies members undertake human rights dialogues with partners under bilateral agreements, such as the “structural dialogues” of the EU, or the EU’s monitoring obligations under the “essential human rights clause” of the Cotonou Agreement between the EU and African, Caribbean, and Pacific area partners.

Several partners of China maintain human rights dialogues with Chinese authorities. The EU and the UK have urged China to ratify the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and have discussed how China might meet the requirements of Articles 6 (death penalty), 9 (arbitrary arrest and punishment), and 14 (right to a fair trial).

While any dialogue is better than none, the dialogues should always aim for some results on the broader picture of democratic governance; the risk is that reluctant regimes will only go through the motions and maintain the status quo in practical terms. Or self-confident countries feeling the pressure may simply refuse to hold human rights dialogues, as was the case of Iran with the EU.

It is normal that degrees of disunity of purpose emerge in the governments of transforming countries. When a parallel disunity of purpose on the part of democratic country representation exploits these divisions, there is often damage to the democratic process. A tendency to dialogue without practical effect is reinforced if the intelligence and security agencies of a repressive regime are absent from discussion of human rights, or worse, can claim the authority of ongoing privileged relationships with the security agencies of the sending democracy. Such a human rights and justice dialogue undertaken by the US Ambassador in Guatemala in 1994 was undermined by a parallel relationship of privilege and confidence between intelligence agencies. In general, the principle of “do no harm” has to be overriding in bilateral relationships across the board.

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Dialogues on human rights and democratic governance reinforce subsequent bilateral demarches by diplomatic representatives on specific cases, as discussed below. They can also serve as the place to establish the legitimacy both of diplomatic contacts with civil society, and indirectly to validate certain activities of civil society, without implying that the civil society groups are acting on anything other than their own domestic behalf.

Ultimately, of course, repressive regimes prefer to present decisions to moderate behavior as being taken in their own interest (which includes outside incentives) and not as a result of outside pressure. Dialoguing democracies should publicly defer to that preference, while privately keeping up the pressure.

Civic dialogue is also an increasingly used technique for promoting common ground solutions in divided societies or situations with challenging problems, where debate can often lead to divisive position-taking. For example, in 2004 IDEA (The Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance of Stockholm) commissioned wide-ranging and broadly inclusive citizens’ surveys in Nepal to determine citizens’ conceptions of good governance, democracy, and human security at a time of constitutional stress. Results were presented by key stakeholders in civil society at “People’s Forums”. The delegation of the European Commission in Nepal took responsibility for hosting the presentation of the polls and surveys to the international community. The findings ultimately found their way into the constitutional processes, which benefited from the participation of experts with comparative experiences of constitutional processes in India, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Thailand, South Africa and Kenya.

DEMARCHING: using official channels to identify emerging or actual problems involving local authorities, to protest human rights violations, and to seek removal of restrictions and obstacles to reformers and NGOs, remains a classic tool of diplomats and Missions, best exercised as part of the above sustained dialogue on the status of human rights.

Nota bene: The technique of privileged diplomatic contact has also been very important in conveying messages to the host country about future conduct or further developments. Usually, such demarches are private. They may represent an alternative to public stands if these are judged apt to harden the authorities’

positions, or otherwise be counter-productive. High-profile quarrels between an Embassy and the host government should not be allowed to displace the efforts of local democratic reformers which merit pride of place.

Such as: Diplomats reminding host governments of international obligations had positive effect in many circumstances, most notably with regard to the joint undertakings under the Helsinki Final Act of the CSCE, in Prague and other capitals in the late 1980's. Privately emphasizing to host authorities that they risk offending international public opinion at considerable national cost can also be effective, as was the case when religious authorities sentenced women to corporal or capital punishment in Nigeria and Saudi Arabia. Sometimes, of course, such advice is both ignored and resented, as happened in Zimbabwe in the early 1990's when democratic Embassies pointed out deep misgivings over the withdrawal of legal redress for farmers whose property was summarily nationalized, which was a premonition of the deterioration to come in relations between the Zimbabwe government and accredited diplomats.

As a peak form of intervention, direct warnings by accredited Ambassadors not to proceed with certain courses of repressive action are vital, such as the U.S. Ambassador's cautioning of Chilean authorities in the late 1980's, or warnings in 2004 to Ukrainian authorities they would be held accountable for use of force, and to desist from jamming mobile phone networks.

In 2008, democratic Missions communicated similar warnings about inciting ethnic violence in Kenya, where there was evidence of organized text messaging transmitting denigrating and dehumanizing threats about people considered tribal and partisan rivals. The Kenyan telecommunications authorities and mobile phone companies then launched their own campaign of text messaging urging instead national peaceful reconciliation.

There are multiple examples of diplomatic demarches on the conduct of trials, arbitrary imprisonment, and the treatment of prisoners. International and domestic public opinion often argue for making the fact of such demarches public, but the record shows that with a variety of countries, especially China, diplomats have counseled keeping some initial demarches as private as possible, and have been rewarded by positive results.

Reaching Out

CONNECTING is related to "informing", but more in the sense of putting people in contact with each other. Civil society provides democracy's building blocks. But increasingly, international relations are organized around informal networks of working contacts. Bringing local reform groups and individuals into contact with outsiders is at the heart of people-to-people diplomacy, through such activity as visits, conferences, exchanges, and safe public access to the Internet or satellite communications from Mission libraries. Aims include enabling civil society to access assistance programs and international NGOs, and helping individuals connect to the wider world and pursue direct working relationships, as well as family ties. Connecting senior levels of government and members of the democratic opposition and society to contacts in the sending state are important tools. In more closed societies, the message from civil society outside that non-violent change is possible builds confidence and hope among civil society groups inside and even among more reform-minded authorities.

Nota bene: Civil society is formed by a whole network of groups beyond the control of the state, which take time to develop. Each component is usually devoted to specific purposes, such as women's and youth issues, human rights, ecological protection, HIV/AIDS, culture, science, or even sports. Often, their purpose is not political, although the experience of participation in seeking to advance issues of citizens' concern can promote a jump from specific functional objectives to wider ones. Such interest and action groups value contacts with NGOs and others able to help them advance their specific interests. But their experience provides them with increasing legitimacy and influence. Taken together, they form the social capital which is the foundation for democratic development.

Such as: There are several eloquent histories of groups of democratic activists and others inside who have connected to supportive groups outside, but none more effective than the connections arranged for the ANC in South Africa and then, for the United Democratic Front after its formation in 1983. Diplomatic representatives in South Africa maintained constant liaison with activists. Their ability to connect activists

to supportive groups outside contributed to the preparation of personnel for the eventual responsibilities of government office. More immediately, connections were made by third parties and mediators to South African authorities or interest groups such as the Broederbund.

Experience in many different situations shows that the impulses for transformation and reform will not succeed if propelled only downward in a society by elites. Support for change is needed across society, from grass roots groups and, increasingly, from the growing numbers of citizens who are fluent with modern communications and are able to compare situations with others outside. As one Ambassador familiar with the incremental changes in governance occurring in several countries in the Middle East put it, "It is not top-down, nor bottom-up, but led in the main by a sort of middle-out". However, experience has also shown that care must be taken not to ignore those marginalized economically and socially, and specifically indigenous peoples.

Support programs for civil society can also focus on leaders in exile, helping to provide the skills to enable them better to pursue their democratization goals, but also to help prepare a new generation of democratic leaders to assume office in a democratic transformation. Such programs have been instrumental in preparation from the South African experience to that of Burma today.

In repressive societies, diplomats can use modern communications technologies to circumvent travel restrictions against local human rights defenders or other activists seeking outside connections. In this fashion, Cuban human rights advocate Oswaldo Paya (animator of the Varela Project, a citizens' petition aimed at promoting greater freedoms) was able to communicate by video to an EU NGO forum on freedom of expression after he was denied an exit visa. EU diplomats facilitated his connections by phone to EU ministers, journalists, and NGOs as well.

In Algiers, in the 1990's, it became the practice for diplomatic Embassies to make sure visiting dignitaries called on opposition leaders, which both connected these leaders to important outside contacts, and enhanced their legitimacy at home. Embassies in Ukraine 2003-4 developed travel programs to capitals for opposition leaders for similar reasons.

CONVENING: providing a safe locale for discussion, including among adversaries, has enabled contacts and exchanges aimed at the resolution of conflicts. Diplomats can also offer a venue for democratic activists to meet safely, helping them promote a legitimate status.

Nota bene: diplomats posted to third countries can also play a convening role vis-à-vis locally resident political exiles, as well as supporting visiting oppositionists from inside the country, or organizing confidential third country contacts between adversaries.

Such as: The first mediated and authoritative contacts between the ANC and South African authorities took place outside the country, and were sometimes arranged based on diplomatic liaison with the ANC offices in Lusaka. But Embassy locales inside South Africa were often where South Africans of influence, such as the judiciary, first met ANC members informally.

Diplomatic officers can provide neutral ground for roundtable discussion on sensitive topics which would not be allowed in public, or for participants to speak off-the-record. US and Canadian officers frequently hosted such events in South Africa.

Publicly visible receptions to honor civil society, cultural groups, and political dissidents which were frequent at democratic Embassies in Prague and Budapest in the 1980's, help elevate the influence of protest and reform movements. Receptions also can have the merit of putting democracy activists and authorities together. Some Embassies, such as the Czech Republic's Embassy in Havana insist on such mingling and argue against the practice of other Embassies of holding separate national day-type receptions for civil society and authorities.

In transitional countries, Embassies can also play a convening role in helping to bring disparate parties and leaders together prior to democratic elections, as the US Embassy did in Liberia and Ghana, that facilitates their ability to work with one another later.

***FACILITATING:** using the good offices of Missions and diplomats to convene parties on ostensibly neutral ground in order to facilitate positive cooperation among democrats, reconciliation of different ethnic or other groups in pluralist societies, or encourage democrats and local authorities to seek to advance democratic outcomes. Diplomats can legitimately help peace activists with transmission of messages to others, and to the outside. Missions can also play a role in facilitating third-country peaceful abdication or exit strategies for discredited authoritarian figures.*

Such as: At times of crisis, diplomats, especially from neighboring countries, can play an important role in encouraging the mediation of disputes, including in the aftermath of contested elections, though as initially in Kenya after the integrity of January 2008 election results was challenged, governments can also shy away from mediation efforts. In Kenya's case, international mediation was ultimately effective, especially through the efforts of fellow African, ex-UN Secretary-general Kofi Annan. On the other hand, Robert Mugabe has consistently frustrated diplomatic attempts by South Africa and Nigeria to facilitate reconciliation in Zimbabwe.

Opposition movements often splinter into opposed factions. Diplomats in South Africa, Chile, and Serbia helped opposition movements in these countries overcome their factional disarray and build united alliances for democratic reform.

Many of the divisive forces in societies devolve from ancient ethnic or tribal differences which can re-surface even in working democracies with sudden violence, as we have seen in Kenya. Some democratic embassies have pursued a special vocation in public and private diplomacy by attempting to mentor the reconciliation of ethnic division in such locales as the Western Balkans, Northern Ireland, the Middle East, Sri Lanka (especially Norway), Afghanistan, and Iraq by bringing to bear some of their experience with pluralistic societies. Settlement immigration countries such as Canada and Australia have gained specific expertise which they offer regarding public and mediation diplomacy on migration issues in the Middle East and elsewhere. But when ethnic differences break down into violence, as in Kenya, it is essential that the democratic international community attempt to intervene. Such efforts in Kenya were accompanied by diplomatic warnings that those responsible for inciting ethnic violence will pay a price by being barred in future from travel to the democratic countries concerned.

In societies where outside contacts are restricted, diplomats can pass messages and legitimately facilitate communications between democratic activists and outside supporters, or contact between ordinary citizens and family members and civil society elsewhere, using Embassy channels or Internet access.

Another technique of facilitation is "end-game" strategy offering "safe exits" to resolve acute crises. Such an exit for President Marcos of The Philippines, and later for Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire de-fused the threat of violent resistance to democratic transition. A reverse example would be the strong leadership role of the Japanese diplomats and government in brokering a solution enabling Cambodian political leaders in exile to return to Phnom Penh to contest the first democratic multi-party elections in 1998 without fear of reprisal. Indeed, several diplomats personally visited one such leader in exile in Bangkok, Prince Ranariddh to provide the assurances.

***FINANCING:** providing needed arms' length resources to a range of local groups, individuals, and projects can be especially valuable to start-up NGOs, independent media, or anti-poverty action groups. Often small projects avoid the sorts of government controls and bureaucratization associated with large-scale aid activity. But Embassies have the critical role of "spotting" for more substantial financing for larger projects which can be worthwhile.*

Nota bene: Protests by authorities of "outside financing" are common and lead in many cases to curbs and restrictions. Precious financial assistance will be marred if it can be made to appear motivated by ulterior political considerations.

Such as: There are examples of fast-disbursing grass roots local initiative funds of diplomatic missions wherever there has been a democratic transition. Mission funds are not in competition with the programs of international NGO's, which have longer-term development of civil society as a central purpose. Embassy-operated donations often go toward very specific and modest cash flow requirements of youth movements, start-up independent media operations, the organization of public events, or serve a humanitarian need in emergencies.

Czech, Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish funding today operates in such a manner in repressive societies. In countries in difficult democratic transition, such as the Congo, the funds can be rapidly directed to pockets of need, best carried out in consultation with other donors to avoid duplication and oversight. In the 1980's, Canadian Embassy funds in South Africa could be deployed immediately to victims of apartheid to cover legal or other court costs. In all cases, even though such funds are often modest, for shoe-string beneficiaries they have the merits of fast-disbursement and being unencumbered by paperwork obligations in emergency situations.

There is a record of allegations by repressive governments that such disbursements engage Embassies and diplomats improperly in internal matters of state. Authorities in apartheid South Africa and Pinochet's Chile threatened expulsions over the practice, and in Russia in 2005, local reform groups and NGOs which accepted such funds were penalized by denial of accreditation and their ability to operate. It is important that such funding be demonstrably at arms' length to specific electoral or partisan political purpose so that Embassies can vigorously contest any constraining action by authorities.

SHOWCASING; at the heart of public diplomacy, democratic development showcasing is less a matter of national self-promotion than an effort to offer solutions relevant for local application. By virtue of their outreach, Missions are in a position to highlight via seminars, training, conferences, and even cultural narratives, norms accepted elsewhere, best practices, and successful achievement which can offer models for the public, local authorities, NGOs and reform groups. As mentioned earlier, representatives of democracies which have themselves emerged from repressive regimes have enhanced credibility as mentors for human rights defenders and democratic activists today. Also, all societies have had to confront the correction of abusive civil liberties situations in the past, and these too can form presentational assets in emerging democracies facing the challenges of change and reconciliation.

Nota bene: Sometimes "best practices" which merit support and showcasing emerge from within the host country itself, such as economic, sports or social activities which cross ethnic lines in otherwise divided societies. Exposing security forces to best practices in human rights and democratic practices via international training can help to prevent harsh reactions to non-violent protests; mirror discipline training for civil society in non-violent techniques can reduce the risk of counter-productive provocation.

Such as: Democratic societies have had experience in many aspects of governance whose features can be immensely instructive to societies following in their path of ongoing transition, with the caveat that most applications are not directly transferable but need considerable adaptation to local social and cultural conditions. Some of the demonstration and assistance can be very specific and technical: Canada, for example, promotes guidance to multilingual societies on the practices of simultaneous legislative drafting to enable legal linguistic equivalencies. Especially compelling is training conducted by countries which have themselves emerged from repressive regimes, since the representatives of such newer democracies can more readily relate to the challenges and conditions of dissidents and civil society operating under the strains of repression.

But much public diplomacy is more general, in support of the merits of pluralistic accommodation, the peaceful settlement of disputes, or moderation in the pursuit of political objectives. Such showcasing efforts exposed Chilean opposition groups of the left, for example, which were somewhat doctrinaire, to the advantages of dialogue and pragmatic adaptation evident among successfully elected European social-democrats in the 1980's. Showcasing of exemplary efforts in non-sectarian hiring practices can help lead the way: the coffee growing industry today in Rwanda, for example, or in Northern Ireland where major Canadian employers hired across sectarian lines.

More general still are events presenting the cultural or other achievements of a democratic society to enhance its capacity to serve as a democratic role model. Again, the American Cultural Centre in Rangoon deserves close scrutiny as an example of a facility providing a people already possessing considerable acquired interest in the outside world sustained experience of international culture otherwise denied the by the repressive and inward Burmese military regime.

The showcasing of ethics for military and security personnel has only been accorded importance relatively recently, but with demonstrable beneficial effect. The training of Ukraine military officers in democratic governance responsibilities in NATO programs after NATO accession contributed to their restraint in

dealing with demonstrations during the electoral crisis of the Orange Revolution. NGO-to-NGO training workshops which showcased the techniques of disciplined non-violent protest contributed to a counterpart restraint on the part of dissident and protest groups in those and other demonstrations.

By way of contrast, during the Cold War, counter-insurgency training in inter-American programs without an emphasis on human rights indirectly contributed to subsequent massive abuses by Latin American militaries against democratic activists and others.

“Older” democracies have, of course, experienced large-scale abuses of civil rights in the past, in respect of racial or religious minorities, indigenous people, women, or labor movements, and have been subject to the suspension of normal civil liberties at times of exceptional stress, in war, or at times of fear. The process of democratic self-correction is endless. But transparent presentation of the lessons of such corrections can also be a showcase feature for the benefit of emerging democracies struggling with ethnic and other tensions and inequalities, not in the manner of preaching, but in that of empathy for the challenges involved in pursuing change.

Defending Democrats

DEMONSTRATING support for human rights defenders, democratic activists, and reformers, by using the prestige and offices of the Head of Mission and other diplomats to show in public respect and even solidarity enables Missions to send the message that such citizens and groups have legitimacy and importance in the eyes of outside partners. Diplomats generally understand that such demonstration needs to stop short of seeming to embrace particular individuals or parties with respect to democratic political outcomes, but there must be care taken always to be seen supporting a democratic process and not specific results. Encouraging international humanitarian awards and recognition for human rights defenders also helps legitimize their positions in their own countries.

Nota bene: Public demonstrations or protests in authoritarian societies require courage and the willingness of citizens to entertain risks in the exercise of freedom of speech. Such courage merits support in public of their rights by democratic representatives, without however implying that outsiders are themselves acting in other than moral support. The public representation of sympathy by diplomats on specific issues or events can be used in tandem with private demarches to authorities. All diplomats need access to grass-roots activity and opinion but in presentation, it is important to demonstrate that the Head of Mission is the visibly engaged chief officer for human rights, while avoiding making him or her a lightning-rod for the hostility of host country authorities.

Such as: Historically, changes in repressive regimes occur because the people support change as their democratic right, expressed in most instances where elections are absent by public protests or demonstration. It is standard practice for repressive regimes to ban such gatherings, but the people often find a way to circumvent peacefully the states of emergency or special laws which authorities decree and erect to protect the undemocratic status quo. In apartheid South Africa, marches to public funerals of fallen activists became a vehicle for protest, and the presence among the people of the representatives of democratic diplomatic Missions sent to demonstrators and to authorities a message of support, as well as offering a shield of sorts against violent repression.

The role of diplomats in showing support for the rights to protest by appearing personally at such demonstrations has been established in such locales as Budapest, Santiago, Manila, Belgrade, Kiev, and Katmandu. Ambassadors such as Mark Palmer in Budapest made a point of being seen to be personally engaged with opposition and activist groups. In other locales, such as Zimbabwe, Ambassadors were especially targeted by security forces and it fell more often to Embassy political officers to be present to witness protests. Whatever the level of representation, it has been reinforcing for democrats to see the support. Australian diplomat Roland Rich recalls that Indonesian pro-democracy demonstrators said at the time that “having foreigners alongside was like borrowing a little piece of their democracies.”

But demonstration of support for the rights of activists can also very effectively be private, in the knowledge that it will send a message to authorities monitoring communications. Maintaining regular phone contact

with democratic opposition leaders has been a protective recourse in many crisis situations, including when it is assumed that local security is listening in.

More publicly visible are diplomats' home visits to threatened or confined democracy activists, and the monitoring of political trials. Some Embassies of democracies in repressive societies make it a habit to invite the families of political prisoners to Embassy parties with a family theme, such as parties at Christmas or other sectarian festivals. Ambassadors in such societies also accompany released political prisoners home from prison at the time of their release.

Again, such gestures, as well as receptions and other hospitality events which make a point of including both dissidents and officials, can reinforce the self-confidence of civil society in the legitimacy of their peaceful work, as well as helping to create sometimes productive initial contacts between authorities and civil society leadership.

VERIFYING and WITNESSING: the verifying of election processes and results is an important and widespread international practice in which diplomatic missions have an ongoing responsibility. The witnessing of trials and hearings by diplomats is also widespread and is now generally accepted internationally as a means of providing or supporting an independent verification of disputes, or the health of detainees. There are, of course, terrible histories of fearful and depraved repression of opponents and activists without any concession to pretense of legal authority, such as the tens of thousands of murders carried out by the Argentine military 1976-83. But today even autocratic regimes prefer to display the trappings of a legal process, however sham. In the Internet age, summary trials of dissidents and activists can rarely be completely hidden from view. "Show trials" meant to distort the truth for public consumption are similarly exposed for what they are. In taking public and private issue with the distortion of the process of justice for repressive political purposes, diplomats are representing the norms and standards of universally applicable human rights and the rule of law, and the arguments by repressive authorities that these matters are strictly internal concerns are without merit.

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Nota bene: Enquiries and demarches about detainees and political prisoners need to focus on the illegitimacy of their incarceration, in addition to the conditions and circumstances of prisoners. International and diplomatic scrutiny of elections themselves is also by now widespread; but inadequate attention is paid to prior and ongoing support for the selection, formation, and training of preparatory and supervisory national election commissions.

Such as: Diplomatic representatives have been prominent whenever possible at prosecution trials of democratic activists, journalists, and representatives of civil society, for example in Prague, Cairo, and Tashkent. Of course, there are still repressive jurisdictions where such trials are secret and closed, including recent mass sentencing of demonstrators and monks in Burma. The fates of such prisoners remain an enduring prima facie concern of missions. The very fact of incarceration is the forefront issue; presentation of "prisoners' lists" to authorities in China and Cuba have been a mainstay of diplomatic representation for years.

The conduct of authorities to those in custody is also an issue. Diplomatic representatives in various jurisdictions have insisted on verifying the health of such prisoners, such as after arbitrary arrests of Zimbabwe opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai and colleagues in the opposition MDC.

When violent prisoner abuse becomes public knowledge to the point that authorities are pressured to conduct official inquiries or even trials of security personnel, such as with respect to the killing of Canadian-Iranian photojournalist Mrs. Kazemi in Iranian hands, diplomats have sought to witness these legal proceedings as well, with admirable solidarity.

International verification of elections, especially by regional organizations, is now an almost universal practice. Some democratic groupings have been able to provide such authoritative monitoring that they attract wide international participation, such as EU-led election monitoring in Lebanon, and the Congo, which included many non-EU observers among the team, or Commonwealth monitoring of elections in member countries.

The OSCE election observation missions (ODIHR) have become integral to the organization's *raison d'être*. Though its bestowal of "failing grades" for elections, in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, or Azerbaijan,

deemed not to be “fair and free”, is often ignored by authorities at the time, the accumulated challenge to their legitimacy is an important asset for diplomatic representatives in those countries.

The observation exercise does more than legitimize the election returns: as demonstrated in the case of South Africa, the presence of international observers provides encouragement and re-assurance to democracy advocates, and also security, by showing that the eyes of the world are watching. This helps promote restraint on the part of all parties to the process.

Embassies themselves and their personnel have for years taken an active role in the observation process, including significantly in verifying local elections, as was done in Ukraine by the Japanese Mission.

In the 1988 Presidential elections in Senegal, several democratic Embassies agreed to pool their efforts. “Embassy officers who attended rallies shared their impressions with counterparts, and a co-ordinated election-day schedule was drawn up to avoid overlapping visits to polling stations. The candidates and party campaign leaders knew of and appreciated this careful, coordinated attention to their campaign efforts”. Ultimately, “the diplomats agreed that the results reflected the will of the people: the majority of Senegalese voters wanted Abdou Diouf to remain in office. This joint position proved useful in maintaining a common diplomatic position in response to civil disturbances which broke out in poorer sections of Dakar as dissatisfied voters felt their preferred candidate should have been chosen”.

Such efforts are sometimes not appreciated by the host country. In the Presidential elections in Zimbabwe in 2002, the EU observation team’s leader, Swedish politician Pierre Schori was declared unwelcome and the observation team pulled out on the grounds that it could not do its job. But resident EU and other democratic Embassies co-ordinated coverage on their own of the polling booths which was less than adequate but extremely helpful in reaching the conclusion the election had not been fair and free.

While democracies have increasingly placed governance at the core of development assistance programs and do emphasize aid for the election process, there needs to be more attention paid to the training of local election Commissions whose credibility is essential to sustaining belief in the integrity of results and avoidance of post-electoral violence as has occurred only recently in Kenya.

PROTECTING: “We were very active in attending political trials, so that defendants knew that if anything would happen to them, there would be protests” (a diplomat in Prague, 1980’s). Visible support for individuals and groups under threat, as well as their families, provides reassurance for democratic activists and human rights defenders and NGOs. Ultimately, in the event of breakdown and crisis, Missions have performed an essential humanitarian function by giving refuge to asylum-seekers.

Such as: In periods of tension, diplomats can often defuse a crisis. Their presence on the scene may persuade security authorities to back off a violent confrontation with peaceful groups.

Protection can be implicit, communicated by signs of support, by telephone calls to check on the security of targeted activists, and by declarations. The authorities may seek to label such declarations as outside interference, indicating that protests are not authoritatively indigenous in inspiration. But as the Burmese confrontations illustrated in 2007, the people know when their protest and appeals for change are popular, and welcome supportive declarations as statements of solidarity endorsing the legitimacy of their popular cause.

Diplomats can cast a wide protective net. People arbitrarily jailed fear for their families. In Turkmenistan, the British Embassy made it a point to be in visible contact with the families of persons arrested for political reasons.

In more dire circumstances when the force of repression is without brakes, or beyond persuasion, the episodes of diplomats extending protection have been many, going back to the legendary work of Swedish diplomat Raoul Wallenberg during World War II, or Varian Fry, US Consul in Marseilles, who, without much support from superiors, saved many artists, Jews, and leftists on Nazi arrest lists. It was Australian diplomat Bruce Haig who drove South African democrat and editor Donald Woods to safety out of South Africa.

Sadly, however, the list of Embassies which did not intervene or provide refuge because it was seen to be outside the scope of classically sanctioned diplomatic conduct was for many years a much longer one. But more recent practice has increasingly been to help wherever possible, as in the episodes of humanitarian acceptance of thousands of asylum-seekers in Santiago, Chile, after September 1973, the events of 1989 in Prague when Embassies opened their grounds to East German refugees, the granting of safe shelter for a year to Chinese dissident Fang Lizhi by the US Embassy in Beijing in the aftermath of Tiananmen, the assistance by the Embassies of Poland, Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia in gaining safe exit for threatened democratic opposition members in Ukraine prior to 2004, or the acceptance by Australia of West Papua self-determination activists, 2006.

3. THE PARTNERS AND APPLICATIONS

In becoming “coherence agents” with specific skill sets, diplomats are usually more likely to be effective in their support of democratic development by a focus on practical applications than by the articulation of lofty aspirations of political theory. The partnerships which matter the most are those with a human face.

A) People-to-people, democrat-to-democrat

- Local Groups, Coalitions – Students, Youth, Ecologists, Trade Unions

Coalitions of groups and bodies such as the United Democratic Front in South Africa are often the foundations of an emerging democratic society. In retrospect, they even constituted a form of government-in-waiting, though often, because of the closed circumstances of their society, they have little opportunity to gain the relevant and necessary experience. Nearly every country has such local NGOs (although they are sparser in number in the Middle East). Their activities and primary interests are often not even political. Beyond serving their specific interests, through informal publications, performances, and public outreach, they can together also spawn a new civic sense of national identity and purpose. In the process they acquire a growing stature of legitimacy, reinforced by the efforts of democratic Embassies and NGOs to engage them as partners and provide them support and, as appropriate, training.

- Women’s Groups

In many societies and situations, groups formed to defend and advocate on behalf of women are often the first experience women may have of personal involvement in public and social issues. Representing home and family perspectives as well as specific workplace or professional interests, women’s groups have a central role in the emergence of civil society.

- Cultural Groups

As Alain Delatroz, Vice-President of the International Crisis Group recently wrote (in homage to a murdered theater director in Tashkent), “art is one of the finest forms of resistance to dictators”.

The role of cultural groups in expanding the habit of freedom of expression was essential in many experiences in democratic transformation. As far back as 1975, Australian diplomat Diane Johnstone invited black artist Michael Muapola to her Pretoria apartment to exhibit his paintings to her guests, which incurred the wrath of the apartheid regime, but contributed mightily to African self-respect.

Cultural groups and artists have catalytic roles going beyond performance or art. Writing of Prague in the late 1980’s, Canadian diplomat Rob McRae spoke of his introduction to Karl Srp, “the head of the so-called Jazz Section....of the musician’s union (which) under Srp had become a hotbed of underground music and video production, as well as samizdat (clandestine) publishing.” McRae subsequently observed that through culture, “a new civic society had begun to emerge outside the control of the state, with a whole network of underground publications, performances, exhibitions, videos, newspapers, artistic and literary ‘salons’. These had started to reach beyond the opposition to the grey zone of individuals who were at least inwardly, if not openly, opposed to the regime”.

- Human Rights Defenders

The work of human rights defenders in repressive societies is often lonely and is always courageous.

Their cause is immensely assisted by the solidarity shown by the representatives of democracies, and the international acknowledgement of their efforts, such as the Nobel Peace Prize bestowed on Iranian human rights defender Shirin Ebadi. Chilean human rights lawyer Ignacio Walker (later Foreign Minister) recalls that over four years under the Pinochet regime defending hundreds of unjustly accused and jailed democracy activists, he won few cases in the biased courts, but the demonstrable support he received from Embassies and especially the Roman Catholic Church and the international recognition they bestowed, “saved many lives”.

- Scholars, Researchers, Academic Institutes, Think Tanks, Centers of Excellence.

Connecting scholars to scholars and think tanks to think tanks is a multiple enrichment. For Embassies, partnerships and projects undertaken with the scholarly and research community often engage the future leaders of the country, however unlikely it may seem in repressive societies at the time. They also engage a country’s construction of objective collective memory, which is important in building a process of reconciliation.

One of the most ambitious projects in preparation for the assumption of the responsibilities of government occurred as the result of a request made by Nelson Mandela shortly after his release from prison, to Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, to help the ANC boost its competence in economic matters. The initiative spawned the “Macro-Economic Research Group” (MERG) involving over 100 economic specialists from several developed democracies. Though the MERG report itself was eventually shelved, the exchanges and conferences involving ANC personnel constituted a very sound preparation for the responsibilities of office.

B) Institutional Partnerships and Processes

- Independent Media

The role of independent media goes beyond the healthy practice of speaking truth to power. Media, including the rapidly growing phenomenon of blogs, have a monitoring role on governance, and catalyze public discussion. Supporting the emergence of independent media outlets has been one of the consistently successful partnership activities of Embassies, often conducted in partnership with NGOs and news gatherers from Community of Democracies member countries.

Missions also on occasion directly help local news agencies and outlets with project funding. Examples are given earlier in the *Handbook* of start-up funding for a radio station in Moscow and a desk-top newspaper in Dakar which became the hubs of successful diversified independent communications enterprises. The first principle, of course, has been to separate such assistance from any intention of influencing the news or views reported by the outlet in question.

Support can be threefold. In Algiers, over the last several years, Embassies have encouraged the emergence of independent newspapers and outlets, without seeking to influence the news or editorial content of their publications. At the same time, they have encouraged the state-operated newspaper El Moudjahid in its efforts to present balanced reporting of events. Lastly, they have encouraged training for local journalists (who also benefit from the examples shown by traveling press corps accompanying visiting dignitaries of direct and candid questioning in pursuit of transparency and newsworthy information).

The transition to democracy from authoritarian regimes can be particularly challenging for public broadcasters as they transit from a propaganda role to one of objective reportage and news analysis. Such democratic arm’s length public broadcasters as the Australian, Canadian, and British Broadcasting Corporations have mentored transitions, such as with the South African Broadcasting Corporation (with its 15 million daily radio listeners) at the behest originally of their resident Embassies, and after an initial grant by the Australian labor organization Apheda.

- Legal Proceedings

The rule of law and the building of national justice and judicial systems are essential to democracy-building. Some countries, such as China, hold to the “rule by law”, but in a somewhat rigid way without the transparency and appeal systems which have developed in democratic legal cultures which

invest parliamentary bodies with law-making prerogatives, and the independent judiciary with the on-going capacity for review and reversal.

In many countries, the legal and judicial communities play important roles in civil society. There are several recent examples of bar associations and even groups of judges taking public stands on issues of governance or corruption, such as in Burma, Lebanon, Pakistan and the Philippines. It can be rewarding therefore to develop Embassy partnerships and soundings with local bar associations, law faculties, and NGOs such as the Moscow Helsinki Group in order to support their efforts to improve the functioning of the court system, capacities for legal-aid. Embassies can also help to connect such groups to international norms and to experienced partner institutions in member states of the Community of Democracies.

- Political Parties

Obviously, paying attention to political parties and groupings, or democratic oppositionists, where they are able to function, represents one of the foremost activities of Embassies in the course of their work. Repressive regimes resent such attention to their opponents, and even some allies of democracies, such as Singapore and Iran in the 1970's actively discouraged such contacts, but diplomats can hardly do objective reporting in their absence, nor fail to support the right of beleaguered opposition parties to exist and travel outside the country.

Most definitions of democracy insist on the existence of a multi-party electoral system. Embassies obviously do not attempt to influence the electoral success of specific parties, but several are able to connect parties or groupings of one tendency or another to similar groupings in their home countries, where parties frequently have formed foundations for the purposes of such outreach. Examples include the German Stiftungs, the Swedish Olaf Palme Foundation, the U.S. NDI or IRI, or la Fondation Robert Schumann and la Fondation Jean-Jaures in France. Democracies also have multi-party Foundation models such as the Westminster Foundation in the UK, the Netherlands' Institute for Multi-party Democracy, the National Endowment for Democracy in Washington, or the Norwegian Center for Democracy Support.

Some of the party-to-party mentoring is technical, and most is developmental without regard to specific policy choices or programs. But some political experiences of democratic parties in donor states have had a profound effect on the development of democratic options elsewhere.

- Security Agencies, Policing

It is commonplace that security is essential to the building of support for democracy and to development, and international agencies such as the Geneva Centre for Democratic Control of Armed Forces play an important developmental and counseling role.

Embassies increasingly pay attention to the opportunities to strengthen police training in transitional democracies via closer relations with local authorities. Even in repressive regimes, it has often been important to maintain productive contacts with security and police agencies. Indeed, elements of military and intelligence services have on occasion shown themselves to be among the more moderate components of hard-line governments. Embassies which partner with the police agencies for essential matters of cooperation against trans-national criminal activity, including anti-terrorism, have found these professional contacts could be engaged to lower the temperature at times of internal political confrontation.

- International NGOs And Organizations

Of all local partnerships for diplomats and Embassies, international NGOs are among the most valuable in the complementarity they represent to diplomatic activity. Such organizations as Human Rights Watch, the International Crisis Group, members of the World Movement for Democracy, Amnesty International, the San Egedio Foundation, and developmental NGOs of all kinds such as Oxfam, Medecins Sans Frontieres, CARE, Action Contre la Faim, World Vision, and, of course, such intergovernmental organizations as UNHCR, UNICEF, the WFP, or the IOM reach segments of society in their work, and issues close to the ground, which are often out of reach to accredited diplomats. In several capitals, there are mixed donors' groups involving participation of Embassies,

NGOs, and international organizations, for the purposes of information exchange and avoidance of duplication.

C) Capacity-building

Democracies are easily distinguishable from tyrannies. But their goal is not a common identity. It is effective action to the benefit of citizens. Successful action relies on hard work over time, and on achieving a mix of the right capacities for building achievement and public confidence. The most obvious characteristic of failed and failing states is their “negative capacity,” which almost always negates the chances of democracy.

Building democratic capacity requires sound governmental institutions, functioning infrastructure, and orderly processes. Assistance and support for democratic governance is pointless without support for economic development and capacities to deliver education, health care and other essential aspects of infrastructure. But many assistance programs over the last decades, in Eastern Europe as well as in developing countries, invested excessively in process and institutions and not enough in civil society, which must form the building blocks of democratic transformation, particularly via the emergence of action groups which for environmental, economic, or other specific interests challenge the status quo. Connecting such groups to international NGO partners is a major part of democracy capacity-building.

Methods are not self-evident. There is no transferable template for democratic transformation, no one size or style of economic or political model which fits all. The necessity of adaptation to local conditions, and deference to local civil society relies on the existence of effective civil society partners, and consultation with them. Ultimately, the chances of success will be in their hands, and in their collective abilities to encourage a national governance culture which assumes transparency and accountability and responsiveness to the public.

All of these capacity-building issues represent the substance of the work of a myriad of partners, governmental, intergovernmental, and nongovernmental, in all phases of international cooperation.

There is attached to the *Handbook* an Annex indicating how Missions might identify and contact NGO’s and development organizations pertinent to capacity-building activities, though the list of partners is far from complete. Diplomats in the field will know how to identify local NGOs and potential partners from their own NGO community.

The capacity-building activities and issue areas, all interrelated, include several main emphases:

- *Anti-Poverty and Humanitarian Relief*
Intergovernmental bodies such as the Council of Europe and the OAS, international agencies, NGO’s, and research institutes are working constantly on applications and long-term solutions. The work of such organizations as the World Food Program and the FAO, and NGOs such as Action Contre la Faim, on food security is very germane to democratic capacity, as is work on refugees and migration undertaken by the UNHCR, IOM, and many NGOs. Especially important is building the democracy and human rights issues into the development agenda.
- *Elections / Electoral Machinery/public education*
The International Fund for Election Systems, the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), IDEA, the United Nations, the Commonwealth of Nations, the European Union, and others, team up to provide in many cases one-stop shopping on election preparation and administration issues. The electoral capacity requires apt electoral laws, and particularly workable and accepted provisions for adjudicating disputes.
- *Governance, Institution-building*
Member country programs, the OECD/UNDP democratic transition program, the International Centre for Democratic Transition, Budapest, the European Union, and others assist in the preparation of institutional reforms. These can often have an emphasis on functions vital for public confidence-building and legitimacy, such as data collection (as in Liberia’s 2008 census, conducted in partnership with the UNDP), residential taxation systems which are fair, and functional actuarial services.

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- Environmental
Such issues as deforestation, desertification, extractive industries, and hydro dams become political causes with rapidity. The tens of thousands of environmental action groups which have been formed to mobilize opinion against action inimical to local and specific interests have been responsible for the politicization of millions. International partner NGOs have been part and parcel of the progress toward a more sustainable approach to developmental capacity-building.
 - Gender Equality
Generations of rural and urban women have been introduced to democratization through groups formed to address the situations and specific interests of women, whose capacity to contribute to development is obviously critical to success, but often underdeveloped. The practical goals of many such groups – material concerns such as the cost of living – combine with preoccupations about violence to women
 - Judiciary
International NGOs on the rule of law and judicial reform, international bar sections and associations on the role of defenders and legal aid, holding offenders accountable, combating corruption, essential for developing capacity for public confidence.
 - Health, Education, Essential Infrastructure
International NGOs, international financial institutions (e.g., the World Bank), humanitarian agencies, think tanks, research centers, and authoritative policy analysts, etc., address these fundamental capacity issues of infrastructure, including sanitation.
 - Local, Sub-Federal, Ethnic, Tribal Groups
Federal member states of the Community of Democracies, the Forum of Federations, and many other organizations and NGOs assist transforming democracies to extend democratic benefits to include more marginal members of society, and indigenous peoples who are often overlooked by elites, as well as addressing the issues of ethnic, tribal, and sectarian conflict which sadly still ravage the population in much of the world.
 - Human Security, including conflict prevention
Human security networks, the United Nations, international NGOs and foreign policy and security research centers, etc., address the fundamentally necessary capacities for security and public safety without which neither democracy nor development can survive.
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Chapter 4: Conclusions

We have explained that The Community of Democracies is not a political alliance. But its member states are joined by a shared hope for further progress toward democracy in the world. They support the efforts of civil society to create a virtual international community of democrats.

The working ground rules for the *Handbook's* construction held that there are no hard and fast prescriptions for democracy transformation, apart from the fact that the process and its outcomes best emerge peacefully from civil society itself. But active democrats and human rights defenders expect, and benefit from, the encouragement and support of democrats everywhere.

Democracy development is a function of process, and sound institutions, but very much also one of behavior, which cannot just be transferred, as technique. It requires time, patience, and hard application. Outside support needs to be sustained over time.

The critical resources are those of human capital in the countries concerned. Civil society forms the building blocks of democratization.

The *Handbook* aims to explain how democratic governments have used their Embassies, Consulates, and diplomatic officers in the past to provide such encouragement and support. Again, each situation is different. There is also a varying mix of factors involved for each of the members of the Community of Democracies in policy emphasis and deployment of personnel.

We underline the extent to which diplomatic representation has itself been undergoing transformation, from being an enterprise consisting of private, government to government, transactions to one in which people-to-people and public diplomacy are central features of the professional skill sets required today.

Of course, the skills involved are used in differing mixtures, depending on whether the host country is a failed, failing, or post-conflict state, a military or theocratic dictatorship, a regime of populist authoritarianism, a fledgling and fragile democracy, or a complex democracy trying to consolidate democratic institutions and purposes. In citing examples from the last decades, we avoided slotting host countries into one category or another. Member states wish to avoid such attempts to judge member countries according to snapshots of their governance. Independent NGOs already analyze relative governance very effectively.

Instead, we chose a number of case-studies which attempt to show a wide variety of situations and challenges. Some of the narratives, such as Chile, South Africa, or Ukraine, are in the past tense -- which is obviously not to suggest that history is over for the countries concerned.

Other narratives are very much in the here and now, such as Belarus, Burma, and Zimbabwe. Their next chapters remain to be written by the people themselves.

In these case studies set forth next, and such instructive episodes of transition as are detailed for Sierra Leone, and Tanzania, we expect that practitioners in the field will find elements familiar to the situation they are closest to at present, and will be assisted in developing their own approaches and programs for democracy development support on the ground.

In the years to come, we shall update the case-studies and add new ones. We shall modify and expand the *Handbook* itself to take account of comments from readers and users.

To conclude, we hope the *Handbook* serves the helpful concrete purposes intended. In doing so, it serves a higher interest of promoting both greater satisfaction for the aspirations of many millions of individuals, and a more secure and open international environment for all.

Princeton, N.J.
April, 2008

South Africa: "The Long Road to Freedom"

INTRODUCTION

The struggle for democracy in South Africa penetrated global consciousness as no other, engaging generations of international humanists, persons of conscience, and democratic governments the world over. The uniquely pernicious racial assertions of apartheid conveyed an almost universal sense of offense. Because of its inherent immorality and what Nelson Mandela described as "the ruthlessness of the state in protecting it", the South African apartheid regime was singular in the extent to which it was regarded as illegitimate.

But the struggle to overturn it was borne by South Africans themselves.

Ending apartheid peacefully and establishing democracy in a unitary state would be only part of their battle. The challenges of governance and development for a majority whose skills levels had been deliberately suppressed were formidable.

Africans knew this. Mandela has written that the Freedom Charter of 1955, setting out the requirements of a free and democratic country, anticipated that "changes envisioned would not be achieved without radically altering the economic and political structure of South Africa".

That the non-white majority acceded to power 40 years later in a country with established institutions was not in itself an advantage. As Nelson Mandela wrote, "Working as a lawyer in South Africa meant operating under a debased system of justice, a code of law that did not enshrine equality, but its opposite".

A successful revolution occurred. But it is widely judged to have been a "negotiated revolution", essentially non-violent.

The victory belonged to the people who had been protesting the apartheid laws since the Defiance Campaign of 1952. During the 1970's, a wide array of more or less organized groups and initiatives emerged in support of the construction of a popular civil society and in opposition to the apartheid state. By 1983, these groups had become fairly coherently allied in the United Democratic Front, a working coalition of trade unions, student and youth groups, women's groups, cultural organizations, and professionals, whose members, taken as a body, acquired increasing credibility and legitimacy as the civil alternative to the apartheid regime.

During those hard years, there had been many historic junctions on the "long road to freedom". Several of these are associated with cruel violence, such as the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, or the Soweto uprising in 1976.

Faced with the regime's ruthlessness, the ANC had decided in 1962 to desert 50 years' belief in non-violence to accept the option of organized violence. But as Allister Sparks later wrote, Mandela "never had any illusions it could win a military victory."

He was firmly "in the negotiation camp". In eventual negotiations, beginning in the late 1980's, the government side sought to oblige the ANC to renounce having opted for organized violence. The ANC committed to a future peaceful process but would not renounce its history.

In a sense this became the pattern for the negotiated outcome. The National Peace Accord of 1991 aimed at a vast conflict resolution. With memories inhabited by an almost unendurable history, it was necessary to exorcise the past. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission would provide amnesty for deeds committed under apartheid in exchange for truth about them. This negotiated solution did not propose that apartheid's victims forget the past, but did enable all South Africans to go forward according to a formula in which blacks had to give up the pursuit of justice for crimes against them, and whites had to give up their monopoly on power.

Violence between black Africans, and notably Inkatha and the ANC, subsided with difficulty, taking the lives of as many as 25,000 in the 1990's, and criminal violence continues in South Africa to this day at unacceptable levels. But the "South African bloodbath" so widely feared and predicted was held at bay, at least as far as violence between whites and blacks was concerned.

The 1994 elections produced majority rule in a unitary state, but without the domination of the white minority by the majority in any punitive sense.

The successfully negotiated peaceful transfer of power was a mighty outcome to the struggle of South Africans over more than 50 years.

But looking back at the Wembley Stadium concert in celebration of Nelson Mandela and his people's struggle in April 1990, when he thanked the world's anti-apartheid forces for the "support and solidarity they had shown the oppressed people of South Africa", Susan Collin Marks reflected on "how easy it had been to cheer Mandela and how hard it would be to remake the nation".

That struggle endures. But South Africa's gifts to the world, through its history of a successfully negotiated revolution to effect a multiracial and pluralistic democratic society, also endure, as a model and a hope for many.

THE EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT

Once South African governments adopted institutionalized apartheid in the years following the Second World War, it was obvious that there would be a collision with the rest of a changing world.

From the time Ghana received its independence in 1957, the white regime in South Africa would find itself increasingly isolated by the "winds of change" sweeping over the continent, with reinforcement only from Rhodesia and the still-enduring Portuguese colonies.

Foreign support for the anti-apartheid struggle came from civil society -- trade unions, church organizations, parliaments, and a multitude of nongovernmental organizations -- in many democracies, and, it should be acknowledged, support came from socialist countries allied with the Soviet Union as well. Outside South Africa, universities, research centers, nongovernmental organizations and supportive citizens helped to sustain and train South African peace activists in exile, until they could return to participate freely in the process of democratic change.

International Diplomatic Activity

Diplomatic pressure over decades may have had only an uneven effect on the insulated apartheid regime's repressive laws but it undoubtedly helped to support the credibility of the ANC as an indispensable ingredient of any South African solution by the time ANC leader Oliver Tambo met with U.S. Secretary of State Shultz in 1987.

The international diplomatic community began to pronounce on the South African situation as early as 1960, when the United Nations Security Council condemned the killing of 69 demonstrators at Sharpeville. South African issues were always on United Nations agendas thereafter.

That same year African solidarity was extended to the ANC when Nelson Mandela visited and won the support of the great African figures of that time, including Haile Selassie, Julius Nyerere, Kenneth Kaunda, Habib Bourguiba, Ahmed Ben Bella, Sekou Toure, and Leopold Senghor.

Such core African support was instrumental in persuading the Commonwealth of Nations to take activist positions against the apartheid regime, whose exit as a member of the Commonwealth had been steered shortly after the whites voted to declare South Africa a republic in the 1950's. By the 1985 Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Nassau, the members of the Commonwealth were able to adopt a program of sanctions against South Africa, despite long-standing reservations on the part of Prime Minister Thatcher of the U.K.

The Appeal For Sanctions And Boycotts

The ANC urged governments to ally together to introduce sanctions against South Africa whose purpose was to induce behavior change by imposing on the apartheid regime the psychological and economic costs of isolation. International sports and cultural groups halted South African tours and excluded South African teams. Universities disinvested South African holdings from portfolios for moral reasons, while multinational

corporations re-located from South Africa for reasons of corporate strategy. Financial institutions re-considered lending practices to the South African state and its institutions. The World Alliance of Reformed Churches suspended the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa.

The imposition of sanctions was not without controversy. Apart from the impact on the economic interests of investors in South Africa, there was concern that sanctions would primarily hurt the economic livelihood of the black and colored population, a warning endorsed by such a democratic activist as South African opposition Member of Parliament Helen Suzman. But the fact that targeted sanctions had the full support of the ANC, which believed they were essential to the struggle, was judged to be decisive.

The South African state authorities estimated that the economic sanctions were “hurting but survivable”. Perhaps, taken alone, they were, though the growing isolation of South African whites from the rest of the world added a psychological toll which did erode their willingness to support the extremist state authorities to the bitter end. That there would be a certain end was overwhelmingly due to the brave perseverance of non-white South Africans and their allies among the white population who over generations worked to obtain the justice of a democratic outcome.

International Popular Opinion And Support

Public opinion around the world grew to be massively supportive, stimulated in part by the award of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1960 to Albert Luthuli who led the ANC at the time it was first “banned”. In 1984, Archbishop Tutu who was a major force in forming the UDF won the Nobel Peace Prize again in the name of the South African struggle for justice.

During the intervening years, tens of thousands ANC, PAC, and other democracy activists had been banned and imprisoned but would not be abandoned by the world’s attention. Night-long church vigils and “Free Mandela” events were frequent, often directed at fund-raising for the ANC, and for NGO’s operating in South Africa.

Funding for South African democracy activists and NGO’s had begun as early as the 1960’s when Danish, Norwegian and Swedish trade unions and church groups launched the first programs in support of those involved in the struggle. Before long, they were joined by foundations and governments from many democracies in funding NGO’s and reformers in South Africa, often with an emphasis on preparing for governance.

External funding was important to the ability of political organizations to finance the sorts of identity-cementing activities such as newspapers and events on which the struggle depended to sustain popular support over successive generations.

By 1983, this popular support pulled together under the loose grouping of the United Democratic Front (UDF), collecting under one roof trade unions, church and youth groups, cultural organizations, and a variety of locally-based civic bodies. The UDF was able in the circumstances when the ANC had been banned to become the main instrument for organizing popular protests and boycotts meant to counter the increasingly hard-line series of repressive laws and crack-downs associated with frequent states of emergency suspending rights and leading to mass arrests.

Change At Last

The position of the apartheid regime gradually unraveled as any remaining support from the international environment deteriorated. Zimbabwe had emerged in place of the racist allied regime of Rhodesia, and along with other front-line states, the newly independent Angola and Mozambique, and Botswana became locales for training camps for the ANC, and a platform for cross-border raids. The retaliatory effectiveness of the South African Defence Forces was increasingly handicapped by re-equipment difficulties because of sanctions, and the conflict’s costs began to drain South Africa’s Treasury and the population’s support.

Once glasnost had transformed the Soviet Union under Mikhail Gorbachev, it became much more difficult for the South African regime to continue to convince the white public the ANC was part of a communist conspiracy to take over South Africa, which the authorities had been alleging since the Rivonia trials of ANC leaders in the early 1960’s,

Something had to give, and by the mid-1980's contacts encouraged by outside mediators. were taking place in Mells Park in the U.K. With funding from the Friedrich Neumann Foundation, the Institute for a Democratic South Africa organized discussions in 1987 in Dakar between the ANC under Thabo Mbeki and groups of white South Africans convinced of the need of a negotiated settlement, including the once hard-line Broederbond.

Negotiating Democracy

By 1989, the writing on the wall was clear for most to see. New South African government leadership under F.W. De Klerk accelerated the process and South Africa entered the phase of negotiation and preparation of majority rule.

The world's democracies played a significant role in helping to prepare ANC and other South Africans for positions of governance, through conferences, courses, and other forms of training for jurists through the Aspen Institute, economists via the Macro-Economic Research Group set up after Nelson Mandela visited Canada shortly after his release in 1990, and journalists via Harvard's Nieman fellowships. A major program undertaken at Australian initiative with the help of public broadcasters of Commonwealth countries was the cultural and organizational transformation of the propagandistic South African Broadcasting Corporation.

Foreign experts also converged on South Africa to provide support for the preparation and observation of the democratic elections which would bring majority rule. As conflict mediator Susan Collin Marks has observed, they and other committed international helpers "gave an increased sense of security" to democracy activists "confirming the eyes of the world were on their plight". They also "gave some real security as the police and army behaved with restraint in their presence".

In the end, after a successful election and peaceful handover of power, it was the turn of South Africa to show the world what a negotiated revolution looked like, in the South African form of a multi-ethnic, multiracial, and multicultural society which could serve as a partial model for the bridging challenges faced in the Balkans, the Middle East, or elsewhere in Africa.

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DIPLOMATIC RESOURCES IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THEIR APPLICATIONS IN SUPPORT OF DEMOCRACY

Assets

The diplomatic community resident in South Africa was not large, in part because the newly independent African countries did not have relations with the apartheid regime. Of the democratic countries present, those working informally and pro-actively together to support democratic activists and human rights defenders were relatively few in the 1960's and 70's but their numbers increased in the 1980's and were especially reinforced in the later 1980's when the United States became decisively committed to a democratic solution for South Africa.

South African authorities fairly regularly complained about diplomats' activities and Foreign Minister Pik Botha made a widely publicized speech in 1987 warning diplomats "not to meddle" in what he judged were South African internal affairs, and threatening curbs on diplomats' movements. He complained specifically about foreign funding (see above) for a trip by South African anti-apartheid activists to meet ANC personnel in Dakar.

The authorities tried to intimidate diplomats, sometimes with rather brutal methods. The Counselor of the U.S. Embassy, Robert Frasure (later killed on duty in Bosnia) tracked cross-border military movements of the South African Defense Force. Ex-UK Ambassador Renwick recalls that the SADF retaliated by "terrorizing his wife and children during his absences from home, to such an extent Frasure had to be withdrawn".

More classically, a senior Canadian was shown in the Foreign Ministry photos taken of him at rallies and anti-apartheid events not just observing, but actively participating including joining in praying and marching. He was threatened with expulsion but countered that the only result would be to reduce the numbers at the South African Embassy in Ottawa, and to damage South Africa's image abroad.

The diplomat, John Schram, was able to do this effectively because it was clear the Embassy enjoyed the great asset of complete backing from his Minister and Government at home.

He was also able to play to the interest South African authorities had in diminishing if possible the international shunning which was solidifying around the world.

The fact that internationally, the world community was organizing its leverage against the apartheid regime was a helpful frame of reference for diplomats on the ground in reinforcing the legitimacy of their activity. The declarations of Commonwealth Heads of Government Conferences, Summits of the European Community, the G-7, or resolutions of the United Nations Security Council, General Assembly, and its subsidiary bodies helped to cohere a common sense of purpose among affected diplomats in South Africa.

They represented often countries whose own histories had been propelled by democracy activists to which ANC members and others looked to for encouragement and examples: Gandhi, Dr. Martin Luther King, and later Lech Walesa, and democracy activists in the Philippines, were inspirations for the struggle, as were anti-colonialist leaders from Africa and leftist liberationists from Latin America.

Unquestionably, the funds which Embassies had at their disposal for small, fast-disbursing local grants, were important assets, especially as many of the beneficiaries had no funds of their own.

APPLICATIONS

The Golden Rules

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Though there was world-wide dismay over the repression of the struggle for democracy in South Africa, it was most important to **respect** that it was indeed a struggle conducted often at personal risk by South Africans on behalf of their country's future, however universal the themes. As Ambassador Renwick phrased it, "The most that any Embassy could do was to try to help as a **facilitator** – and then let South Africans get on with a process in which too much foreign involvement was positively undesirable."

Of course, some Embassies leant considerably farther forward than others in such facilitation, no doubt reflecting the clear support they had at home, but it was always a problem for local diplomats when outside trainers in negotiation or mediation skills lost sight of why they were there to help. As Susan Collin Marks wrote, "Suspicion grew that many (foreign trainers) were driven by personal agendas, so that they were in it for what they could get out of it, not for what they could give.....training in South Africa, a conflict hot spot, gave credibility that enhanced their image elsewhere. Many of them would come into the country, give the training, and leave". It was up to Embassies to try to steer outside assistance to support continuity, but in cooperation with and in deference to the international NGO community which was closer to the ground and to the grief of the struggle.

Sharing among Embassies was fundamental, especially the most like-minded such as the Australian, Dutch, Canadian and Swedish who met frequently, in part to ensure their respective funding was not at cross-purposes, and that funds were distributed across a variety of needy organizations. Sharing of tasks also helped to ensure that there was usually present at trials, funerals, and demonstrations an array of representatives, effectively communicating the opprobrium of the wider world for the apartheid doctrine and regime, and encouragement for the non-violent struggle for justice.

Getting to the truth

Most democratic Embassies ensured that **reporting** of the situation was candid and precise, and benefited from the contacts of what one Ambassador called his "township attaches". The South African situation had achieved by 1985 a profile which meant that reporting from Embassies was avidly followed in capitals.

Of course, the situation was also covered by the foreign press, whose investigative reporting annoyed the authorities who, in a two-year period in the 1980's, expelled 12 correspondents from democratic countries'

news outlets, including the New York Times, the BBC, ITN, and CBS. This placed a greater onus on diplomats to play an **informing** role with their own home country news media to ensure the real story was getting out, as well as issuing information bulletins within South Africa, particularly to counter government-inspired slander. Former U.S. ambassador Princeton Lyman described how a predecessor, Edward Perkins, had “utilized the press to get his message across to the white population that the government of South Africa would never again have the opportunity to deal with people of the quality of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and Thabo Mbeki.”

A vital Embassy service was support for independent media. A number of Embassies such as Canada had a specific fund (“The anti-censorship fund”) to help finance independent media such as the Daily Mail, including subsidizing subscriptions and advertising, as well as editorial and operating expenditures.

The South African Broadcasting Corporation had long served as a propaganda arm of the apartheid regime by the time that the negotiation of a constitution got underway in 1992. (The SABC helped over the years to account for such polling results as a 1982 poll which revealed that 80% of whites believed that communism was at the root of a struggle waged against the interests of a basically contented black population.) Yet, the SABC radio audience numbered at least 15 million and the transformation of the corporation into an objective news and information service became identified as a top priority by Embassies, achieved with the help of public broadcasting services from Australia, Britain and Canada. Upgrading the skills of South African journalists also became a priority through the work of the Institute for the Advancement of Journalism founded by Allister Sparks, and the creation of many exchanges and fellowships.

Working with the government

There was little sincere opportunity for working with the South African government on human rights issues prior to 1989, though some countries professed support for ‘constructive dialogue’, and it could be argued that it did help to bring about a negotiated independence for Namibia. Embassies played an **advising** role in steering democracies to the means for helping a democratizing South Africa after 1989 to strengthen its capacities in the area of judicial training, constitutional advice, economic policy preparation, particularly via the Macro-Economic Research Group and also in supporting assistance to South Africa in disabling its emerging capability for nuclear weapons.

A particular contribution was made by Chile which was able to advise the new South Africa on the Chilean experience in creating a Truth and Reconciliation commission once democracy had been restored.

Several Ambassadors and Missions sustained **dialogues** with South African authorities. The Ambassadors of the U.K. and the U.S. believed their governments’ reticence about sanctions served as carrots in moderating behavior. Ambassadors of the major democracies also claimed an “invisible mediation” role with the South African government once internal negotiations began, privately counseling the authorities as to where the “red lines” were for the international community’s expectations.

But the most effective **demarches** to the South African authorities were often those which ensured that they knew their activities were being closely scrutinized internationally, especially in the anticipation of responses to demonstration and popular protest. Demarches were frequently made on behalf of democracy activists charged under the state with political and other crimes, including conveying the pleas for clemency for the lives of Nelson Mandela and fellow defendants in the “Rivonia” trials in 1964, by the leaders of the USSR and the United States, among others.

Reaching out

Connecting to civil society in South Africa and assisting its connections to NGO’s and supportive institutions abroad was a critical ongoing responsibility of diplomats. Scanning for opportunities to connect African jurists to such as the Aspen seminars, or journalists to such as the Nieman fellowships, benefited from the close contacts democratic embassies maintained with lawyers’ associations, and journalists. The Canadian Government had exceptionally created an autonomous Embassy-administered fund called the “Dialogue Fund” meant to promote connections with anti-apartheid groups of all sorts inside South Africa, and funded a variety of legal and independent media defense organizations in particular.

Such connections were put to use by Embassies and diplomats to **convene** activists and reformers together under a safe roof and then activists and opponents together. Jurist Richard Goldstone recalled his first meeting with representatives of the ANC at a critical turning point for South Africa when he had been appointed Chairperson of the Commission on Public Violence and Intimidation occurred at the Canadian Embassy. Black and colored entrepreneurs and economists were introduced to visiting business people around Embassy tables. Connections were also made by embassy personnel to South African security organizations.

Facilitating contacts was an essential service of democratic Embassies. But helping with communications within South Africa and to the outside was another way they could help, as certain diplomats noted of their experience.

Targeted connections enabled Embassies to pinpoint **financing** assistance, such as US AID funds which paid for the defense costs of democracy activists and human rights defenders placed on trial. The value to South African NGO's of even small but instant embassy grants able to finance the costs of publicity for demonstrations and such identity-reinforcing tools as newsletters, t-shirts, and the like, was very high.

Diplomats **showcased** applicable models of social and economic policy from home, and Embassy assistance programs tried to create public events which enabled democracy activists and representatives of civil society to participate as visible counterparts. Some aspects of governance from democracies had to be re-considered in light of internal debate in South Africa, such as federal solutions, and multiculturalism, both of which were seen as ways in which the ascent to democratic power by the black majority would be diluted.

Showcasing could also occur in an inverse direction. As long ago as 1975, Australian diplomat Diane Johnstone invited black artist Michael Muapola to her apartment to enable him to show his drawings to her guests and help publicize and validate the strength of local culture. Within days, vengeful forces of apartheid had her evicted from her apartment which had first been ransacked. Mr. Muapola was harassed by authorities for years. But the episode was widely appreciated by the black population.

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Defending democrats

Demonstrating such solidarity with the struggle was at the core of the new public diplomacy for democratic Embassies, engaging embassies in field visits and visits to the offices of human rights' defenders. John Schram recounts, "the importance of putting across the message to those in the struggle that they had essential international support". As U.S. Ambassador Lyman wrote of his predecessor Edward Perkins, the first African American ambassador to South Africa, "he stood out in the crowd attending the all too frequent funerals of activists slain during the state of emergency in the late 1980's". He was not, of course, alone. Describing the funeral for 17 activists killed in 1986, Alan Cowell of the New York Times noted several "diplomats from the U.S., Britain, Australia, Canada, the Netherlands, West Germany, and France".

It had its honorable risks. After PW Botha announced the banning of the UDF in 1998, a peaceful protest march on Parliament was broken up violently by riot police who arrested among many, many Africans, Bishop Tutu, Allan Boesak, a BBC crew, and the wife of Canadian Ambassador Ron McLean.

Verifying trials of anti-apartheid activists had been a duty of democratic embassies from the time that Nelson Mandela observed that his 1963 "Rivonia" trial was attended by "dozens of representatives of foreign governments". Countless trials were witnessed, both as a caution to the authorities and as a form of **protection** to the defendants. Embassies made numerous demands of the government for independent investigations of the use of force against anti-apartheid protestors.

"Anti-apartheid organization members sometimes asked representatives to be present at police sites to witness and/or prevent violence". Protecting democrats from the ruthless power of the state was sadly not possible for the thousands who were abused, but diplomats were able in demonstrations and protests to "put themselves between the police and the protestors, and may have helped to mitigate some of the violence and prevent violence against demonstrators".

CONCLUSION

The words of President Mandela at his inauguration on 10 May, 1994 remain an ideal for all:

“We enter into a covenant that we shall build a society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity”.

That diplomats were able to participate in support for the South Africans’ struggle for democracy is a record and precedent of great merit for their profession. The South African struggle continues today, for development, security, and opportunity, and the need of South Africans for the support of democratic friends is undiminished.

From Independence to Real Democracy – Ukraine’s Orange Revolution

INTRODUCTION

Advocacy for fundamental human and civic rights, as articulated in the Helsinki Final Act, increased considerably in the 1980s in the USSR. Residents of the then-Soviet republic of Ukraine were especially and deeply affected by the Chernobyl nuclear disaster in 1986 and the subsequent cover-up. The loosening of strictures on fundamental human freedoms promoted under glasnost allowed these concerns to be articulated, and a growing crop of democratic activists came to the fore. The erstwhile communist leadership of Ukraine declared its independence in 1991, realized following the final dissolution of the USSR in late December of that year. Ukraine was recognized as a new “emerging democracy,” though the simultaneous transition from a totalitarian model to a newly independent democracy would be a massive challenge. Ukraine’s new leadership, new political parties, and civil society all requested assistance in their democratic and market transformations, and this help was forthcoming from early on from the democratic world. Ukraine also proved a willing partner in the efforts to ensure nuclear stability by giving up its nuclear weapons by 1994.

Also in 1994, Ukraine held its first democratic presidential elections, won by eastern rocket scientist and industrial manager Leonid Kuchma after a hard fought campaign against incumbent – and former communist-era boss – Leonid Kravchuk. Throughout this period, Ukraine continued to receive external support for reform processes, including backing for all manner of civic engagement in public life. It also included technical support for and observation of democratic elections, consistent with Ukraine’s obligations as a member of the Organization for Security Cooperation in Europe (OSCE – the post-Cold War institutional product of the Helsinki Final Act) and the Council of Europe to improve, ensure, and promote public confidence in the process.

Yet the connection between political and economic power, with the dominance of competing regional industrial “clans” became more apparent, with attendant allegations of senior corruption. Ukraine’s star began to fall with much of the democratic world, a trend accelerated by the murder of Georgiy Gongadze, a prominent journalist for the independent internet publication *Ukrainska Pravda*, who had been investigating official corruption. Soon thereafter, opposition leaders released recordings they said implicated Kuchma and others in his inner circle in the murder, serving to galvanize a large segment of public opinion against the government.

The 2002 parliamentary elections gave the opposition unprecedented representation. There was relative transparency due to civic efforts to track the vote through exit polls, and the results greatly boosted the democratic opposition. The polarization of the political landscape intensified, with presidential proxy attempts to amend the constitution and flawed by-elections in the western district of Carpathia in April 2004.

The still-unsolved dioxin poisoning of opposition presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko deepened the polarization of Ukrainian politics. The 2004 Presidential election campaign, according to international observers of the OSCE, exhibited numerous instances of bias and abuse by the authorities. A second round characterized by blatant and systemic fraud galvanized public protest. Demonstrations began on election night in Kyiv and grew exponentially, drawing large numbers unforeseen by the Ukrainian activists who had anticipated fraud and planned the protests. These demonstrations soon snowballed into the Orange Revolution.

The democratic world recognized the importance of helping Ukrainians ensure that the 2004 presidential elections were free and fair. In full view of the Ukrainian authorities, diplomats assisted Ukrainian citizens in monitoring and upholding the democratic process. The cooperation among embassies in this effort was unprecedented.

Ukraine’s case involves the full array of assets that democratic diplomats have at their disposal, as well as the numerous ways that these can be applied to support civil society and the democratic process.

RESOURCES AND ASSETS OF DIPLOMATS IN UKRAINE, 2004

The G-7 democracies began close cooperation to support Ukrainian civil society and the electoral process in 2001, prior to the 2002 parliamentary elections. In 2003, this was formalized in a G-7 EU-Canadian-American-Japanese process through their ambassadors in Kyiv, focused on information-sharing and coordination in support of free and fair elections, and in alerting home authorities to trends and developments.

These diplomats had considerable **influence** in Ukraine, due to their countries' support for Ukrainian statehood and state-building, reinforced by the expressed desire of most of the Ukrainian political spectrum – including the Kuchma administration – to shift Ukraine's orientation toward the West, to the EU and NATO, and even eventually to apply for membership status, all of which elevated the importance of the democracy and governance standards.

Diplomats' ability to marshal **funds** proved an essential asset in their effort to support a transparent and fair electoral process. This included any post funds they could disburse to Ukrainian civil society actors, and also their role in advocating programming by international NGOs and donors, adapted to the flexibility required to operate in a fast-changing environment.

Democratic embassies expressed **solidarity** by working together and supporting projects financially and operationally that connected democratic activists from countries that had recent civil society-driven democratic breakthroughs, including Slovakia, Serbia, and Georgia, as well as an effort to bring election observers from other countries in transition.

Finally, diplomats had a strong platform of **legitimacy** to draw upon in Ukraine, given the country's obligations to observe clear human rights and democratic standards as a member of the OSCE and the Council of Europe. The OSCE's Copenhagen Criteria provided a regular talking point for democratic diplomats in Ukraine before and during the Orange Revolution. In conjunction with subsequent OSCE statements that threats to stability were not just internal affairs, these provided western Ambassadors a ready riposte to Ukrainian MFA complaints of interference.

WAYS THESE ASSETS WERE APPLIED TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN UKRAINE

The above Assets were creatively and effectively applied in all the methods categorized in the preceding Toolbox chapter. Examples of each will be discussed in turn, some of which involve two or even more ways of deploying these Assets.

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The Golden Rules

Listening, Respecting, and Understanding: Diplomats recognized the differing roles and capabilities of partners in the effort to ensure the fairness and transparency of the 2004 election, and, over time, seemed to develop a process that allowed each to play to its institutional strength. The mechanisms developed in the working-group process (see sharing below) actually seemed to be designed around these realities. According to a seasoned civil society advocate and former funder, "People need to work together while maintaining their autonomy." One Ambassador told a civil society roundtable when it was launched in early 2004, "You do what you intend to do. Let me know if you come under pressure – I'll help."

In disbursement of assistance, the relatively small sums managed at post allowed embassies to dispense with procedures that might impede quick reaction. Rather than simply finance trainings and workshops, diplomats made, facilitated or encouraged grants that enabled civic activists to act within their remit. This is not necessarily common.

Sharing: As mentioned above, efforts to share information and coordinate policy approaches on Ukrainian democratic development began in 2001 among G-7 members. The Italian and then Dutch EU presidencies took an energetic role in bringing all the EU members into the process. The monthly meetings were chaired by Canadian Ambassador Andrew Robinson, with the US and EU as co-chairs. Japan remained engaged (and also had observer status at the OSCE). Different members came to the process emphasizing different goals for the group: the Americans stressed more coordination while Canadians and others were more interested in information exchange. According to Ambassador Robinson, these approaches complemented each other.

Truth in Communications

Reporting: Democratic embassies had established relationships with relevant political actors, media, and civil

society organizations, as well as among themselves. This broad proactive information collection allowed them to inform and help direct their countries' policies. Canada's diplomats in Kyiv at the time felt that they were able to wield significant influence because of their reporting. Information sources later included election observers in the field, especially the European Network of Election Monitoring Organizations (ENEMO) long-term observers, who remained in the field during the revolution, when it was unclear whether there would be a continuation to the electoral process.

Informing: In this area, diplomats coordinated their activity to ensure that independent media, such as internet daily *Ukrainska Pravda* received sufficient funding to continue its important work of providing uncensored news, including from embassies' own post funds. The U.S. embassy made one such grant to editor Yulia Mostova to finance *Zerkalo Tyzhdeny* ("weekly mirror"), an internet publication with serious analytical and investigative pieces, many of which were (and remain) translated into English for an international audience. USAID and the Open Media Fund also supported media monitoring of television content, the prime news source for most Ukrainians. The OSCE-ODIHR Election Observation Mission publicized its own independent media analysis, showing the strong slant on almost all television networks for the incumbent Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich and against the opposition candidate Yushchenko, both in quantitative (relative air time) and qualitative (tone) terms.

Working with the Government

Advising: From the advent of Ukrainian independence and democracy, diplomats were engaged in advising both Ukrainian government institutions and civil society actors in democratic governance and economic reform. Much of this engagement was direct, both with governmental actors and with Ukraine's civil society. But it required an even greater mobilization of home authority resources to fund programs.

Dialoguing: On election and governance issues, the OSCE Project Coordinator in Ukraine office served as a focal point for regular discussions among the civic sector, Ukrainian government, and diplomatic actors. No embassy or government funding or assistance was undeclared; the government could in no way claim to have been uninformed about diplomatic and international donor activity prior to and during the electoral cycle.

Demarching: "The position of the diplomatic corps was taken very seriously by the authorities," according to a prominent opposition figure, and their statements influenced the authorities on numerous occasions throughout the electoral process on the need to adhere to democratic norms to which Ukraine was a party. Two examples stand out.

The first was a reaction to the widely held fear that the mobile phone network would be shut down for the election night vote count, effectively atomizing civic and opposition efforts to coordinate verification and post-election activities. Opposition figures warned the democratic embassies of the threat, and these diplomats played a key role in summoning official reaction from their capitals. European Union High Representative for Common Foreign and Security Policy Javier Solana and high-level State Department officials called President Kuchma directly to warn against an engineered communications blackout on election night. The phone networks remained active throughout the election and post-election crisis.

In another instance, taking their cues from their embassies and the OSCE-ODIHR Preliminary Statement on November 22, the democratic world coordinated its expression of lack of faith in the second round election results. U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell stated that the U.S. "cannot accept the...result as legitimate," and called for an investigation into electoral fraud, with consequences for the Washington-Kyiv relationship if this did not occur.

Reaching Out

Connecting: Democratic ambassadors and diplomats were a crucial link between Ukrainian civil society and the full political spectrum in their home countries. Senior opposition campaign staff credited the Polish, U.S., French and German embassies with helping them connect with NGOs and political figures in their capitals. Such connections proved especially important during the post-election crisis that became the Orange Revolution. According to another senior opposition figure, diplomats also used "their connections with different camps to

deliver messages.” The embassies facilitated similar links with their home authorities and civic sectors, including with Rada (parliament) speaker Volodymyr Lytvyn, who played an important role in the post-election crisis roundtable mediation led by Polish President Aleksandr Kwasniewski, Lithuanian President Valdas Adamkus, and EU Common Foreign and Security High Representative Javier Solana.

Opposition figures credit democratic embassies for facilitating an early 2004 conference in Kyiv, which drew from the full Ukrainian political spectrum and many senior external actors; later in the year former U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright adopted and promoted the idea of visa bans and asset freezes on Ukrainians responsible for impeding a fair electoral process. Indeed, a prominent Kyiv oligarch and MP, Hrihoriy Surkis was denied entry to the U.S. A longtime Yushchenko advisor summed up the significance of this message to others not yet affected – “you will lose your honestly stolen money” if you try to steal the election. This had “the most effect... even on Kuchma himself.”

Convening: Most Western ambassadors hosted dinners at which political actors from across the entire political spectrum met, along with civic leaders, in “open and informal” discussions with political opponents that would not have occurred otherwise.

Facilitating: The opposition attributes the most significant facilitation by external actors in Ukraine not directly to democratic diplomats, but rather to an international NGO, the National Democratic Institute. NDI actively helped to mediate and broker the coalition among Our Ukraine Presidential candidate Viktor Yushchenko, the bloc of Yulia Tymoshenko, and Socialist Party leader Oleksandr Moroz. Moroz was the third-place finisher in the first round of the election and possessed valuable party infrastructure in northern and central Ukraine that the Yushchenko team needed for the second round.

U.S. Ambassador Carlos Pascual encouraged NDI and IRI party assistance programs to be open to the full political spectrum. Their popularity even with “parties of power” helped ensure that they could continue activity despite post-2002 government efforts to prevent their registration.

Financing: Democratic embassies engaged in some direct financing of civil society activities related to the electoral process, but the lion’s share of external funding for Ukrainian civil society came from development agencies, international NGOs, and foundations. Development agencies like Sweden’s International Development Agency (SIDA), Canada’s International Development Agency (CIDA), and USAID, had been fixtures on the donor scene since Ukraine became independent. But local civil society actors note that there appeared to be a lack of strategy and local knowledge in the international donor approach for some time. The Gongadze murder galvanized the political atmosphere. Democratic embassies feared for the integrity of the 2002 parliamentary elections, so the need for greater strategic coordination of donors and policy in support of electoral process was apparent. With training and funding to conduct exit polls for the 2002 elections, “the international community set the bar” for electoral transparency, according to a former ambassador serving at the time.

The diplomatic and donor community put together an array of programs designed to facilitate professional conduct, civic participation and verification of the 2004 presidential elections. According to a key diplomat involved, the level of coordination was “absolutely fantastic.” The system functioned as a clearing house, allowing donors to know what others were doing, identify gaps, and enabled them to volunteer resources to fill those gaps. The resulting breadth of civil society programs was considerable, including funding for domestic and international election observers, voter education and mobilization, independent media (thereby *informing* the Ukrainian public), exit polls and parallel vote counts. Eight western embassies and four NGOs mounted a modestly-priced effort to fund exit polls in both original rounds of the election: “money extremely well spent” according to Ukraine specialist Andrew Wilson.

In light of the circumstances, donors demonstrated great flexibility in order to get the job done. Civil society actors remarked that quality project ideas could get funded without inordinate difficulty, though donors shied away from more “sensitive” activities that might be perceived as partisan. Diplomats and civil society figures interviewed consistently stated that funding was granted to support the electoral process, and not given to parties or partisan projects. A western ambassador and a senior Ukrainian civil society figure agree that civic groups not explicitly political – such as business development and environmental groups – were as relevant as those with a political focus. The government “didn’t get that this was a broad question of civic engagement in public life,” according to the diplomat.

In addition, there were considerable efforts to work with the authorities to assist their capacity to conduct a proper electoral process. The Central Election Commission, lower-level electoral administrators, and judiciary all received technical advisory assistance and training.

Showcasing: According to a Ukrainian think-tank veteran now working to reform government administration, diplomats are especially well situated to impart the “lessons of democracy,” such as the function of coalitions, cohabitation, conflict of interest, and legal accountability. “The success of western assistance was the sharing of knowledge and skills of how democracy works,” in her view. Discussion of basic democratic and rule-of-law mechanics can be very instructive. Diplomats have engaged in roundtables on such issues to great effect. Democratic activists from Slovakia, Serbia and Georgia – sponsored by grants from the diplomatic corps and foundations – reinforced a conclusion most Ukrainian democrats had drawn from their own earlier failed protests – that nonviolence is essential to succeed in mass civic mobilization.

Defending Democrats

Demonstrating: Diplomats at all levels demonstrated their solidarity with Ukrainian citizens exercising their right to peaceably assemble by visiting the *Maidan* (Kyiv’s Independence Square) throughout the crisis. “I could see the representatives of all diplomatic missions...this was at the ambassadorial and staff level,” recalls a senior opposition logistician on the *Maidan*. “I saw (embassy) staff taking coffee and sandwiches to demonstrators.” In a less visible way, one democratic ambassador called an opposition campaign figure multiple times daily, telling him he did so in the knowledge his calls were monitored. He wanted the authorities to know they were in regular contact.

Protecting: Diplomats were among the international observers who monitored the mayoral election in April 2004 in the western town of Mukachevo, and witnessed serious intimidation and violence. The OSCE, Council of Europe, European Union and the US criticized these violations. The opposition credits the Czech, Slovak, Polish and Hungarian embassies with ensuring that the family of opposition candidate Viktor Baloha, could escape to safety.

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On the night of November 28th, U.S. Ambassador John Herbst heard from both the opposition and from government sources that Interior Ministry troops were being sent to clear the *Maidan* by force. There was serious potential for violence. Herbst called Washington, and Secretary of State Colin Powell attempted to reach President Kuchma, to communicate the message that he would be accountable for any violence that might ensue, while Ambassador Herbst himself passed the same message to Kuchma’s son-in-law Viktor Pinchuk and Chief of Presidential Administration Viktor Medvedchuk, regarded by many as the chief advocate of a crackdown. It is impossible to know what factors, in what proportion, tipped the balance in getting the troops to stand-down – there were also flurries of messages from Ukrainian Army and secret service officials warning against a crackdown, as well as opposition figure Yulia Tymoshenko meeting with the Army commander. A senior diplomat believes that “perhaps the Army was more important.” But these messages no doubt made an impression. “This was a moment when the international community showed solidarity,” according to one senior opposition figure.

Witnessing/Verifying: Diplomats not only engaged in their normal observation and reporting duties (including following the proceedings of the Rada and Supreme Court), but also traveled to observe distant campaign events and to investigate alleged abuses of state authority. They observed elections throughout the country, many as part of the International Election Observation Mission, built around the OSCE-ODIHR mission, and led by a representative of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly. But such witnessing was not restricted to high-profile events: Japanese embassy personnel were among the observers in a municipal election in the central city of Poltava prior to the 2004 presidential poll.

One current presidential advisor recalls a bus trip he organized for a cross-section of the diplomatic community to the eastern city of Donetsk, the center of Prime Minister and “party of power” presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovich, enabling them to learn firsthand of the difficulties the opposition had in holding events in the east.

In the tense last two weeks before the first round, the government began a new tactic: raiding civil society group offices, planting then “discovering” explosives, and charging these groups with planning terrorist acts. Civic

campaign PORA (“It’s Time”) offices were raided on October 15th in the first iteration of this approach. On the morning of October 23rd, security service officers appeared at the home of (Yellow) PORA leader Vladyslav Kaskiv, demanding to be let in to search for weapons. In the case of Mr. Kaskiv, two opposition MPs blocked the door and prevented a violent entry by using their parliamentary immunity. Three diplomats from the French Embassy and other international representatives from the OSCE, OSCE-ODIHR, and European Commission arrived to reinforce the MPs and forestall a violent break-in by the security personnel. Their presence had the desired effect: after a number of hours, the authorities withdrew.

CONCLUSION

The 17-day Orange Revolution, after many tense moments, succeeded. Mass popular discontent changed the equation, leading state institutions to reassess their roles and responsibilities. The Supreme Court and then Rada determined that the people would have another chance to express their will with minimal interference.

Despite the deep-seated tensions in a divided society, and concerted efforts to inflame them for political advantage, Ukrainian society as a whole showed remarkable restraint in avoiding violence throughout the crisis. As historian of Ukraine and its revolution Andrew Wilson succinctly put it, “it takes two sides to avoid an argument.”

Continued engagement is needed to help Ukrainians to secure the advances that they have made. According to one Ukrainian policy and administration analyst, “Once dictators are out, democracy doesn’t just flourish... Here democracy is only regulated in elections...After elections, we’re flying blind.” The full diplomatic toolbox now needs to be applied to assisting Ukrainians – especially the agents of civil society – to institutionalize democratic norms.

The Fall and Rise of Chilean Democracy: 1973-1989

INTRODUCTION

Chile's Drift into the Abyss

Chile historically prided itself on its long democratic and constitutional practice, as well as its relative moderation in politics. Unlike many of its neighbors, it experienced military rule for only brief intervals. The armed services maintained a solid professional distance from politics, and even public life.

But Chilean politics became increasingly rancorous and polarized in the 1960s. A division into left, center, and right permeated Chile's civil society. One Chilean, looking back on the era observed that by that point "moderation was always interpreted as a sign of weakness. Anyone who was moderate was presumed to have a sort of complex."

In 1970, Socialist Salvador Allende, the candidate of the left-wing Popular Unity coalition, won the Presidency in 1970 with a 36% plurality, confirmed in the parliament. His victory raised political polarization to new heights. When the economy became rattled in 1971 by investor and market reaction to government intervention, tension between the government's supporters and its critics increased until the parliament, in which Popular Unity did not hold a majority, adopted in 1973 a resolution accusing Allende of regularly violating the constitution and attempting to institute a totalitarian system. It was openly speculated that a coup d'état could follow.

Coup d'État and Repression

On September 11, 1973, the armed forces of Chile forcefully took over, bombing and storming La Moneda, the presidential palace in Santiago, against armed resistance, to find President Allende dead by his own hand.

Army General Augusto Pinochet led the armed forces commanders' junta, declaring that Chile was in a "State of War."

The repression against supporters of the Allende government and anyone deemed threatening was immediate and overwhelming: roughly 7000 persons were detained, brutally interrogated and tortured at the National Stadium, and scores summarily executed. Thousands ran to foreign embassies for protection. Violent repression also struck in rural areas, where it was more difficult to find refuge. Thousands were arrested and many simply "disappeared."

The judiciary, overwhelmingly partial to the coup, did not resist the blatant illegalities being perpetrated, nor did they seek to exercise their prerogatives when civilians were being brought before military tribunals, and often executed. Almost no petitions for *habeas corpus* were accepted.

While many Chileans welcomed the putsch, most believed that the armed forces would return to barracks and allow a return to civilian and democratic rule. They soon learned this was a false hope. Pinochet banned leftist political parties outright, suspended others, and in 1974 ordered the electoral rolls destroyed.

Church vs. State – Defending Human Rights

The Catholic Church was the only institution capable of resisting the junta's repression. Chilean civil society and any political actors remaining in Chile hunkered down in the aftermath of the coup, concerned with mere survival. "The myriad institutions of civil society, including neighborhood organizations, sports clubs and professional associations, were prohibited from meeting or tightly controlled," according to the then-Ford Foundation representative in Santiago.

Fortunately, Cardinal Raul Silva Henríquez gave support to those threatened by the junta. The ecumenical Pro-Peace Committee defended victims of human rights abuses, but was closed by Pinochet's order in 1975. The (Catholic) Vicariate of Solidarity succeeded it, helping an estimated 700,000 Chileans with legal, health, occupational and nutritional services between 1975 and 1979. International civil society was instrumental in financially sustaining these efforts.

The Church also supported the legal and evidentiary work to defend human rights, before a judiciary nearly totally sympathetic to Pinochet. According to Jaime Castillo, a pre-Allende justice minister who represented hundreds of prisoners and missing leftists, “judges almost always reacted negatively to us; they were servile and afraid, and so bitter against the Popular Unity (Allende’s government).” Ignacio Walker, later to serve as foreign minister after the return to democracy, recalled, “As a human rights lawyer, I lost all my cases...But winning wasn’t the point. We could still protect people by making their cases publicly known. The cost was higher” for the regime to do them further harm. The World Council of Churches in Geneva played a pivotal role in publicizing such cases. While this activity was nettlesome to the regime, it was tolerated. Confronting the Church would spur social resistance in predominantly Catholic Chile. The voluminous documentation collected throughout the post-coup years on arrests and locations of detention became instrumental in establishing the truth of what happened to thousands of Chileans deemed “enemies” of the regime.

What was preserved and accomplished in these especially harsh years provided the building blocks for Chile’s democratic revival.

Authoritarian “Institutionalization”

While in theory the first among equals in the junta, Pinochet proved more politically skilled at infighting than his rivals. He rapidly personalized and consolidated power, pressuring the junta to confer upon him the title “President of the Republic.” Pinochet claimed it was his destiny to rule, and set out to remake Chile with a “protected” political order that would preserve his role far into the future.

Following the UN General Assembly’s condemnation of the regime’s human rights abuses in December 1977, Pinochet called a “consultation” at the beginning of 1978, in which citizens were to vote on whether to “support President Pinochet in his defense of the dignity of Chile” against “international aggression” and to legitimize “the process of institutionalization.” A “yes” was represented by a Chilean flag; a “no” by a black one. The process, marred by inherent fraud (there was no voter register) and intimidation, led to a 75% “yes” vote.

In 1980, Pinochet promulgated a constitution that retained firm military control of government. Yet Pinochet consented to having a plebiscite in eight years’ time from the adoption of the constitution and his simultaneous “election” as president – he was the sole candidate – on September 11, 1980. He assumed his “re-election” in 1988 would be a foregone conclusion. Yet the stipulation for a plebiscite in 1988 led to Pinochet’s undoing as Chile’s dictator.

Part of Pinochet’s “institutionalization” included radical economic reform, spearheaded by free marketeers educated abroad, dubbed “the Chicago Boys.” Central to their effort to reform the Chilean economy was privatization of state assets, often at knockdown prices. Global financial markets initially responded enthusiastically, dulling the impact of denial of credits from international financial institutions. The new policies spurred an economic boom in the late 1970s and early 1980s. But the growth came to an abrupt end with a set of banking failures that led to state intervention to prop them up. The downward spiral accelerated, leading to a serious economic crisis.

Fighting the Brain Drain and Building Intellectual Capital for Change

Support to think-tanks and policy research groups, served to keep talented Chileans from joining the mass brain drain and engaged in investigating avenues to promote a return to democratic rule. Since their activities were academic in nature or packaging, there was some more leeway granted to them by the regime. “Some of the finest social science research in Latin America came to be associated with the Chilean informal academic sector,” according to Chile expert Oxford Professor Alan Angell – and it relied almost entirely on foreign funding.

Exile’s Silver Lining

The period in exile, following the catastrophic failure of Chile’s democratic institutions, was one of deep soul-searching and analysis of what could have brought on the crisis and coup. A common recognition slowly crystallized among them that functioning democracy provided the only protection for human rights, and this required a will to compromise.

While all Chilean democrats subjected themselves and their ideologies to rigorous self-criticism, the Socialists, the most numerous component of Allende's Popular Unity government, were affected the most profoundly. According to future president Ricardo Lagos, "Never in the history of Chile have so many Chilean women and men with varied degrees of cultural exposure – social leaders, politicians, heads of local associations, and many more – move(d) into the world...exile left its imprint, leading us to recognize the value of democracy, the higher value of human rights...abandoning the classical tools of the left in the 1960s and '70s, to be replaced by a revalorization of democracy, of human rights, of the place of the market." Chilean leftists developed an appreciation for European social democracy, which they once scorned.

Christian Democrats, inflexible prior to the coup, were also affected. Some left for Venezuela where they found their sister party had a different approach, valuing the virtues of compromise.

Economic Shock and Popular Reaction – Civil Society Stands Up

Protests and demonstrations began in 1983, sparked by a 14% contraction in GDP. Copper miners union leader Rodolfo Seguel organized the Workers' National Command, and called for a National Day of Protest, which successfully conveyed public discontent to the regime for the first time since the coup. This popular discontent from below began opening society and revived political parties, which remained illegal.

Pinochet appointed rightist National Party leader Sergio Onofre Jarpa Interior Minister and authorized him to initiate an opening ("*apertura*") for dialogue with right and centrist opposition parties.

The Catholic Church's Cardinal Francisco Fresno convened democratic opposition in the mid-1980s to forge unity. Attempts to bind the opposition together began in 1983 with the Democratic Alliance of centrist and rightist parties. This was followed by the National Accord (*Acuerdo*) for Transition to Full Democracy in 1985, which allied the moderate wing of the split Socialists with Christian Democrats for the first time. The Accord demanded an immediate return to democracy with free elections, and continued to reject the 1980 Constitution, with its scheduled 1988 plebiscite.

Chile's society remained divided through this period between those who saw the regime as a shield against chaos – a perception Pinochet did his best to promote, and those who saw dictatorial rule as the country's fundamental problem. According to Christian Democrat Genaro Arriagada, "There were really two worlds, two Chiles superimposed."

Demonstrations had no apparent impact. A daring 1986 attempt by leftist militants to assassinate Pinochet while leaving his country residence gave the dictator a needed pretext to violently reimpose a State of Siege, and tap into latent "middle Chilean" fears of chaos. One Chilean noted "we sank into total depression at the end of '86 because everything had failed – the communist strategy (of direct confrontation in street fights and raids) and the non-communist strategy (of demanding open elections)." There was still no strategy to end Pinochet's one-man rule.

If at First You Don't Succeed... Take Stock

In the next two years Chile's civil society and political opposition reflected, studied and debated, and developed a consensus strategy to never again allow the radical polarization that allowed military dictatorship to take hold. Chile's research institutes and think-tanks were pivotal.

Non-communist parties were legalized in 1987. Late that fall, Chilean social scientists met outside Santiago to review survey data they had collected, showing ambient fear pervasive in Chile's traumatized society. A divisive competitive electoral campaign would rebound to Pinochet's advantage; he could all too easily portray it as the "chaos" he had long warned against. But a strategy of embracing the plebiscite and engaging the full democratic spectrum to generate votes for the No held promise: it could breach the fear barrier that kept Pinochet in power, allowing truly free elections to follow.

This was initially a hard sell with many politicians who felt this would be a capitulation to Pinochet and an acceptance of his illegal constitution. However, they were eventually convinced and devoted themselves to drumming-up support for the No.

Think-Tanks, Civil Society and Opposition Work Together for the NO

Civil society, policy think-tanks, and political parties aligned in a coordinated coalition to generate support for a No vote. This involved a massive nationwide grassroots effort to register citizens to vote, undertaken by the *Crusade for Citizen Participation* or (Civic Crusade), which undertook in particular to register disaffected urban youth who doubted political change could be attained without violence. The *Command for the No* established itself in offices around the country to generate support for a No vote in the plebiscite. The political opposition aligned itself for the effort in a wider spectrum than ever before – eventually 17 parties – in the *Concertacion*. The plebiscite was promoted as a referendum on the hated dictatorship.

Getting citizens to register, encouraging them to overcome fear to vote, and building confidence and hope that victory and brighter future was possible were all critical to success. Innovation and creativity were also in abundant supply. The Civic Crusade held free rock concerts with bands kept off the airwaves – 18-30 year olds needed only show their voter ID cards for entry. The free TV campaign spots were set at an hour which the regime thought would limit viewership – 23:15-23:30 nightly for the month before the vote. But these creative promotional spots were built around the Command for the No's upbeat theme: "Joy is Coming!" and were viewed *en masse*. "We managed to register 7 million of 8 million potential voters," reminisced Ignacio Walker. "We spread the 'good news' that this plebiscite was a unique chance."

The NOs Have It!

In the plebiscite on October 5, 1988, the No won a decisive 55%-43% victory, drawing massive turnout of over 90%. Those within the junta who resented Pinochet's dominance welcomed the result. The air force chief acknowledged the defeat with a smile on his way in to meet his colleagues, before the official media announced the result. Pinochet had to accept the victory of the "No" which by the Constitution would require free elections for President the following year.

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INTERNATIONAL POLICY TOWARD THE PINOCHET REGIME

In 1973, international reaction to the coup against Allende's had been swift and almost uniformly negative; Swedish Premier Olaf Palme spoke for most of the democratic world when he bluntly described the junta as "despicable crooks."

Many democracies, and a number of non-democracies, acted immediately through their embassies to protect persons seeking asylum from persecution. Over the coming months and years, thousands of Chileans were resettled all over the globe. The fact that there were so many Chilean exiles elsewhere in Latin America (particularly in Venezuela, Mexico, and Argentina – until its 1976 coup), in Europe, and in North America (mostly Canada) gave Chilean democracy advocates a wide network in academia and civil society, as well as high visibility. The Soviet bloc took in many leftist refugees through its diplomatic missions and secondary routes. Many Marxists gravitated to the Soviet Union, East Germany, and even Romania, where Ceausescu had just become enamored of Mao's Cultural Revolution. But even convinced Marxists found the atmosphere in the socialist bloc stifling and later opted to relocate.

Estimates of the number exiled vary widely, but it easily ran into the tens of thousands, and likely much higher. As of 1982, an estimated 44% of Chilean expatriates were in Venezuela and Mexico, with another 3% in other Latin American countries. Democratic Europe collectively was host to another nearly 40%, with the largest groups living in Spain, France, Italy, and Sweden. Canada hosted a further nearly 7%, and Australia nearly 6%. By this stage, less than 3% were living in the Soviet bloc. Paris and Rome were especially popular destinations, seen as cultural oases linguistically and politically close to home.

"European governments and parties felt a special affinity with Chile. The Chilean opposition had a concept of democracy that was clearly similar to that of most European political movements, based on a combination of fair elections, social justice, and the observance of basic human rights." German party foundations – *Stiftungen* – were very involved in the 1980s in Chile, with the Christian Democratic *Konrad Adenauer Stiftung* estimated to have spent about 25 million Deutschmarks in Chile from 1983-1988, and its Socialist counterpart the *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung* spending almost 10 million DM.

Chile's enviably strong network with foreign academia, politics, and civic life was sustained with openness and generosity to political refugees. Chilean Andres Zaldivar was leader of the Christian Democratic International in Spain. The Institute for the New Chile was founded by in Rotterdam. Chile Democratico, Rome-based the collaborative effort of two Christian Democrats and two Popular Unity members, published *Chile-America* from 1974-1984. It gained a worldwide readership, with informed policy debates and analysis along with human rights reporting from Chile. External funding from Western European governments kept these initiatives afloat.

Most democracies maintained consistent anti-Pinochet policies, decrying human rights abuses in international fora and supporting through various channels Chilean civil society, but some influential democracies' policies fluctuated considerably between 1973 and 1988. In addition, arms sales continued from a number of European countries. Britain's Labour governments in the 1970s curtailed arms sales withdrew their ambassador from Santiago after abuse of a British dual national, but full representation – and an end to an embargo, returned with the Conservative Thatcher government. France's policy toward Chile took a markedly more critical turn with the arrival of Socialist President Mitterand in 1981, and new arms deals were not signed. As Portugal and Spain underwent democratic transitions after the coup, the favor Caetano and Franco had showered on Pinochet turned to hostility.

Democracies also put their money where their mouths were. "In per capita terms amongst the most generous of the aid donors was the Netherlands," according to Oxford Professor Alan Angell, who notes that the Dutch government established and funded a number of policy institutes that were incubators for Chilean exiles and experts. The Swedish Agency for Research Cooperation with Developing Countries and Canadian IDRC were also generous.

Perhaps the most influential shifts in policy came from Washington. U.S. President Nixon and his Secretary of State Kissinger did little to hide their relief at the ouster of a government that they asserted was turning Chile into "another Cuba." The brief Ford administration continued this, but reacted harshly to the 1976 car bombing assassination of Allende's foreign minister Orlando Letelier in downtown Washington, which killed an American citizen. The Carter administration was much harder on the Pinochet regime, co-sponsoring resolutions on human rights in the UN and applying financial levers. The Reagan administration disavowed Carter's human rights oriented policies, and welcomed a positive relationship with Pinochet. U.S. Ambassador, the political appointee and ideologue James Theberge, even attended the 11th anniversary of the coup, when other ambassadors stayed away. But this shifted definitively early in Reagan's second term, with Secretary of State George Shultz's decision in early 1985 to replace him with career diplomat Harry Barnes, Jr. Among arguments for this policy shift was the rank inconsistency of arguing for democracy in Sandinista Nicaragua while backing a blatant military dictatorship in Chile. Congress, in contrast to the White House, was consistently vocal against Pinochet, the most active and vocal of all being Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, who initiated a cutoff of military aid to Chile in 1976, and generated Congressional demands for human rights assessments on recipients of American aid.

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RESOURCES AND ASSETS OF DIPLOMATS IN CHILE

In Chile, especially in the weeks after the coup, diplomats employed their **immunity** to protect human life, evidenced by Swedish Ambassador Harald Edelstam, whom Pinochet expelled, and many others. Much later, U.S. Ambassador Harry Barnes was so assertive in his efforts to help Chileans restore their democracy that Pinochet considered declaring him *persona non grata*.

Most diplomats in Santiago were able to count on the public support of their **home authorities** in opposing the regime. Ambassador Barnes lined-up comprehensive backing with the executive branch, but also major figures in Congress and NGOs. The visible backing of the higher reaches of government encourages NGOs and donors to take notice and devote more resources, confident that their efforts will be effective. This was the case in Chile.

Pinochet wanted to appear immune to **influence** by external actors, but was vulnerable to political conditionality on IFI credits. This leverage was employed repeatedly. The assertive Ambassador Harry Barnes Jr., backed by the full U.S. government, may have lost a lot of his influence with Pinochet, but correspondingly gained it with the opposition and civil society, which had felt abandoned by regime-focused "quiet diplomacy" of the

Reagan Administration's early years. Many countries had strong moral and cultural influence on Chilean civil society, such as Venezuela with its two-party democracy and Germany's support through the *Stiftungen*. Spanish Socialist Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez was highly regarded.

In most cases, **funds** to assist civil society and political opposition did not go through embassies, but direct channels, mostly private and quasi-public (such as the German *Stiftungen*). Ambassadors on the ground had a role in helping these donors and programmatic organizations in their targeting, and in suggesting new funding efforts – especially before the plebiscite.

The democratic states' diplomats had a rich vein of **legitimacy** to mine in Chile – namely the full array of international human rights treaties and guarantees to which Chile had been party, enthusiastically, in its democratic and multilateralist pre-Pinochet days. The French and Dutch ambassadors referred to Chile's obligations under the Universal Declaration on Human Rights when opposition leftists were seized in 1984. Diplomats regularly invoked them when taken to task by the regime for appearances with victims of human rights abuses, demanding information about those disappeared, and demarching the government for its transgressions of international norms.

WAYS THESE ASSETS WERE APPLIED TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN CHILE

Golden Rules

Embassies **understood** the significance of Chile's democratic tradition, well-developed civic sector, and intelligentsia, and assisted individuals at risk by providing asylum and economic assistance, as well as direct assistance to those attempting to keep the embers of freedom alive in the smothering first years of dictatorship, though there was too little space for progress for almost a decade after the coup. The Church was the main protector and non-state actor, through the Pro-Peace Committee and its successor, the Vicariate of Solidarity.

Chile's strong cadre of academics, professionals and intellectuals had studied abroad and had wide networks well before the coup. Many suffered persecution, including expulsion from their positions in academia and administration, and consequently left Chile for positions overseas, leaving Chilean academia decimated. The international community recognized the necessity of maintaining this human resource in Chile, and numerous donors, some public and many private, helped maintain a lifeline for them by financing academic policy research institutes. In addition, diplomats such as Ambassador Barnes **respected** Chilean civil society by publicly engaging them upon his arrival. Barnes met publicly with Christian Democrat leader Gabriel Valdes soon after presenting his credentials to Pinochet, and with civil society figures in advance of introductions to Pinochet's officialdom which riled Pinochet greatly. The optics and reality of an ambassador **listening** to civil society were important in rebuilding civic self-confidence and optimism. Valdes noted at the time "The embassy has changed completely for us."

Though there was little systematic information **sharing** among diplomatic missions, there were *ad hoc* examples of collaboration in protecting threatened Chileans, especially in the immediate aftermath of the 1973 coup. Diplomatic missions certainly interacted and compared notes regularly with the other international actors on the Chilean scene: political party foundations, international labor union representatives, the international press corps, etc. Later, Ambassador Barnes created and headed a "Western Hemisphere democracy group" including the Argentine, Brazilian, and Costa Rican Ambassadors. According to Barnes, "We exchanged information and discussed how we (and our governments) might be more effective in promoting greater respect for human rights and democracy." The French Ambassador, Leon Bouvier, was also a strong advocate for human rights and democracy.

Truth in Communications

Immediately after the coup, embassy **reporting** was vital to convey the severity of violence and repression. With access to information utterly closed at the outset, and still restrictive even at the most liberal stage of the Pinochet regime, this transmission mechanism was important. Evidence of the massive human rights abuses endemic to Pinochet's regime often reached the international public – and Chileans – through this channel.

Informing the Chilean public of their solidarity and policies was nearly impossible with the self-censorship of non-government vetted media, though publications by expatriates, such as *Chile-America* out of Rome, received assistance.

The diplomatic pouch was among many tools Chilean human rights activists could rely upon to convey details of human rights abuses to the international community. Once safely outside and reported, this information could circulate back to Chilean society at large through foreign broadcast media and expatriate publications, conveying the truth about the regimes dark practices.

As space for independent media opened in the 1980s, diplomats directed assistance to independent media, such as *Analisis*, *La Epoca*, and CIEPLAN's popular economic review.

Working with the Government

From the beginning of his 16 years in power in 1973 to the end in 1989, Pinochet was an international pariah, rarely leaving the country. Few invitations were forthcoming. In 1980, Filipino dictator Ferdinand Marcos disinvited Pinochet from a planned state visit while Pinochet was en route to Manila. Pinochet was once again humiliated in 1983, when his government announced it was invited to the inauguration of Argentina's democratic president, Raul Alfonsin, only to have the Argentine Foreign Ministry disavow the invitation, which Pinochet extracted from Argentina's outgoing junta. Sweden made a point of not inviting any Chilean representative to assassinated Premier Olaf Palme's funeral in 1986.

Following the coup, Italy withdrew its ambassador, maintaining a charge' in Santiago until after Pinochet was defeated in the plebiscite. Sweden never replaced its ambassador, expelled in December 1973 for his active defense of human rights. Mexico abandoned relations altogether from 1974 on, after taking in a great number of refugees, including President Allende's widow. Britain withdrew its ambassador in 1975; he was not replaced for over four years.

While relations remained open with a number of democracies represented in Santiago, there was precious little **advising** of the Pinochet government. Nor were there noteworthy examples of government-to-government **dialoguing** on human rights and democratic practices, though there were protests from democracies.

Most of the state-to-state communications in the Pinochet dictatorship period are more properly considered **demarching**, such as demands for explanations of actions, pressure to release prisoners or explain "disappearances." French Ambassador Leon Bouvier demanded explanation of the killing of a French priest by police in a poor Santiago barrio. The previous year he was recalled for consultations by Foreign Minister Cheysson, who called Pinochet a "curse on his people," to protest human rights violations. Ambassador Barnes warned the Pinochet regime not to interfere with the 1988 plebiscite.

Reaching Out

Diplomats forged **connections** between Chilean civil society and opposition political figures and counterparts in their home countries as a matter of course, recognizing that creating and maintaining linkages to the outside world was essential. The web connecting Chile to the democratic world developed into an incredibly strong and resilient one. Diplomats interacted consistently with Chilean civil society and complimented the efforts of their own societies to remain engaged.

Democratic embassies – particularly those of Canada and a number of European countries – regularly invited opposition and civic figures to **convene** for free discussions amongst themselves and the diplomatic corps (which, of course, would tap into this resource for reporting on the situation). This circuit, together with connections which were forged among refugees abroad, developed into a network which proved very important later in planning the return to democracy.

As the repression loosened somewhat in the early and mid-1980s, the diplomatic corps worked to **facilitate** greater cooperation among the democratic opposition parties. In May 1985, Chilean official media reported the West German Ambassador stating that his country, along with Britain and the U.S., was willing to mediate

between Pinochet's government and the opposition, which had become emboldened by public discontent. Soon thereafter, Ambassador Barnes arrived and pressed opposition politicians to come together behind a common approach to press for an end to dictatorship. But despite progress in building constructive relationships among parties, there was no clear strategy until late 1987 and early 1988.

Post-disbursed funds were not a major feature of international engagement, but **financing** by governments, quasi-governmental organization and private foundations was indispensable for the survival and development of Chilean civil society.

Embassies ensured that worthy efforts got noticed, and this lifeline gave Chilean civil society the ability to develop their winning strategy of contesting the plebiscite.

In just one example, the U.S. government had hitherto been far less engaged in financially supporting civil society than its European counterparts, mostly operating through development agencies and quasi-governmental institutes. The U.S. Agency for International Development funded the Civic Crusade, and the National Endowment for Democracy and National Democratic Institute both assisted the Command for the No.

The most effective **showcasing** of democratic practices and norms was done outside Chile. Chile's tens of thousands of political and intellectual exiles experienced free democratic societies themselves, some after having had the opportunity to see firsthand the "advanced socialism" of the Soviet bloc. The honeymoon in the socialist paradise was brief for most. The Secretary-General of the Socialist Party, Altimirano, who like many socialists originally fled to East Germany, later said "I jumped the wall," and was attracted to Paris by France's socialist government under President Francois Mitterand. Mitterand and Italian Communist Party leader Enrico Berlinguer, progenitor of democratic "Eurocommunism," were attractive poles for the exiled Chilean left. Embassies held regular cultural events that displayed the fruits of an open, democratic society.

Defending Democrats

Democratic diplomats regularly and creatively **demonstrated** their support for democratic principles, fundamental freedoms, and human rights in Chile throughout the Pinochet era. Initially, this was accomplished most urgently through providing humanitarian protection to those threatened with death or torture by the regime (see below). Later, diplomats like Carter-era U.S. Ambassador George Landau made clear on his arrival in 1977 that "We can't tell a government what it can do, but we can tell it what will happen if it doesn't do certain things." Recalls of ambassadors were legion in Chile: Mexico severed relations, Sweden never replaced Ambassador Edelstam after he was expelled, Italy didn't reinstitute full ties until after Pinochet was shown the door by voters in 1988, and Britain and France recalled their ambassadors in protests during Pinochet's reign.

Other notable examples were the appearance of a host of democracies' diplomats, including those of France, Spain, Italy, Belgium, and the U.S., at the funeral of a young man burned to death by police in 1986. The young woman who was with him was also severely burned, but survived, and was given asylum and treated in Montreal, Canada.

Attending events by the opposition, even when it remained illegal, showed the regime that the democratic world recognized these activities as inherently legitimate, not only affording Chilean democrats some insulation from repression, but also showing the democratic world was with them. The same principle applied to human rights events, at which democratic ambassadors and other diplomats made a point to be visible. The political use of forced exile by the regime was also publicly derided, even as Pinochet tried to earn point by incrementally allowing some exiles to return from the mid-1980s on. As one western diplomat stated "exile is not a question of numbers, it is a question of principle. Even one exile is too many."

Diplomats also encouraged Chilean democrats in their conviction that victory in the plebiscite was not only possible, but likely if the regime did not interfere. "I think the 'No' will win, if the process doesn't get interrupted," said Ambassador Barnes two days before the vote.

Democracies were very active in **protecting** Chileans (and other Latin Americans) threatened by the regime. The most vivid examples of this activity should be viewed through a primarily humanitarian lens, in the period immediately following the coup. The National Refugee Commission (CONAR) was set-up by leading church

figures to get threatened persons to foreign embassies where they could be protected. The stories are quite harrowing and vivid.

Swedish Ambassador Harald Edelstam said at the time that “the role of the Swedish Embassy is to save the lives of people who are in danger. We know there are lists of people who supported the former regime and who are considered by the new military authorities (to be) criminals and therefore could be executed.” Edelstam took the entire Cuban Embassy staff under his protection, and escorted them to an Aeroflot flight out of Chile. New Zealand’s Ambassador, John McArthur, spirited a trade union leader disguised as a woman to the residence before arranging for the Swedish Embassy to arrange for his asylum. While later protecting a Uruguayan woman who had just undergone surgery, Edelstam got in a confrontation with police and was expelled. Mexican Ambassador Gonzalo Martinez Corbala gave refuge to more than 500 at the embassy and residence. In later testimony to Spanish prosecutors who indicted Pinochet, he noted many of those he sheltered bore signs of torture inflicted at the National Stadium. Two attempted asylees were shot in the back by police at the embassy door.

Immediately after the coup, roughly 50 terrorized Chileans and foreign nationals likely to be persecuted by the regime came to the door of the Canadian Embassy seeking asylum. Without instructions the young diplomats admitted the Chileans, who remained in the chancery of the embassy until the Canadian government could evacuate them and their families two months later. Venezuela dispatched a plane to get Allende-era foreign minister Orlando Letelier after his release in 1974.

Diplomats continued to act throughout the dictatorship to protect Chileans. Though the massive wave of refugees naturally followed the coup and immediate repression, as late as December 1987 there were more than 500 requests for asylum per month, mostly to Sweden, with large numbers also to Canada and neighboring (and by then democratic) Argentina.

Through holding public meetings with human rights defenders and other threatened Chileans, diplomats granted an element of protection to them.

The Chilean Catholic Church, and the Church-backed Vicariate of Solidarity and those operating under its protection performed the most important acts of **witnessing, verifying**, investigating and documenting the crimes and human rights violations of the Pinochet regime, in addition to the courageous work undertaken by many members of the clergy in protecting and defending human rights activists in danger or in prison.

Diplomats performed this role as well in the immediate aftermath of the coup, availing themselves of their immunity to find some of the missing and protect a great number of Chileans and foreign nationals who were sought by the regime in its “State of War.” Their reports not only went back to their governments, but frequently to the world at large through the media, generating international outrage.

Chileans planning the No campaign determined early on that election observation during the plebiscite would be essential. Many felt the regime was fully capable of killing to maintain power. Foreign observers “helped (Chileans) feel they could vote with impunity.” Genaro Arriagada, a Christian Democrat scholar who headed the Technical Committee for the No believed that international observers were the “best guarantee” against fraud, or worse – against a move by the regime to maintain power through “disappearing” electoral workers and voters. “Their mere presence in the country is a guarantee...an insurance. That function is invaluable.” Ambassador Barnes and his colleagues, especially from Latin America, ensured that the observers came – roughly 400 of them, officially as “tourists.” High-profile international observers included U.S. Senators Edward Kennedy and Richard Lugar, as well as former Presidents Carter and Ford. “Had the eyes of the world not been on Chile and had there not been international observers for the plebiscite, than I think that Pinochet in any number of ways would have gotten away with it,” thought the U.S. DCM, George Jones. And so the democratic world kept the pressure on Pinochet to ensure that the 1989 elections were held.

CONCLUSION

Diplomats joined the whole wider community of international NGOs and intergovernmental organizations – and their complex open societies back home – to support Chile’s democratic revival. But the success of the No

campaign by Chile's civil society, intellectuals, and democratic opposition to Pinochet was owed to domestic initiative, strategy, and pragmatism.

The latter element had been a traditional feature of Chile's democratic practice, but was effaced by doctrinaire ideologies in the 1960s. Most Chileans attribute the democratic breakdown in 1973 to domestic factors, despite foreign influence in the 1960s and 1970s. But the experience of losing democracy and its mechanisms to protect human rights and fundamental freedoms for nearly two decades has informed Chilean society. Former President Ricardo Lagos states that "there is one consensus today shared by everyone: 'never again.' Never again can Chile repeat it...that rupture in Chile's soul. Never again."

Belarus: Europe's Last Dictator?

INTRODUCTION

Unlike its neighbors to the West, Belarus relapsed into authoritarianism soon after its transition to democracy began and it became an independent state. While a number of post-socialist countries have had troubled transitions after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the breakup of the USSR in 1991, Belarus remains a special case; deserves the oft-heard appellation “the last dictatorship in Europe.”

Belarus lies on the edge of the former Soviet Union's western frontier, and is predominantly populated by Belarusians – an Eastern Slavic people (along with Russians, Ukrainians and Ruthenians). Situated in the flat “shatter belt” of Eastern Europe, the country has been dominated by stronger regional powers for most of its existence. While Belarusians are a distinct people, national identity remains an issue.

Soviet Era

Incorporated into the Soviet Union after a brief window of independence after Soviet Russia's separate peace with Germany in 1918, Belarus was split between Poland and the Soviet Union in 1921. Heavy repression and deportations were the norm in the interwar period. In 1939, with the Molotov-von Ribbentrop Nonaggression Pact, Belarus grew to incorporate ethnically mixed areas of what had been eastern Poland.

As a “front line republic,” Byelorussian SSR became in the following decades a center of the Soviet military-industrial complex, as a prosperous showcase center of Soviet heavy industry, high technology engineering, and the military-industrial complex.

The explosion of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor just over the southern border in the Ukrainian SSR in April 1986 had a devastating impact on Belarus, where 70% of the fallout fell, particularly in the southern agricultural regions around Home . Up to 20 percent of the country is unsuitable for residence or agriculture. The health effects on millions of Belarusians are being assessed and debated to this day.

When Gorbachev launched into his *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) policies in an attempt to reinvigorate the moribund Soviet system, increasing the space for social and political discussion, Belarus' own national reawakening was hobbled more than that of other republics by social dislocation, Sovietization and Russification, although the discovery of mass graves from the Stalin era at Kurapaty in 1988 accelerated these stirrings.

While the electoral law favored the communists (who won 84% of the seats), the March 1990 elections for the Supreme Soviet of Belarus were relatively free. The republic declared sovereignty that July. But it was only after the failed August 1991 coup, and a meeting of Byelorussian SSR Supreme Chair Stanislav Shushkevich with the Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk in December 1991 that dissolved the USSR that Belarus became independent.

Post-Independence Democratic Window – and its Closure

The country faced all the difficulties a “Newly Independent State” might expect: institutions that now had to govern but had been facades for real party power, misdeveloped economies, public distrust of government and lack of social capital, etc. Belarus' economy took a heavy hit as producer of finished products for the now nonexistent Soviet market.

The learning curve was steep at the time for all involved – including the democratic countries and international institutions that aimed to assist a democratic transition they had not expected. The international community tended to focus mainly on existing state institutions, large scale economic assistance, Chernobyl relief, and – understandably – getting the nuclear weaponry stationed in Belarus (and Ukraine and Kazakhstan) under central control of Moscow.

Enter Lukashenko...

Belarus' parliament adopted a new constitution with a presidential system in March 1994. In the elections that

followed that July, relatively unknown former collective farm director Aleksandr Lukashenko was elected by a whopping 80 percent of the vote, winning on a populist platform. He also enjoyed the backing of numerous established and moneyed interests, who assumed he would do their bidding. He constituted a “project” for them.

The following year, independent Belarus elected its first parliament, the 13th Supreme Soviet. Lukashenko did not have a working majority, being able to count on less than a third of the votes. All the same, he began to exhibit the paranoia and bizarre behavior for which he would later earn renown. In September 1995, his armed forces shot down a hot air balloon crossing Belarusian airspace in an international race, killing the American pilot and co-pilot. Pressure also increased on the use of the Belarusian language in this period, following the adoption of Russian as a second state language and the reversal of the state bureaucracy’s post-independence transition from Russian to Belarusian.

...Exit Democracy: Lukashenko’s Authoritarian Consolidation

Lukashenko moved to systematically marginalize democratic opposition to his rule. His increasingly evident authoritarian bent brought together a strange partnership in the parliament of the Party of Communists of Belarus and economic liberals. Working to head-off impeachment, he developed a clone party, the Communist Party of Belarus, and two others, to siphon support from his adversaries. He then dissolved the parliament, and held a referendum in November 1996, confident that his clone parties, and those he co-opted or divided from within, would allow him to govern comfortably in his new super-presidential system – and not surprisingly succeeded in getting it approved. “By replacing the 13th Supreme Soviet by a Parliamentary Assembly composed of the pro-Lukashenko members of the 13th Supreme Soviet he eliminated the opposition from all state institutions (parliament, Constitutional Court, government, vertical state structure, state controlled media) and reduced substantially the operational breathing space for the political and social opposition.” “Lukashenko had set up a system more akin to the ‘regime parties’ of the old East Germany.” His use of “administrative resources” – the machinery of state, including the security services (the KGB retains its title to this day), enforced the consolidation of power. Public institutions merely became fronts for essentially unlimited executive power, and elections were fixed to a point that was Soviet in the method of shameless execution. According to Wilson, by “denying any normal space for meaningful contest...public politics since 1996 has often been little more than shadow-boxing.”

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Pressure on independent factors of public life – independent broadcasters and publications, academic freedom in educational institutions, civic associations, minority religious congregations, etc. – became increasingly acute in the late 1990s. Opposition figures began to fear assassination or being “disappeared” – a fate that met some former regime officials, former Interior Minister Yuri Zahkharanka and Vice Speaker of the Parliament Viktor Hanchar who began to develop plans to oust Lukashenko. One opposition leader, Henadz Karpenka, died in April 1999 “when a brain hemorrhage was apparently provoked by coffee-drinking,” according to the official version. Russian ORT network journalist Dmitri Zavadsky was also “disappeared.”

Helmut Frick, Germany’s Ambassador who arrived in 2001, “expected to see the agony of the old Soviet system. I was somewhat surprised to find how this microcosm was still working. It was quite familiar that all these systems created a façade of an ‘independent press, human rights,’ etc.” Practically speaking, information was rigidly controlled. The same Potemkin freedoms held true for civil society, according to Frick. “Some NGOs could exist, but they were unable to meet. Their contracts to rent venues were not allowed. Print houses wouldn’t accept their commissions.” Lukashenko’s was a “softer regime than the GDR or Romania, but (it was) as efficient in suppressing human rights and the opposition tendency.”

Beginning in 1995, Lukashenko began to pursue a union with Russia. His deluded assumption at the time was that he could assume leadership of the Russia-Belarus Union and become the *vozhd* (leader) of the entire territory through direct elections. The succession of Yeltsin by Vladimir Putin soon robbed him of this delusion. But the union ensured continued preferential economic treatment, most importantly on oil and gas, but also in terms of markets for Belarusian goods. As the isolation of Belarus deepened, Lukashenko in turn deepened his relationships with other dictatorships: Milošević’s Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Iraq, and China. The union was not without its conveniences for well-connected Russian arms dealers, providing a conduit for illicit arms sales, for which Belarus soon became legendary.

Lukashenko's authoritarian grip tightened through this decade, with a series of faux elections: parliamentary in 2000 and 2004 (along with a referendum to allow a third presidential term), and presidential in 2001 and 2006. He ensured his victories in each with the application of his media dominance (which by now is nearly total, save the Internet, which he aims to control soon), intimidation and harassment of the opposition, and the always useful organs of the state – the so-called “administrative resources.”

By the presidential elections of March 19, 2006, the opposition applied lessons learned from other cases, particularly the Orange Revolution that had occurred next door in Ukraine just over a year before – and which was witnessed in person by many in the Belarusian opposition. These were opposition unity, non-violent discipline, and popular concentration in visible public space while awaiting electoral results, among others. Two opposition challengers, Professor Aliaksandr Milinkevich and Dr. Aliaksandr Kazulin, ran against Lukashenko. But the regime was closing the remaining public space by deregistering and harassing NGOs, for example, and criminalizing assistance to them from abroad. Meanwhile, a crowd of opposition supporters numbering in the thousands assembled in downtown Minsk and prepared to camp out to protest the unfair election results. But the square was ultimately cleared after four days with 150 arrests. A later march to a prison to demand the release of political prisoners, led by Aliaksandr Kazulin, led to the violent assault on him and a number of others. He remains imprisoned for “hooliganism.” Scores of peaceful demonstrators were violently assaulted and arrested by the regime at a demonstration to mark the 90th anniversary of the short-lived Belarusian People's Republic.

International Policy Responses

The international community's democracies, particularly in Europe and the U.S., undertook efforts to assist Belarus' independence and democracy in the early 1990s, a period of heady optimism on the part of the established democracies. Much assistance to Belarus at this time focused on securing the nuclear weapons on the country's territory left by the Soviet armed forces and ensuring their shipment to Russia, as well as on treating the health and environmental legacy of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster. Democracy assistance focused heavily on state institutions, and economic assistance was channeled through the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. There was not much of a civil society to support. International organizations themselves were adapting, with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe being formed and NATO constructing the North Atlantic Cooperation Council as an anteroom to enlargement.

Lukashenko's election in mid-1994 did not impede the country's entry into NATO's Partnership for Peace program, open to all post-socialist Eurasian states, in January 1995. This arrangement was not strictly security-focused: it also included political undertakings in the same vein as the OSCE's Copenhagen commitments.

The policies of the international community began to shift in the mid-1990s, when the Belarusian government veered away from its commitments to democratic practice, observance of human rights and rule of law – particularly the 1996 presidential coup. The EU's institutions and the Council of Europe adopted a number of sanctions as a result.

In response to the government's undercutting of democracy, the OSCE dispatched in 1997, with the full approval of the Belarusian authorities, an Advisory and Monitoring Group (AMG) headed by German Ambassador Hans Georg Wieck. The mission had a very broad mandate to provide advice to both governmental and nongovernmental actors in Belarus, and to endeavor to get the government to bring its practices into conformity with the international norms to which it subscribed as an OSCE member – including rule of law and freedom of the media. The AMG was a new tool for democratic states to work directly in a country for the implementation of internationally accepted democratic norms, and it was reaffirmed at the Istanbul OSCE Summit in 1999 by the leaders of all OSCE members, including Belarus' Lukashenko Government.

Yet in the same period, there was a bizarre confrontation between the Belarusian government and the diplomatic community over diplomatic residences at Drozdzy in Minsk, in an area that also includes the presidential residence. Officially, the eviction of western diplomats from their residences was for “necessary repairs,” and many were physically prevented from reentering, with doors welded shut. There are competing theories of why Lukashenko insisted on it. According to one later serving ambassador, it was simply because “Luka is one of those guys who wants to show you who's boss.” Another noted that with his Stalinist mentality, Lukashenko

didn't *need* a justification, but it was probably that he didn't want foreign diplomats so close to his home. These former residences are now part of a park around President Lukashenko's residence, "guarded like the East-West frontier - with barbed wire." This crisis led to the withdrawal of these ambassadors from the country – in the case of the European countries for some months, in the case of the U.S., for well over a year. Eventually a "ridiculous[ly small] sum" was paid in compensation to the German government; the U.S. received some compensation but no official approval for a permanent diplomatic residence.

International pressure for a return to democracy and support for civil society and activist NGOs increased in the run up to the September 9, 2001 presidential elections, as did support for civil society actions like election monitoring, get-out-the-vote campaigns, and assistance to independent media. But just as the international community began to react to the elections, the attacks in New York and Washington, DC occurred, diverting all international attention and allowing Lukashenko greater breathing space for further repression. During this period, the Belarusian, Russian, and some other CIS governments succeeded in forcing the OSCE to accept that OSCE projects had to be approved by the government. The reduced freedom of action of this „legally installed bridgehead needed to coordinate support for the political and social opposition and...free and fair elections,” meant the end of this unique policy tool.

But assistance to Belarus' growing civil society continued. In 2004, the US Congress adopted the Belarus Democracy Act, authorizing assistance for democratic forces, in essence augmenting resources for assistance that had already been taking place. The European Union published a "non-paper" entitled "What the European Union could bring to Belarus" in November 2006, listing the benefits on offer to the country if the government changed its policies on a host of human rights issues. Today, the Lukashenko government continues to rail against what it claims are unfair western conditions, threatening to play a geopolitical card and draw closer to Russia as a result. In an unprecedented collaboration, domestic and international NGOs mobilized against Belarus' candidacy for a seat on the new UN Human Rights Council in 2007, leading to the UN General Assembly rejection of its bid in favor of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Slovenia for the two European seats.

At the time of writing, the Belarusian authorities have expelled not only US Ambassador Stewart and a large complement of diplomats in an effort to cripple democracy support activities, though ostensibly in retaliation for sanctions against the Belneftshchim energy concern.

Resources and Assets of Diplomats in Belarus

The democratic diplomatic community in Minsk includes EU members the UK, France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, Bulgaria and Romania. The United States also has an Embassy, as do Serbia, Turkey, Georgia, Ukraine, Japan, South Korea, India and Israel. Other democracies cover Belarus from embassies in Moscow, Warsaw, Vilnius, or Kyiv. The European Commission will open in April 2008 its representative office in Minsk, finally giving it a direct presence on the ground. Diplomats on the ground in Minsk use the resources at their disposal, sometimes quite creatively, to assist civic and democratic activists.

A wide cross-section of diplomats have employed their diplomatic *immunity* on behalf of dissidents, through visits to them in prisons and other detention facilities.

Minsk-based diplomats could count on the strong *support of home authorities* – more than most diplomats can count on. This backing was manifest in public statements by senior officials. For example, US Ambassador Karen Stewart was able to arrange for an audience with President Bush for a broad group of Belarusian civil society and opposition representatives. The French Ambassador arranged similar high-level meetings with Aliaksandr Milinkevich when he was the main opposition candidate for the 2006 presidential elections, as have the Czechs, Poles and others.

The *influence* of diplomatic missions in Belarus on Lukashenko's policies varies, so coordination among these missions is crucial to maximize their collective access and leverage. Most recently, missions have collaborated to attain the unconditional release of political prisoners, achieving some success – only one of those seven originally listed prisoners remains in custody, though at the time of writing 14 remain jailed for protests on January 10, 2008, and perhaps a hundred from the March 25, 2008 protest. Diplomats on the ground also convey to their

governments whom to target in personal sanctions, for example, to build leverage on the government. These lists have expanded over time to include figures involved in repression, undermining the electoral process, and regime-connected business leaders.

Many embassies and other diplomatic missions also have dedicated embassy *funds* to assist civil society actors in Belarus and Belarusians outside toward promoting democratic values. Most of these funds are channeled through projects that do not require governmental approval, such as scholarships and other support for students who left Belarus fleeing repression or who remain in Belarus but have been expelled for political activism.

Solidarity with Belarusians seeking a freer political system has been a consistent point for the diplomatic community. For example, the OSCE AMG “established a fund for support to families of victims of prosecution, which included legal advice and or legal defense in court.” Belarusian civic and opposition activists note solidarity is best displayed by diplomatic visibility at events.

The international and domestic *legitimacy* of diplomats’ efforts to assist those trying to instill democratic practice in Belarus has been a pivotal tool. The fact that Belarus is a member of the OSCE, which entails the formal and legal embrace of a whole host of democratic norms gives the OSCE mission access to prisoners denied to other diplomats. The wide-ranging OSCE AMG mandate allowed it to facilitate negotiations between the government and opposition in the (vain) hope of ending the deadlock prior to parliamentary and presidential elections.

Using the Diplomats’ Toolbox in Belarus

Golden Rules

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The democratic diplomatic corps in Belarus makes a practice of *listening* to the concerns and positions of civil society and the repressed political opposition, both in frequent meetings and by attending public events. The EU heads of mission conduct regular collective field visits to the regions of Belarus to meet representatives of civil society and local government.

A number of diplomats, such as former U.S. Ambassador George Krol, have made a point of learning to speak in Belarusian for public addresses and interaction with Belarusians, despite – or because of – the efforts by the Lukashenko regime to squeeze Belarusian out of the public square. This conveys *respect* for Belarusians. Swedish diplomat Stefan Ericsson “is very popular in Minsk... (he) speaks Belarusian better than 70% of Belarusians,” according to one Belarusian civil society figure. A senior opposition advisor said that such ability to speak Belarusian “is very important for those with national consciousness.” Ericsson also has translated Belarusian literature into Swedish. Embassies have assisted in getting Belarusian literature translated into English, German, and French to introduce the country to a European audience. To commemorate the 90th anniversary of the Belarusian National Republic, several senior diplomats took dictation in Belarusian at the Francisak Skaryna Belarusian Language Society in Minsk. In the words of one Belarusian civic activist, the supportive diplomatic role has been “tremendous” while the government has worked to identify use of the Belarusian language with opposition political activity.

Coordination among diplomatic missions, including strategizing and *sharing* of information, is a stock feature of the Minsk diplomatic corps. The EU heads of missions meet regularly. Ambassador Frick remembers that the EU had “high standing” with the Belarusian population and was an “attractive brand,” so there is a premium on being seen to act together on the ground. The U.S. has a more fraught relationship with the Belarusian authorities than the EU, so has less access, making coordination all the more important. Sharing ensures that trials and events are covered, that recommendations to capitals are in sync, and that regime efforts to divide the democracies – on unconditional release of political prisoners, for example – do not succeed. There is also coordination between the US, EU, and other concerned countries at the capital level and in donor meetings, which take place roughly every two months, usually in Brussels.

This was not always the case. Friction among staffs of diplomatic missions, often generated not only by personality conflicts among the opposition but also fomented by the Belarusian security services, undermined unity of effort. Prior to the 2001 presidential elections, Ambassadors Kozak and Wieck met to establish a positive working relationship.

Truth in Communications

The regular *reporting* of diplomats from Minsk has conveyed the deepening level of repression through the consolidation of the Lukashenko regime, and has generated targeted policies to leverage more space for free civic activity in Belarus. The OSCE AMG, for example, with its wide mandate, reported regularly to the OSCE Permanent Council on the repression of the regime, including the “disappearance” of regime opponents in the late 1990s and the jailing of many others.

The importance of media dominance to the Lukashenko government is hard to overstate. Most people get their news from television, and that is state-controlled – and often mesmerizingly bizarre in its programming. The print realm is hardly any better. Ambassador Frick recalls that “small newspapers were allowed to appear, but they...couldn’t be distributed throughout the capital – so their messages were kept marginal. The folks outside Minsk didn’t even *know* that there was a different line.” A recent policy paper states that “dissenting voices and media outlets (have been) silenced by repressive media laws and licensing rules, libel suits, arbitrary closure... discriminatory pricing for print and distribution, and systematic harassment of journalists.”

The EU, US and others work to *inform* the Belarusian public through sponsoring or hosting broadcast efforts into Belarus from abroad, especially neighboring countries, including the EU-funded European Radio for Belarus, Polish and Lithuanian Belsat, and US-sponsored Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. However, due to their being primarily on shortwave frequencies, the listenership of these stations is unfortunately rather low.

Diplomats work around the media blockade to inform the public. The November 2006 EU non-paper “What the European Union could bring to Belarus,” was used by the EU diplomatic missions as a platform for presentations not only in Minsk but country-wide, working around the Lukashenko regime’s control of the broadcast media and severe strictures on print journalism. With the arrival of the EC’s own representation in Minsk, Belarusian civic activists hope that this outreach will grow. Diplomats also convey information materials in and out of Belarus – grant reports, records, magazines, newspapers and other communications.

Ambassador Stewart notes that while Belarusian TV follows all her public appearances, if any of the footage is used, it is never to allow her to speak, but to cast her activities in a negative light. Ambassador Frick made a point of telling the Belarusian media about his visit to hunger striking opposition figures. The existence of the external broadcasting channels, however, provides one method for diplomats to communicate unmediated to a Belarusian audience in a roundabout way.

Working with the Government

Given the nature of the Lukashenko regime, working with the government is almost always difficult, and often thankless. But Belarus offers two perhaps unique diplomatic examples: the first involving the OSCE AMG under Ambassador Hans Georg Wiecek, the second involving an attempt to construct a roadmap out of isolation by the American Ambassador, Mike Kozak.

The OSCE Advisory and Monitoring Group was mandated in 1997 “to ‘assist’ in the establishment of democratic institutions and was duty bound to monitor the complying of Belarus with the OSCE Human Rights and Democracy standards.” *Advising* the government on how to return to democratic practice after its 1996 departure, specifically on “re-introducing OSCE standards into the legislation on parliament, electoral code, media and penal code” was Ambassador Wiecek’s mission. He established separate working groups with the government and opposition, in an effort to achieve concrete progress. The unique mandate and leverage of the mission was brought to a halt in 2002, with the Belarusian authorities denying visa renewal to its international staff in an effort to force the OSCE mission to clear all projects with the government, supported in the OSCE by Russia and others in the CIS. The successor mission was launched in 2003 having agreed to that stipulation.

Ambassador Mike Kozak endeavored to initiate a constructive *dialogue* with the Belarusian authorities soon after he arrived. Lukashenko and his officials complained about the “unfair” sanctions and restrictions that were applied to the regime, and asked how to get rid of them. Ambassador Kozak sat down with then-First Deputy Foreign Minister Martinov and developed a precise roadmap, with actions on one side leading to corresponding reactions on the other. He began the process by asking Martinov to list what specific actions he wanted from the

US government, while Kozak made a list of his own, listing actions the U.S. wanted the Belarusian government to take. Kozak recalled “What he wanted was a restoration of (trade privileges) foreign assistance, etc – all in the economic and diplomatic sectors. What I listed was the election commission, a release of political prisoners, media freedom, and an investigation of the disappearances – all in the human rights and democracy columns. Then, we tried to sequence and link these wishes, to determine good faith. It was literally cut and pasted, with scissors and tape.” Unfortunately, though there was broad approval in the Belarusian government for this approach, it was scuppered by the Chairman of the Security Council Viktor Sheiman and Lukashenko himself: “he balked at investigation of some killings.” But the exercise was worthwhile all the same, as “we drove some wedges within the (parts of the regime) that (were) reasonable, and only Luka and his close cronies rejected it. It was still worth doing to prove that there was not unremitting, implacable hostility...I traded on this capital for the rest of my time there.” The unconditional release of all political prisoners remains linked to a lifting of certain sanctions and restrictions.

Various EU embassies hold consultations with state administrative bodies, particularly with the Foreign Ministry. In 2007, during its local presidency, Slovakia consulted with the Belarusian MFA’s political directors, consular departments, and international law departments. “The aim of all these activities is not to support the self-isolation of (the) regime, but (rather) to create basic preconditions for future full-fledged dialogue and cooperation” following liberalization, according to Slovak Chargé d’affaires ubomir Rehak.

Belarusian civil society figures appreciate the value of such dialogues. One notes the utility of contacts with mid-level officials, to illustrate what would be possible for “a different kind of Belarus.” But he adds “such engagement should not come at the expense of civil society, nor should it be detrimental... An increase in engagement should also come with a boost in assistance to civil society.”

In addition, the broader diplomatic community regularly *demarche* the Belarusian authorities on their violation of internationally recognized human rights norms (such as the “disappearance” or imprisonment of opponents), and advised home authorities on which responsible officials, regime associates, and firms should be subject to asset freezes and visa bans. Belarusian opposition figures and independent observers, as well as diplomats, make the connection between concerted diplomatic pressure from ambassadors and the release of a majority of political prisoners. At the time of writing, former opposition presidential candidate Aliaksandr Kazulin is the last prisoner remaining of those whose release has been demanded by democratic governments, though scores more were jailed in early 2008. Yet there is some disagreement among some Belarusian analysts on how effective the visa bans and asset freezes are. One opined “they introduce sanctions and Luka runs with these sanctions to Moscow...So, from Luka’s perspective, the US is useful idiot... actually some of them...go on the UN visa (*laissez passer*).” But others are adamant that these sanctions do bite, citing the government’s constant efforts to get them lifted, to the level of public statements by Foreign Minister Martinov, as proof.

Reaching Out

Diplomats in Minsk help *connect* promising project ideas and potential Belarusian partners to foundations and NGOs outside. They can “act as contact points and mediators for us,” said one international civil society figure. Diplomats ensure that Belarusian civil society figures meet visiting officials, or get appointments with them when they are outside the country.

Diplomats also connect dissidents to external assistance, for example by facilitating efforts by the German Marshall Fund to allow opposition figures and their families to vacation in Slovakia to allow them to decompress. Lithuania has done something similar. Opposition leaders and their families – Aliaksandr Milinkevich and Irina Kazulina, for example – have been able to receive medical care in the West, in Germany and the U.S.

Western diplomats, as a part of their usual diplomatic business, also regularly *convened* civil society and opposition activists in Belarus in efforts not only to give them a place to meet away from government surveillance, but also to encourage this often fractious group to work together toward the common goal of reestablishing democracy. This message has been reiterated throughout the diplomatic community, which met them at their embassies, residences, dissidents’ homes, and outside Minsk.

Given the pressures faced by Belarusian civil society and democratic opposition, *facilitating* the cooperation among this divided group is a challenge for diplomats. The basics of “retail” democratic politicking, such as direct constituency development to develop support, were often alien to the opposition, who were inclined to rely heavily on international support – and attempt to be favorites of different sponsors. This seems to have lessened since the 2001 and 2006 election debacles, with a growing recognition that opposition needs to hang together or hang separately. According to Kozak, the joint delegation “got” that they needed to work together toward reinstating democracy in Belarus before they could oppose each others’ policy preferences – now was not that time.

The OSCE’s AMG also facilitated the domestic observation of Belarusian elections from 1999-2001. A pilot project in 1999 for local elections was successful, and was followed by training thousands of observers for the subsequent parliamentary and presidential elections: 6,000 in 2000 and 15,000 in 2001. These efforts were opposed by both Belarus and Russia within the OSCE. The domestic observation effort was thwarted the day before the election, when the government rescinded accreditation for the observation coalition, *Viasna* (“spring”).

While most *financing* is allocated at the capital level, many embassies in Minsk have funds they can disburse directly as needed to assist civil society projects. Most of these grants are small so as to work around Belarusian bureaucratic hurdles, and some are administered from outside the country, such as the Dutch MATRA program, which aims at supporting “social transformation in Central and Eastern Europe,” administered from the embassy in Warsaw. The U.S. government, Sweden’s SIDA, Denmark’s DANIDA, Polish Aid and Norway are enumerated in a recent study as being the main funders of civic activity in Belarus. Diplomats note that for Belarusian conditions, flexibility on their part, and the part of their own government aid agencies, is essential.

Education is an area in which diplomats play an important role in directing funding. The Norwegian Embassy in Kyiv is helping repressed Belarusian students continue their education through the Nordic Council and EC mechanisms. The European Humanities University (EHU), once based in Minsk, was driven out by the Belarusian authorities who view it as subversive. The Lithuanian Government invited the school to continue as a university-in-exile based in Vilnius, and granted it accreditation and premises to use free of charge. The vice rector says, “Our project is academic. The authorities have a sort of interpretation of our project as a political project.” The US and EU have collaborated to fund the EHU in exile in Vilnius. One student notes that at EHU “you can receive a free education, where you are provoked to express your thoughts, your feelings, and where you can discuss, you can argue. And if you don’t like something, your opinion will always be taken into consideration.” The Nordic Council of Ministers, the European Commission, and individual governments, such as Hungary and Norway, are funders for about 650 students. The EU is primarily giving scholarships, while the U.S. is funding their distance learning program, which is especially useful for students who have been expelled or kept out of school for their activism. The Nordic Council also funds up to 100 Belarusian students studying in Ukraine. Poland’s Kalinauski program is among the largest educational efforts undertaken by the international community, with 300 Belarusian students being able to study in Polish universities. The Human Rights House in Vilnius, established by Norway, Sweden, the Czech Republic and the U.S., provides premises, accommodation and staff for conferences, training, research and studies outside Belarus.

Diplomatic embassies and missions also *showcase* democratic practices and norms for Belarusians, and not merely through events in Minsk, as the series of press conferences and public consultations around the EU’s “What the EU could bring to Belarus” non-paper shows. There are other notable examples, such as the Swedish Association of Local Authorities’ work with its counterparts in the regions of Belarus. To showcase democratic practice, US Ambassador Stewart held a “Super Tuesday” party for Belarusians around the 28 primaries and caucuses held in the United States in February, contrasting by example the array of open contests with wide field of candidates with Belarus’ simple and closed system. She also holds annually a concert at her residence with Belarusian rock bands that cannot perform publicly in the country or get radio airplay, giving them some visibility. She hopes that this year’s concert can be broadcast on radio into Belarus for a wider domestic audience.

Defending Democrats

Demonstrating solidarity with and support for civic and democratic activists in Belarus is a frequent activity for diplomats posted in Minsk, and helps protect dissidents from repression to a degree. Often EU ambassadors

and others make a point of being seen together in meeting civil society. A visit to dissidents on hunger strike by a group of ambassadors elicited an angry response from the regime, which perceived public attention of this kind as a threat. Ambassador Wieck recalls that “on the eve of the presidential elections in 2001 Ambassadors of the EU countries and the Head of the OSCE mission accompanied the protest march of the opposition,” along with some members of the European Parliament. More recently, diplomats have made public statements about the continued imprisonment of Aliaksandr Kazulin. The US Ambassador holds Christmas parties for the families of political prisoners. Slovak Chargé d’affaires ubomir Rehak met political prisoner Zmitser Barodka upon his release from prison and escorted him home to meet his newborn twins, to ensure he did not face re-arrest. Diplomats also regularly meet with members of religious communities that often come under official pressure and harassment. Embassy personnel at all levels have also demonstrated these principles off the radar through direct engagement with the population on a whole host of topics – including utterly apolitical activities such as quilting – to forge people-to-people contacts. Such outreach has not been a constant. Civil society figures noted that some ambassadors have been less comfortable with a forward-leaning role, so that Belarusian civil society – and younger embassy staff – have experienced a sort of “whiplash” effect of shifting sharply from strong engagement to more cautious “old school” bilateral diplomacy.

Of the frontline support activities undertaken by diplomats in Belarus, *witnessing* trials and *verifying* the whereabouts and condition of political prisoners are among the most important. This is arranged through coordination among the democratic embassies (EU+US, essentially) to ensure that all such trials are covered, and prisoners checked-on. In one case, a professor, Yury Bandazheusky, was targeted by the regime for publishing a study that was at variance with the government’s policy that the dangers from the Chernobyl disaster were dissipating – this line being essential to restarting agriculture and industry in the region, a government priority. He was jailed for 8-10 years on trumped up charges that he was taking bribes from students. The EU worked successfully to get him released from jail. He was then furloughed to a collective farm, still under guard, where the German and French Ambassadors came to pay an unannounced visit to check on him. The professor ultimately was allowed to emigrate.

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In undertaking such activities, diplomats can to a certain extent *protect* civic activists and dissidents. A host of civil society figures, Belarusian and foreign, agree that diplomatic presence at civic and opposition activity helps insulate Belarusians from regime repression. The broad diplomatic presence at the March 2006 demonstrations against election fraud is an oft-repeated example by Belarusian activists. But this pertains not only to demonstrations, or meeting over tea at the embassy or residence, but also to underground theater events and concerts. This engagement is part of standard operating procedure for the diplomatic corps, especially those from Central and Eastern Europe. When former opposition presidential candidate Aliaksandr Milinkevich was detained in February 2008 with aides, the German Ambassador and U.S. diplomats went to the jail where they were held, and the German Ambassador telephoned Milinkevich directly. During the March 2006 election and subsequent police crackdown, EU Common Foreign and Security Policy High Representative Javier Solana phoned Milinkevich.

Conclusion / Looking Forward

Belarus remains strongly in the grip of President Aleksandr Lukashenko and his national security state, which further consolidated its control after the 2006 elections. “Belarus is like an experimental laboratory, where 10 million people are being kept in an ideology of totalitarianism and populism,” according to opposition leader, Anatoly Lebedko. Belarusian civil society and the opposition, not often on the same page, are continuing to undertake a great deal of soul-searching on how to move forward in an effort to transform Belarus into a democratic state. In this effort, the democratic diplomatic community is openly challenged to remain engaged, tighten its coordination so each democracy can play to its strengths, and look for windows of opportunity by which they can support Belarus’ growing number of democrats, who will ultimately prevail.

The Suffering of Burma / Myanmar

Note to the Reader: At the time of publication, Burma is still reeling from the devastating impact of tropical Cyclone Nargis, which made landfall in Burma's agricultural heartland, the Irrawaddy delta, on May 2, 2008. Precious days were lost to the recovery effort due to the military regime's initial unwillingness to allow in international humanitarian aid workers and even material emergency aid itself, stifling not only rapid reaction, but also relief assessments and the planning that would follow initial emergency efforts for long-term reconstruction and recovery. While the casualty figures remain unclear, they are already acknowledged by the junta to be in the scores of thousands, and are sure to reach higher. Many will have died due to political aid bottlenecks. An estimated 40% of Burma's rice crop is ruined. In the coming weeks, the extent of the damage, both human and material, will become clearer. The authors will update this case study accordingly, and as with the rest of the Handbook, the text will be available at www.diplomatshandbook.org

INTRODUCTION

Burma, a country of about 55 million at the crossroads of South and Southeast Asia, is a multiethnic nation with a long history as a state and an empire, though without a history of successful adaptation to a changing world. There has always been a strong social, cultural, and even political role for the dominant religion of Buddhism. As author Thant Myint-U points out, the Burmese military dictatorship is the longest-lasting military dictatorship in the world.

Brought incrementally under British colonial control in the early 19th Century, Burma became an independent state anew soon after the end of the Second World War, led by General Aung San and his Burma National Army, which turned on the occupying Japanese in 1943. He was assassinated by rivals in July 1947, but achieved his goal of ensuring Burmese independence, which was declared in January 1948. The armed forces – the *Tatmadaw* – had a position of central respect in independent Burma.

Though there were continuing insurgencies by ethnic minorities, it was hoped that a democratic Burma would be able to develop a peaceful *modus vivendi* for all its citizens. At that point, Burma was seen as having excellent prospects, being the largest rice exporter in the world, rich in minerals, rubber and timber, and possessing a larger educated managerial class than most other new states. The country held democratic elections, became an important founding member in the Non-Aligned Movement in the 1950s, and played an active role on the world stage. In 1960, the Burmese elected U Nu as prime minister, and the following year Burmese diplomat U Thant succeeded Dag Hammarskjöld as the Secretary-General of the United Nations

In 1962, a military coup by General Ne Win brought Burma's fledgling democracy and international engagement to a halt with his "Burmese path to socialism," an isolationist policy intended to be a blend of "Marxist economics, Buddhism, and autocratic, military-dominated political rule." All political parties, unions, and associations were outlawed, protests brutally suppressed, and the Burma Socialist Program Party (BSPP) served as a civilian front for military rule. Military intelligence services became ubiquitous, "producing a sense of fear and foreboding that permeates society."

All aspects of governance were brought under the control of the *Tatmadaw*, including, most disastrously, the economy. Rice production began a long downward slide, and economic development began to increasingly lag behind neighboring Thailand and Malaysia, while physical plant decayed. An informal economy emerged to provide what the official economy could not, offering ample opportunity for corruption by the military. The country's professional class and academic institutions suffered greatly from the isolation and the militarization of society.

Not a strategic interest internationally, Burma effectively disappeared from international consciousness for two and a half decades, as the regime resisted all elements of external influence. The insurgencies which had plagued Burma from independence gained ground, exacerbated by the *Tatmadaw's* harsh tactics involving violence against civilians. These insurgent armies sometimes rely on the opium trade to finance their operations. An Ambassador in Rangoon in 1987-1990 speculated that these insurgencies were allowed to continue on a low boil by the regime because they provided a useful justification for the necessity of military rule and prerogatives.

Burma's relative advantage at independence of having an educated stratum of civil servants was squandered from

1962 on, with the stifling of educational exchanges and the chilling effect of dictatorship on the intellectual freedom. Well before the 1988 crackdown Burma's educational establishments were in sad decline, both physically and in terms of their ability to develop Burma's next generations. This deterioration has only increased since, stunting Burma's capabilities to adapt to higher-end global economic activity.

In 1987, in an attempt to rein-in the black market it had itself created, the regime declared currency in circulation to be worthless which naturally generated a public outcry, leading to demonstrations in Rangoon and elsewhere. Short-lived in themselves, they represented a crystallization of discontent, and tension with the regime simmered in the months that followed, erupting periodically through 1988, and leading to the resignation of Ne Win after 23 years as unelected ruler, handing over to handpicked senior officers to succeed him.

But his successor, General Sein Lwin, known as the "Butcher of Burma" for his brutal suppression of student demonstrations in 1962, was not acceptable to the Burmese street, which began to mobilize in what became known as the 8-8-88 movement.

A massacre of students, doctors, and nurses in front of Rangoon's main hospital on August 11 was a turning point. Disbelief that the army would shoot doctors and nurses caused the residual social stock of the *Tatmadaw* to fall precipitously. Protests broadened to include the professional classes and importantly Buddhist monks, and to other cities and towns, including the northern urban center of Mandalay. After street violence driven by the regime killed 112 people in Rangoon, Sein Lwin, in turn, was forced to step aside, and the first civilian leader since 1962, Attorney General U Maung Maung took the helm, but only in title. The *Tatmadaw* remained the power in Burma.

U Maung Maung declared in a national broadcast the need for economic reform and patience on the part of the Burmese, and raising the possibility of – but not committing to – multiparty elections.

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The opposition was not united. Former Prime Minister U Nu pressed for the interim return of the last elected government, overthrown in 1962, but democrats around scholar and UK resident Aung San Suu Kyi, daughter of independence leader Aung San, disagreed, and asserted it was time for more thorough change. Discussions were ongoing to resolve this and announce a joint interim government on September 21. The announcement by U Maung Maung that elections would be held under supervision of the current, and not an interim government, as soon as late October were roundly rejected by all opposition leaders and the situation became increasingly militant. One student group approached the US embassy seeking weapons with which to fight, and Buddhist monks led an armed assault on an army position forcing the surrender of 100 troops. Opposition leaders issued a joint call for restraint.

The army launched a violent crackdown nationwide. Hundreds were killed by the army, including monks and students. Civilians armed themselves and fought pitched street battles with whatever weapons they had at hand – mostly knives and slingshots. Troops fired into the crowd outside the US Embassy, proving the expectations of many demonstrators and diplomats wrong that the location would protect them. Students put up posters calling for "appropriate action" against the army. Aung San Suu Kyi stated that the people "are not prepared to give in, because their resentment and bitterness has reached such proportions." By September 24, the army's control over Rangoon, Mandalay, and the other cities of the country appeared secure to diplomats and journalists. All opposition leaders were jailed or detained.

Estimates of the numbers killed ranged between three and four thousand. The *Tatmadaw's* new regime was called the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), which renamed the country Myanmar, and its capital Yangon. They mounted a campaign to resettle forcibly tens of thousands of presumed opposition supporters outside the main cities. Many students and others sought refuge in Thailand, where most languished in a stateless status for years, with little international attention to their plight or efforts to assist on the part of democratic governments.

At the end of May 1990, the SLORC organized elections in which the opposition could participate. Western diplomats, human rights activists and journalists made the logical assumption that the elections would be neither free nor fair, given the continued imprisonment of opposition leaders like Aung San Suu Kyi, who now headed a unified opposition, the National League for Democracy (NLD). Campaigning was essentially nonexistent, there was no free media. "In a free election, the National League for Democracy would win. Even

under severe restrictions, it would do well if the votes are counted fairly,” said one diplomat. While voters were afraid, they turned out to cast their votes in a process that was indeed free, delivering a landslide NLD victory – 386 of the 495 seats in parliament. The SLORC apparently had been confident that its puppet party would perform well in the countryside and overwhelm the urban vote.

As soon as the gravity of its error sank in, the SLORC initiated a rear-guard action to deny the election results, stating that an NLD government would not be “strong” enough. “The military...came up with one regulation and restriction after another...trash(ing) the election results,” according to former US Ambassador Burton Levin. Levin noted the military self-justification was that intellectuals and businessmen could not be trusted – “we are the only ones with the requisite patriotism and selflessness to hold the country together.”

The National Convention was established by the SLORC in 1993 to develop a new constitution, but failed to do so. In 1997, the SLORC changed its name to the State Peace and Development Council, or SPDC. But the change was only titular. The repressive apparatus of the regime was unchanged.

To call the *Tatmadaw* a state within a state is an understatement – as far as they are concerned, the generals *are* the state. The SPDC is theoretically a collegial body, but Senior General Than Shwe is the *primus inter pares* and has demoted, sidelined or imprisoned former senior officers who he considered insufficiently loyal.

The SLORC/SPDC needed foreign investment to fuel the *Tatmadaw*'s buildup, so the regime began to open up economically – but only to the benefit of the regime and its patronage system. There was considerable foreign investment in the 1990s, particularly in the petroleum and gas sectors, logging, mining, and fishing, but also in consumer goods. Few of the benefits trickle down to the general population. Furthermore, the extraction of these natural resources often entails major environmental degradation.

The opposition was outlawed and heavily restricted, with Aung San Suu Kyi under house arrest with rare exception since 1988. The SPDC announced a “roadmap to disciplined democracy” in 2003, but this was derided as a sham by the NLD, which called for international sanctions and a boycott of tourism to Burma.

Fearing popular backlash despite the massive repressive apparatus to prevent resistance from coalescing, SPDC leader and *Tatmadaw* commander Senior General Than Shwe had a purpose-built capital city built in Burma's northern highlands to isolate the increasingly wealthy leadership further from the general population, and even from civilian members of the government. Reportedly, Than Shwe made the decision after consulting his court astrologer.

In September 2007, rising fuel costs sparked civil unrest anew in Rangoon and elsewhere in Burma. Resistance grew, drawing in thousands of Buddhist monks along with a cross-section of the broad population. The regime initially held off on cracking down, especially on the revered monks, no doubt hoping that the demonstrations would fizzle. But ultimately, the SPDC employed brute force in late September to suppress the peaceful demonstrations, and conducted invasive searches in monasteries in search of those involved. The government claims nine were killed, but the UN Human Rights Council's Special Rapporteur for Burma Paulo Sergio Pinheiro estimates the number at 31. Mr. Pinheiro also reported that protestors detained by the Burmese government were subjected to torture and cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment. He stated, “Since the crackdown there have been an increasing number of reports of deaths in custody as well as beatings, ill-treatment, lack of food, water, or medical treatment in overcrowded unsanitary detention facilities across the country.” Estimates of political prisoners range up to 1800, including a number of veterans of the 1988 student uprising.

The junta set the date for a national referendum on the new constitution for May 10, 2008, and increased its repressive measures in advance, cracking down on those members of the opposition and civil society apt to be working to generate a “no” vote. The new constitution would give the *Tatmadaw* an automatic 25 percent of seats in both houses of the legislature, grant blanket amnesty to all soldiers for any crimes, and effectively disqualify Aung San Suu Kyi from political office because she had been married to a foreigner.

On the night of May 2, tropical Cyclone Nargis hit the Irrawaddy Delta area southwest of the capital, inundating the country's most agriculturally productive land and killing tens of thousands, mostly due to the storm surge. The flooding damage was assessed by external observers to be massively exacerbated by the prior destruction of mangroves in coastal wetlands. British Ambassador Mark Canning said the scale of the relief effort needed was

roughly double that of the 2004 Acehese tsunami. At the time of writing, estimates vary widely on the total number of casualties, but the US charge d' affaires, Shari Villarosa, estimated the total might reach 100,000. The health threat placed 1 to 1.5 million in direct jeopardy. Access to disaster relief experts and those prepared to distribute aid remained severely constrained for more than a week after the cyclone.

The regime pushed ahead with the referendum for May 10. In the wake of Cyclone Nargis, the referendum results were hardly reported in the foreign press, but the “overwhelming support” for the measure was never really much in doubt given who counted the votes. The regime’s party of power, the Union Solidarity and Development Association, voted en masse for the new constitution, and coercion was widely reported. The “no” vote effort was expected to have been strongest in the areas most affected by the storm.

INTERNATIONAL POLICY RESPONSES

The international reaction to the government’s violence towards pro-democracy activists has been almost uniformly negative. Most democratic governments have called for a cessation of government violence against demonstrators and some countries have tightened previous economic sanctions. Global civil society has made Burma a perennial and evocative cause as well, keeping the issue on the agenda of democratic legislatures, and thereby governments.

In general, international policy responses fall into one of two very general categories:

1. Countries which unequivocally condemn the Burmese military government and have called for reinstatement of the 1990 election results and democratic transition.
2. Countries which have taken a more collaborative stance, calling for engagement with the Burmese military government rather than isolation.

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Western states, including mainly the US, European Union, and Australia, have since the 1990s increasingly pursued a policy of sanctions and have unambiguously called for a democratic transition. The effectiveness of sanctions in promoting beneficial change remains a subject of debate. Arms embargoes are the least controversial. But partisans of economic sanctions argue that the revenues from foreign investment essentially only redound to the benefit – and repressive capacity – of the *Tatmadaw* by giving it foreign exchange to buy arms. While the NLD leader Aung Sang Suu Kyi has called on tourists to not come to Burma, others argue that sustaining activity such as non-official tourism helps to develop Burmese civil society. The relative merits of isolating further an already insular and hence indifferent regime are also debated by the Burmese living outside the country. Some high-profile Burmese abroad advocate an effort to induce the regime to evolve and see a heavily censorious Western approach as counterproductive.

The **US government** applied economic sanctions to Burma immediately after the 1988 military coup and repression of the 8888 pro-democracy demonstrations. Initial economic sanctions included an arms embargo and restrictions on new investments by American companies in Burma. The US also downgraded its relations with Burma, never replacing Ambassador Burton Levin, but leaving the Embassy headed by a charge d' affaires. As a result of the government’s September 2007 crackdown, the US tightened economic sanctions, enabling the Treasury Department’s Office of Foreign Asset Control (OFAC) to deny entry to the US and freeze the assets of individuals “responsible for human rights abuses as well as public corruption” including “those who provide material and financial backing to these individuals or to the government of Burma.” However, California-based Chevron remains invested in a prior joint venture with Burma’s state-owned oil firm.

The **European Union** adopted the EU Common Position on Burma in 1996, and also progressively strengthened measures since, extending EU sanctions to include an arms embargo, freeze of assets, visa bans for government officials and their families, and prohibition of financial loans to Burmese state-owned enterprises. In October 2007, a ban on investment in or export of equipment for the timber, mining, and gems industries was added. The EU continues, however, to provide humanitarian and development assistance to Burma.

There is variance among EU members in terms of their assertiveness on democracy issues. The Dutch and Czechs, operating from Bangkok, and British in Rangoon, have developed a reputation as the most proactive.

Norway is the main backer of the exiled opposition, and also hosts the Democratic Voice of Burma television and radio.

Australia expanded its personal sanctions of restrictions on arms sales, travel restrictions on senior figures and associates of the regime, and targeted financial sanctions to include 418 “Burmese regime figures and their supporters” in the wake of the September 2007 crackdown, but explicitly excluded “Australians with commercial dealings with regime members in the oil, gas or publishing industries.”

Japan has, in contrast, pursued a softer-line position regarding Burma, asserting that a policy of economic and political engagement can be more productive. During the 1988 military coup and repression of the 8888 demonstrations, Japan, along with Western states, condemned the human rights violations perpetrated by the Burmese military, but was also the first OECD country to officially recognize the new military government. A senior representative from the Japanese Foreign Ministry stated that Japan’s position is for “pressure and dialogue. [The Japanese government tries to] keep a working relationship with the government while maintaining pressure.”

Consequently, Japan has become Burma’s largest official development assistance donor, contributing approximately three-quarters of Burma’s entire foreign aid. Japan argues that its closer economic engagement give the Japanese Foreign Ministry greater influence with the Burmese government, though the results are unclear.

However, as a result of the September 2007 protests and the killing of Japanese photojournalist Kenji Nagai by the Burmese military, Japan imposed economic sanctions on the Burmese government, including halting \$4.7 million in funding for Rangoon University.

China emerged over the 1990s as Burma’s most important regional ally, investor, trading partner, arms supplier, and consumer of Burma’s resources. China has supported the Burmese status quo, and is also Burma’s main defender in international forums such the UN, vetoing non-punitive, multilateral UN Security resolutions that would have condemned the Burmese government. The Chinese position in favor of the principle of non-interference in Burmese domestic affairs has been supported by Russia and others, such as South Africa. This support has extended to preventing humanitarian access from being placed on the agenda of the UN Security Council in the wake of Cyclone Nargis.

In the aftermath of the September 2007 protests, however, China has used its influence with the Burmese government to negotiate a visit to Burma by UN special envoy Ibrahim Gambari. Though China failed to directly condemn the Burmese government’s crackdown against democracy activists, Chinese officials have explicitly stated that Burma should “push forward a democracy process that is appropriate for the country.” Premier Wen Jaibao has also urged the Burmese government to “achieve democracy and development.” On October 11, 2007, China supported a UN Security Council resolution condemning the Burmese government’s violence against protestors and calling for the release of political prisoners.

India, despite its being the largest democracy in the region, also pursues a policy of economic and diplomatic engagement with Burma. India is a major consumer of Burmese oil and gas, as well as a major investor in Burma’s economy. Like the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) (see below), India asserts that dialogue, rather than sanctions, is the most effective way to persuade the Burmese government to improve the political and human rights situation in the country, though some observers see India’s interest focused as well on access to strategic resources, and the ability to counter growing Chinese influence in Burma. In March 2008, India made a \$120 million deal with the junta to “build, operate and use” the port of Sittwe in the Bay of Bengal as part of a growing regional rivalry. UN special envoy Ibrahim Gambari called on India to employ its growing influence on the Burmese generals. But India backed China and Russia in resisting broader international sanctions against the regime.

ASEAN, which allowed Burma to join in 1997, has many member states which have close relationships with the regime and are strong trading partners. Following the violent crackdown on the Saffron Revolution in 2007, ASEAN did condemn the government’s violent repression. But ASEAN rejected calls from the US Senate to suspend Burma. “Our approach is not to take such a confrontational, drastic action, especially when it doesn’t yield good results,” said ASEAN’s Secretary General Ong Keng Yong.

Thailand, perhaps the most closely linked, is to take the chair of ASEAN in July 2008. Thailand helped keep

the Burmese junta afloat financially immediately after the 1988 crackdown by signing business deals that gave the country foreign exchange. There had been hope that as it returns to democratic rule, it will be more assertive on behalf of Burma's democrats, as the Philippines and Indonesia have been. ASEAN's parliamentarians have also been more supportive of Burmese democrats than their governments.

The United Nations' level of engagement has varied. At the outbreak of the September 2007 protest and the government's violent reaction, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Louise Arbour, singled out Burma for criticism. But in general, China (and to some extent Russia) has proven itself willing to protect the junta's interests by vetoing resolutions in the Security Council. In contrast, the veto-free General Assembly has issued repeated statements on the violation of human, civil and political rights by the SLORC/SPDC. On September 26, 2007, the Security Council did give the Secretary-General unanimous support to send Special Envoy Ibrahim Gambari to Burma, though his visits since have achieved little from a seemingly indifferent military.

RESOURCES AND ASSETS OF DIPLOMATS IN BURMA

The international diplomatic community's isolation from government decision makers which dates from the Ne Win regime has deepened in the SLORC/SPDC era, especially after the migration of the capital to the closed garrison city of Naypyidaw north of Rangoon, where civilian ministries are cordoned-off from those of the *Tatmadaw*. But in the absence of countervailing interests and even day-to-day contact with authorities, embassies can concentrate their local missions on supporting civil society's efforts on behalf of human rights and democracy.

Despite the regime's violation of diplomatic premises repeatedly since 1988, rarely if ever does the regime take direct action against diplomatic personnel (as opposed to domestic staff). Diplomats can and do avail themselves of their *immunity* to meet with opposition and make public statements. According to an international NGO worker, "there is theoretically the risk of being expelled, but this never happens." The UN head of mission, Charles Petrie, was however made to withdraw in late 2007 for underlining the cruel effects on the population of the regime's destructive economic policies.

Diplomats accredited to Burma can count on the *support of home authorities* as most democratic national governments have been very vocal about the repression in Burma, with US Secretary of State naming it an "outpost of tyranny" in 2005. EU governments have represented the concern of their publics. Former Czech President Václav Havel, has mobilized several Nobel Peace Prize winners in favor of concerted action, including in the UN.

Without much access to SPDC officials, diplomats have limited *influence* on the regime. Japan claims somewhat more influence than either the US or the EU have, but has less that it had, and less than China and India have now, given their economic engagement. A senior Japanese diplomat working on Burma policy stated that "Our position is for dialogue. We try to keep a working relationship with the government while maintaining pressure. This position is similar to the ASEAN approach, so I believe we can coordinate with them."

Embassies *fund* civil society development, training programs, and activities to promote open and democratic discussion in Burma. Embassy funds are also available for international exchange programs to connect Burmese activists with politicians and activists in other countries. Most aid is now humanitarian – mainly to the health sector, delivered through embassies, development agencies, and multilaterals – and therefore coordinated with the government. Due to poor government policies and transport restrictions, Burma now imports rice, "perversely," according to a UN World Food Program official.

The *solidarity* of the western democratic world has been apparent since 1988. There was already near total disdain for the Ne Win regime, including the ambassadors of the USSR and China in Rangoon. During and after the 1988 crackdown, the EU ambassadors – from France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands and West Germany, delivered a joint demarche on behalf of the EU to the regime in protest. After the 1988 crackdown the American and German ambassadors worked to persuade their Japanese colleague to mirror their cut off development aid, and ultimately succeeded. This solidarity continues, with the US, the EU, Australia, and Japan raising democracy and human rights in their (few) meetings with Burmese officials.

The democratic world's diplomats can refer back to UN General Assembly, Security Council and other UN bodies' statements on the human rights situation in Burma for *legitimacy*. This unfortunately cuts little ice with the regime. But the UN has deep reservoirs of legitimacy with the Burmese people. In addition, countries have specific resources to draw upon – Burmese demonstrators in 1988 believed that the US and France, as symbols of democracy and leaders of the “free world,” would rally to their side.

WAYS DIPLOMATIC ASSETS WERE APPLIED IN BURMA

The Golden Rules

Diplomats assigned to Burma operate within an extremely constrained public and diplomatic space but several, especially the Norwegian embassy, operating from Bangkok, have earned plaudits for *listening* to a wide range of groups and individuals involved in the democracy movement. Glen Hill, the former Executive Director of SwissAid, asserted that the Norwegians “gave the impression that they were there to learn.”

While Embassies, and especially the Australian today, have tried to be approachable, all are under regular surveillance by the regime, and fear of questioning or worse inhibits the civil population from coming, especially to the US Embassy. One Burmese activist noted that embassies lack “good human intelligence” on the situation in the country, and rarely speak the language(s), limiting their *understanding*. Making an effort to recognize a country's best value added is another important element of understanding the situation. The Czech Ambassador, Jiri Sitler, operating from Bangkok, noted that the Czechs' experience of having lived under a repressive regime was something that his democratic colleagues did not have, and centered his country's approach to the Burmese around that core.

But the situation in Burma has been beneficial in promoting *sharing* among Missions, both of information and of tasks, in a way which avoids competition and promotes comparative advantage, as detailed on pp. 15 and 18 of Chapter 3. The US, EU, Australian and Japanese embassies in Rangoon meet regularly to coordinate strategy in pursuit of supporting peaceful democratic change.

Truth in Communications

Reporting on the situation in Burma by diplomats has long been a crucial source of information, given the lack of international media access and independent media within Burma. Yet freedom of movement for diplomats is restricted and the *Tatmadaw's* pervasive police state deters many Burmese from actively providing information. Diplomats in embassies can be misled if their only sources of information are from Rangoon circles. But even under constraints, embassies do provide crucial information on the situation and their reports are read at increasingly high levels, including in the US White House, for example. The UN Development Program office in Rangoon was well-situated to witness the demonstrations of the 2007 Saffron Revolution and the subsequent crackdown, and had an independent satellite communications system that allowed for internet access as well, so provided an important information conduit.

In the absence of objective news gathering – the regime has expelled most foreign journalists and blacked out web sites – diplomats have a long history of informing media outlets of the internal situation. In 1988, Dutch Ambassador Peter van Walsum, based out of Bangkok, gave extensive interviews to the press reporting on the nature of the crackdown and its brutality. US Ambassador Burton Levin released reports that the embassy had received “credible, first hand reports” of beatings, torture and executions of pro-democracy activists and others, thousands of whom were arrested.

Burma's government has long controlled public access to information, and to the means of communication. Cell phone costs are prohibitive. Land lines are primitive. Internet servers are frequently jammed. In such a closed society, rumors are rife and travel quickly.

Embassies play a key role in *informing* the Burmese public and the international community about activities and events occurring in Burma. Embassies have committed resources to support media and journalism trainings for young Burmese journalists. While independent media sources are starting to develop in Burma, training is not readily available and the quality of reporting tends to be varied. Embassies support training programs, both

in Rangoon and in Thailand, to help Burmese journalists learn how to write, develop, edit, and market pieces for a wide-range of audiences. The Czech Embassy provided a basic video and journalism course in Burma: how to use a camera, how to edit, and how to produce a story. This was not explicitly political, but proved extremely useful in providing imagery of the 2007 crackdown.

Embassies also support the actual dissemination of information to the Burmese public. Both the American Center and the British Council provide important access to information to Burmese citizens, such as English-medium newspapers and materials published by exile-groups. The information available at the centers provide Burmese users a vital link to the outside world as well as a better understanding of what exactly is occurring in Burma itself. The centers also invite speakers from outside to present – and some have spoken both about the international policy toward Burma and the situation with the insurgencies and in refugee areas in Thailand. The Japanese Embassy, which enjoys greater access to the regime than other embassies, has often conveyed information between the SPDC and the NLD. “I think the NLD appreciates our activities. We can give them information. Unfortunately, the NLD has no contact with the government.”

Diplomats and politicians remain active today in getting information about pro-democracy events and human rights violations out to the international community. The UK and Australian Ambassadors and the US charge d’ affaires are very present in international media, discussing Burma’s political situation and abuses in the country. These reports are beamed back into Burma by Radio Free Asia, Voice of America, the BBC, the Democratic Voice of Burma, and exile information organs in Thailand.

In the wake of tropical Cyclone Nargis in May 2008, diplomats were among the most quoted information sources in Burma on the scale of the devastation, the shocking inactivity of the Burmese military to the humanitarian need, and the scale of the aid effort required. In the aftermath of both the cyclone disaster and earlier, during the protests in September 2007, British Ambassador Canning and American charge’ Villarosa were oft quoted in the media, both setting baselines for international response.

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Working with the Government

Given the insular nature of the regime, it is a challenge for diplomats to *dialogue* with government on a regular basis, especially with the move of the capital to the purpose-built garrison city of Naypyidaw. A representative in the US Embassy in Rangoon stated that officials from the US, European, Australian, and Japanese embassies regularly raise issues of democracy and human rights when they have opportunity to meet with Burmese officials. However, human rights and democracy concerns raised by western diplomats are dismissed by government officials; they, instead, prefer to focus on their roadmap to democracy plan.

Diplomats have on occasion tried to *advise* the Burmese government, but to no discernable effect. In 1989, Ambassador Levin met with SLORC intelligence chief General Khin Nyunt in an attempt to see if the regime could be convinced to enter into an effort for national reconciliation and to bring in Burmese expatriate technocrats to return vibrancy to the economy. His effort elicited an earful of invective about “communists” and “traitors” straight out of the regime phrasebook. He determined such efforts were useless at that point.

Civil society in Burma has survived suppression and is a beneficiary of advice by diplomats: Ambassador Sitler determined early on in his tenure that his approach should be to concentrate on transferring applicable know-how to Burmese. “We discovered that our experience from transformation to democracy was exactly what they (the Burmese dissidents) needed and wanted. The old EU members who were heavily engaged (the Dutch, Danes, British and the US) could give more money, but just didn’t have this experience.” Discussions between Czech diplomats and Burmese dissidents in refugee communities in Thailand include:

- The role of returned exiles in the society after democratic transition
- How to obtain justice for crimes committed by the regime.
- How to promote economic reforms.

The American Center “pushed the limits” by providing journalism, human rights and democracy training. The Australian Embassy rather controversially provided human rights training to *Tatmadaw* officers.

The Chinese and Indian embassies have frequent contact with the Burmese government. While it is uncertain

to what extent human rights or democracy issues are part of the agenda, Mr. Ichiro Maruyama stated that the Japanese embassy, in meetings with Indian diplomats, have asked the Indian and Chinese embassies to convey the Japanese embassy's interests and concerns to the Burmese government.

Reaching Out

While easier to do in refugee communities outside Burma, efforts to link Burmese with the outside world and with each other need to be undertaken within Burma. Diplomatic immunity gives diplomats in Rangoon the ability to do what local and foreign NGOs would normally be doing, but cannot, given the pervasive repressive apparatus of the state.

Diplomats can play a role in *connecting* Burmese activists to other democracy players outside of Burma, including Burmese activists in exile as well as activists in the diplomat's home country.

In coordination with an ongoing Dutch foreign policy training program aimed at promising young refugees, the Czech embassy organizes a three-month study segment in the Czech Republic; during the visit, participants attended three months of trainings and meetings.

The Norwegian embassy transmitted information from exiled groups residing in Thailand to groups within Burma, with the objective of promoting linkages and common ground.

The American Center, located in Rangoon, helped Burmese activists establish a peer network for those who had been imprisoned and tortured by the Burmese government. One of the goals of the peer network was to decrease the isolation of those who had experienced torture and are likely suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder and to connect them with other survivors and activists.

Embassies and cultural centers have provided essential space for Burmese activists and others to *convene* and exchange information, sometimes with government officials included, and other times without them. The Australian, Japanese, EU, US and UN missions in Rangoon all engage in this sort of activity.

Given the heavy regime surveillance of the embassies, Alliance Francaise, the British Council, and the American Center all have played a critical role in providing space for Burmese to meet and discuss a wide array of social and political issues, particularly for youth. While these were not packaged as "democracy courses," they offered young people an opportunity to explore issues of human rights, democracy, and globalization in a safe space and without drawing undue attention from the Burmese government. However, most of those attending knowingly assume a certain amount of risk.

The US embassy has been one of the most vocal advocates for a democratic transition, *showcasing* democracy in practice through the programs offered by the American Center. Programs include lectures covering many sensitive topics, including the situation in the ethnic minority areas, United Nations Security Council discussions, sanctions, and genocide. SwissAid's Glen Hill asserted, "The American Center...didn't shy away from difficult subjects." France's Alliance Francaise, in collaboration with the Czech Embassy, projected films of interest that otherwise would not be seen by Burmese activists.

The American Center is also a prime example of how embassies can *facilitate* discussion among Burmese civic and opposition members. The American Center not only offered resources not readily available in Rangoon, the Center offered a safe space where democracy activists could participate in trainings and workshops that would strengthen their ability to participate and direct the pro-democracy movement. It is certainly easier to facilitate dialogue among Burmese opposition and minority groups outside the restrictions in Burma itself, either among refugee communities or further afield, and a number of embassies in Thailand work on this front.

Embassies finance assistance projects for Burmese civil society, though the restrictions by the regime make doing so complex. Embassy support for the democracy movement in Burma ranges from funding training (both short and long-term) to financing civil society projects. Some of the funding comes directly from embassy operating budgets, while funding is also available from development funding agencies, including the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and the UK Department for International Development (DFID).

Japan's embassy coordinates its humanitarian assistance. Czech Ambassador Sitler notes that small, well-targeted grants for projects can evade regime strictures and accomplish a great deal. Some NGOs which received embassy funding managed to find ways through the bureaucratic morass by cultivating relationships with officials who helped them navigate the regulatory maze.

A variety of training programs have been provided to democracy activists, including:

- Film and media training funded by the Czech Republic
- Foreign policy training seminar funded by the Netherlands
- English language and other educational courses funded by the British Council
- English language courses; journalism and media training; human rights training; transitional justice workshop; and organizational and communication trainings funded by the American Center

Embassies also financed library resources, increasing access to books and magazines either difficult or illegal to obtain in Burma. The Czech embassy had Czech authors' books translated to Burmese as well as collecting and translating volumes of articles on the Czech democratic transformation. The American Center and the British Council offered extensive library resources to Burmese members, including extensive offerings on democracy and Burma.

The US, UK, and Czech embassies have also provided direct support to local Burmese NGOs to fund environmental, social, and education projects to assist community development.

Defending Democrats

Diplomats regularly *demonstrate* their support for democracy and human rights in Burma, and have done so for two decades. In 1988, US Ambassador Levin made a point of driving to observe demonstrations with his car's flag flying. British and American diplomats regularly meet with NLD officials, and when the British Ambassador Canning visits the NLD office he arrives in his official car flying the British flag. Embassies as a matter of course declare public support for Burmese demands that fundamental human rights and freedoms be respected.

There are reports that diplomats have on occasion *protected* individuals who feared imprisonment or other retaliation from the Burmese government. Assistance has included financial and logistical support for these individuals to reach the Thai-Burmese border. In 1989 and 1990, embassies of the democracies protested in solidarity against aggressive interrogation and other repressive measures against their local staff, including one member of the British Embassy staff who was sentenced to three years in prison by the regime. In 1988, Ambassador Levin agreed with Aung San Suu Kyi to limit their contact so as to reduce the potential for the regime to paint her as an American stooge.

Diplomatic protection has also been given in other, less obvious, ways. By disseminating information about human and political rights violations by the Burmese government, diplomats have been able to direct international scrutiny and criticism on the government. The Burmese government's reluctance to draw negative international attention constrains its actions, at least as regards the internationally known face of Burmese opposition, Aung San Suu Kyi. But the junta does not appear to feel such constraints regarding other opposition figures.

It was also reported that during the September 2007 protests, the UNDP allowed demonstrators to seek refuge within its building as well preventing the Burmese security officers from forcibly entering the premises.

Even when diplomats are not able to directly protect activists, by *witnessing and verifying* anti-democratic activities and human rights violations committed by the Burmese government, diplomats play an integral part in collecting and disseminating information (See "Getting to the Truth").

By publicly witnessing and verifying abuses by the government, key embassies are also able to send a message to the Burmese government, by regularly sending officers to witness demonstrations and court trials, and by supportively attending prayer services, various holiday celebrations, and commemorations.

CONCLUSION

Despite the unprecedented national emergency presented by Cyclone Nargis, the Burmese junta went ahead with its referendum on its “roadmap to democracy” on May 10, 2008 in most of the country. Most of the population in the Irrawaddy delta and the former capital Rangoon had their sheer survival as a priority on polling day, however. The referendum aimed at codifying the *Tatmadaw’s* concept of a “disciplined democracy” and “legitimizing” its rule. The plan disqualifies democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi, whose party won overwhelmingly in 1990’s unexpectedly free election, from standing for office on the grounds that her late husband was a foreigner. The referendum, not surprisingly, was reported by the junta to have overwhelmingly approved the new constitution, virtually without opposition. Yet a number of Burmese proudly, if not openly, voted “no” in the referendum. Those in the cyclone devastated area have openly declared anger at the regime to foreign journalists at the lack of assistance, and some say they expect their areas to vote “no” as a result when they are polled.

Many democratic embassies in Rangoon and Bangkok remain engaged in assisting Burmese civil society and opposition within and outside the country, and will no doubt continue to develop new innovative avenues to assist and circumvent regime restrictions. When asked what more could be done, a seasoned NGO activist dealing with Burma and its border areas said “more of the same: providing space, enabling visitors to meet dissidents.” Additional funding for these activities would also help. So would greater language ability on the part of diplomats posted to deal with Burma. Given the harsh repressive nature of the regime and the pervasive fear of informers, citizens are more likely to trust a foreigner who speaks their language than his or her interpreter.

Yet the ability to influence the inward-directed and wholly self-interested military regime remains a massive hurdle for most democracies, especially now with new revenue streams coming to the military from natural gas, along with the continued destructive clear-cutting of old growth forests and trade in gemstones, and diversion of agricultural land to cultivate *jatropha* for biofuels. The extent of damage to Burmese agricultural production has yet to be calculated, but it is likely that the country will have to import rice and other foodstuffs for years. The storm could not have hit at a worse time, given the already skyrocketing price of rice on international markets.

Burma’s major trading partners, its fellow members of ASEAN, China, and India, have still not exerted serious pressure on the SPDC to allow greater civic space and to make a genuine turn toward establishing democracy.

Ultimately, the key will be with the Burmese population and the diaspora of exiles, who have been developing their capacities to reclaim the rights denied them by successive generations of self-serving military officers. If Burma’s commercial partners can persuade the regime of the inevitability of change, it may arrive sooner rather than later. It will arrive in a country whose institutions have atrophied under a military which lives apart from the people, and it will be up to supporters of democratic transition to support the people in their efforts to re-build the country. Some encouraging signs can be discerned in the wake of the cyclone disaster, however tentative. The regime was prevailed upon by ASEAN neighbors and the UN Secretary-General to admit outside humanitarian aid workers essential to any recovery effort. Most hopefully, networks of ordinary Burmese citizens themselves formed volunteer relief teams to try to compensate for the inability of the regime to safeguard its own citizens. Civil society will emerge strengthened and determined.

Sierra Leone: Belated International Engagement Ends A War, Helps Consolidate A Fragile Democracy

INTRODUCTION

The history of the diplomatic community's role in democracy promotion and consolidation in Sierra Leone is extremely complex. Sierra Leone was essentially not on the international community radar (with the arguable exception of international financial institutions such as the World Bank) from independence in 1961 until the civil war that occurred in the 1990s. International community involvement in Sierra Leone can therefore broadly be seen as one of neglect until the late 1990s, at which time the UK and UN led a robust international response to a crisis that had finally become too dire to continue to ignore. Since this critical shift, the international community can in many ways be commended for its role – however late in the day – in helping to: put an end to the decade-long brutal civil war; consolidate the peace; and assist the transition to democracy and democratization. Apart from the UK and UN, a number of national, regional, and international players, most especially Sierra Leonean civil society groups, ECOWAS, the US and EU, have contributed to this progress. At the same time, the international community must take responsibility for efforts that did not serve to advance democracy and development. For example, the diplomatic community and the Sierra Leonean government have been heavily criticized for not addressing the root causes of the war, including issues of corruption and patronage-based politics. The fact that many of the underlying causes of the conflict still remain indicates the enormity of the task ahead.

Despite myriad shortcomings, it is clear that Sierra Leone has made significant strides forward since the civil war ended officially in January 2002, and a substantial amount of this progress can be attributed to the international community. This case study provides a brief historical overview of Sierra Leone since independence, before moving to a more in-depth analysis of the role of the diplomatic community in Sierra Leone from the start of the civil war in 1991 to the peaceful handover of power after the recent 2007 elections. It is important to note that the information provided in the section on diplomatic resources and applications includes only contributions from bilateral actors, which is consistent with the other case studies in the Handbook, and comes from a review of existing written materials as well as interviews with numerous practitioners involved in Sierra Leone since the early 1990s. The assets and applications described are therefore by no means a complete account, but do serve to provide useful, concrete examples of many of the actions taken by diplomats to support the transition to peace and the development of democracy in Sierra Leone.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

When Sierra Leone gained independence in 1961, the British left behind a country that it had ruled officially as a Crown Colony since 1808. British colonial rule was characterized by direct and dominant administrative rule over Freetown and its environs, and indirect rule via local “paramount chiefs” over the countryside.

Negative aspects of the colonial period lingered on, especially as to ethnic rivalries. The British had favored the Krio ethnic group, which amount to about 10% of the population, by offering Krios access to the best schools and business opportunities. Krios became dominant among civil servants in the colonial administration but given their small numbers, became less influential in the civil and professional services after independence. Other ethnic groups, including the Mende in the South and the Temne and Limba in the North, had coexisted fairly peacefully before independence. However, post-independence politicians incited ethnic differences which then became a major contributor to subsequent state collapse. As political parties have for the most part remained along ethnic and geographic lines, such differences retain the potential to be sources of future friction. Corruption also developed during colonial rule, stemming from attempts to gain private benefit from the diamond-mining industry. Finally, the British left behind a state with barely functional political institutions and administration. Both corruption and the low capacity of the state have haunted Sierra Leone from the colonial period to this day.

From its start as an independent nation, there were dysfunctional signs. The first Prime Minister, Sir Milton Margai, was Mende and democratically elected with support of his ethnic group and Krio elites. Margai was part of the Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP), which was formed in 1949 (during colonial rule) and was composed mainly of Mende from the South (the SLPP is still predominately Mende today). Upon his death in 1964 Milton's brother, Albert, assumed the reins, and proceeded to lead a corrupt regime and attempted to amend

the constitution to create a one-party SLPP-run state. Albert Margai also heavily stocked his government with Mende officials, leading Krio supporters of the SLPP to defect to the All People's Congress (APC), a party whose supporters consisted mainly of northerners, especially the Limba and Temne (and still does to this day). Albert Margai ultimately lost the 1967 presidential election to Siaka Stevens, who was leader of the APC.

Siaka Stevens ruled for 17 years despite being initially overthrown by a coup in 1967 only to be reinstated through a countercoup in 1968. He subsequently proceeded to oversee the utter destruction and corrupting of the country as well as a move to one-party rule for the APC in 1978. Stevens ensured dominance by the Limba and Tembe through ethnic favoritism in the security forces. Additionally, by the early 1980s nearly all of Sierra Leone's major exports were controlled by one businessman, who happened to be one of Stevens' cronies. Former American Ambassador John Hirsch has noted that "Resident diplomats did not raise a hue and cry about these developments, which were regarded as internal problems of little consequence to the economic interests of the British, Americans, or others."

Stevens handed power in 1985 to his hand-selected, northern-born successor, Major General Joseph Momoh, who led an already nearly stateless country even further into economic and financial ruin. Civil servants, educators, and paramount chiefs often went unpaid. Politically Momoh was very weak, and Siaka Stevens remained head of the APC and in control of much of Sierra Leonean commerce, including the richly lucrative diamond industry. Indeed, Stevens had chosen Momoh knowing he was loyal but not highly effective as a politician, a combination that enabled Stevens' significant political and economic influence to continue. Stevens had built an extensive patronage network during his years as president, which therefore continued throughout the Momoh years. Diamond profits, for instance, had brought in about \$200 million prior to Stevens' reign. Yet, by 1987 profits through the formal diamond industry dwindled to \$100,000, with sales conducted almost exclusively on the black market. Stevens and his allies took much of the rest.

Momoh even fought off a coup attempt by Stevens' associates in 1987. In the late 1980s Momoh's government, after receiving significant loan assistance from the IMF, came under pressure to introduce major economic reforms. Though the reforms achieved liberalization of trade and exchange rates and slight improvements in tax collection, real progress remained elusive and consequently Sierra Leone continued to suffer severe fiscal difficulties. It is worth noting that the pressure for reform took place at the end of the Cold War, when for the first time western policies began to have some sort of focus on good governance in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Upon the recommendation of a constitutional review commission established by Momoh, in October 1991 a new constitution was adopted, restoring a multi-party system. The time for major political reform, however, had past: a group of rebels from the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), which included Sierra Leoneans, Liberians loyal to Charles Taylor, as well as mercenaries from neighboring Burkina Faso, had invaded eastern Sierra Leone from Liberia in March of the same year, marking the beginning of the horrific civil war.

The root causes of the conflict in Sierra Leone are often reduced to a war over diamonds, but this is overly simplistic. While Liberian rebel leader Charles Taylor and Libyan head of state Muammar Gaddafi certainly had a strong interest in Sierra Leone's diamonds and played important roles in the conflict, history of personal relationships between Taylor, RUF leader Foday Sankoh, and Gaddafi was of even greater initial significance. Taylor and Sankoh met and became friends in 1980s in Libya at a revolutionary training camp run by Gaddafi. Gaddafi also provided enormous support to both the RUF and to Taylor's rebel group, the National Patriotic Front for Liberia (NPFL), via training, arms, and financial resources

In 1989, Taylor had wanted to launch his NPFL invasion of Liberia from Sierra Leone, and the Momoh government had refused. Momoh then allowed ECOMOG troops to use the main airport in Sierra Leone as a base of operations from which they launched attacks on the NPFL in Liberia and also sent Sierra Leonean troops into Liberia to join the ECOMOG forces. Taylor therefore had a keen interest in taking revenge on the Momoh government and supporting his friend Sankoh's rebel movement. Over time, diamonds did come to play an increasingly more important role as a means to finance the RUF and enrich Taylor, Gaddafi, and their cronies. But they should not be seen as the root cause of the war.

Foday Sankoh's RUF was able to recruit a multitude of young Sierra Leonean men who felt severely alienated because of government corruption (at both the national and paramount chief levels) and lack of economic opportunity. Sankoh was also supported by a number of government officials in Freetown frustrated with the Momoh government and initially saw the RUF as a legitimate political alternative.

The role of the military in Sierra Leone since independence is another causal factor of the war. Each of Sierra Leone's rulers from independence until the civil war politicized the military and asserted increasing political and personal control over the armed forces. Soldier loyalty was thus to political parties rather than to the country. Military professionalism was sacrificed at the expense of using the military for the ruler's political survival. In such an atmosphere, military corruption was rampant and private armed groups were created to protect political factions. When the military was finally put to the test, it was incapable of responding. Throughout the civil war, the Sierra Leonean Army (SLA) did not have adequate supplies or weaponry, lacked technical capacity, and was not loyal to the state. As evidence of disloyalty among the rank and file, many SLA soldiers became known as "sobels," meaning soldier by day, rebel by night. The myriad problems with the SLA also led Kabbah and his deputy defense minister, Hinga Norman, to create Civil Defense Forces (known as Kamajors), which were armed local units, mainly comprised of youth, that fought on the government side and were known for committing abuses against civilians similar to the RUF (though not to the same extent; for RUF abuses, see below).

Additional underlying causes of the conflict include a history of extremely poor governance and manipulation of ethnicity for political ends.

Between 1991 and 2002 Sierra Leone was thus engulfed in chaos that led to the deaths of tens of thousands of Sierra Leoneans, with at least a quarter of the population being displaced from their homes during the conflict. The widespread practices of amputating limbs of civilians, brutal killings, and the conscription of child soldiers into armed forces undertaken by the RUF, the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (which was closely aligned to the RUF), the Sierra Leonean Army, and the Kamajors gained international attention. The civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone were closely interrelated from the beginning, and throughout the conflict in Sierra Leone the RUF, Charles Taylor and Muammar Gaddafi benefited from controlling much of the diamond trade.

In 1992, a year after the RUF had begun the war, a group of junior officers in the SLA orchestrated a bloodless coup and deposed President Momoh. Captain Valentine Strasser was chosen as head of the newly formed National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC), which ruled the country until 1996. During the period under NPRC rule, the RUF continued fighting and advanced across the country (the RUF was within 40 km of Freetown by early 1995), while the NPRC sought unsuccessfully to bring the RUF to the negotiating table, even by offering amnesty to the RUF in 1995. The government relied on private security forces (first from Gurkha Security Group, made up of Nepalese Gurkhas who formerly served in the British Army, and then from Executive Outcomes, a South African security firm) to repel the RUF, as well as an ECOMOG contingent composed of 2,000 Nigerian troops based in Freetown.

Civil society spoke up in 1995 to push for elections. A number of civil society groups met at the Bintumani Conference to decide how and when elections would be held. Women's groups and key women leaders such as Amy Smythe and Zainab Bangura led this massive civil society movement. It has been given credit for the subsequent elections that were successfully held in 1996, in which Ahmed Tejan Kabbah of the SLPP was elected as president amid high voter turnout. The elections took place against a backdrop of ongoing fighting. Brutal attacks by the RUF targeting civilians were intensified between the first round and the runoff. The international community, with the UK and US in the lead, also supported these elections by devoting significant political and financial resources that both allowed the elections to take place and provided legitimacy to the process and outcome. British High Commissioner Peter Penfold and American Ambassador John Hirsch were both instrumental in the organization of this election. Although there were a number of irregularities, observers still pronounced the election free and fair.

After the 1996 election the government and the RUF negotiated on and off for six months before a peace agreement was finally signed in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire. The agreement provided amnesty for RUF fighters and dictated that a mercenary outfit, Executive Outcomes, which had been brought in by the government to protect the diamond fields and fight the RUF, had to leave Sierra Leone.

But the Abidjan Accord, for which the OAU, Côte d'Ivoire, and ECOWAS served as guarantors, suffered from a lack of close follow-up and implementation. Two months after the accord was signed fighting broke out once again.

A year later, in May 1997, President Kabbah was forced to flee to Guinea following a coup by junior military officers, led by Johnny Paul Koroma who was installed as head of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council

(AFRC) and immediately invited the RUF to join the AFRC in ruling the country. The AFRC/RUF coalition controlled Freetown and the rest of the country for nearly 10 months before Kabbah was reinstated in March 1998 following Nigerian/ECOMOG troop advances in Freetown. The conflict continued.

The government and RUF returned to the negotiating table in Lomé in mid-1999, and the two sides signed the Lomé Peace Accord in July. Many civil society actors were present as observers at the negotiations and also played an informal mediating role between the RUF and the government. (Civil society actors involved in these negotiations include the Inter-Religious Council of Sierra Leone, the Human Rights Forum, the Women's Forum, and the Sierra Leone Association of Journalists, the Civil Society Movement of Sierra Leone (a consortium of labor unions), among others.)

The Lomé agreement provided amnesty for the RUF (as the Abidjan Agreement had also done), gave a number of ministerial positions to the RUF, created a position for Sankoh as chairman of the to-be-created Commission for the Management of Strategic Resources, National Reconstruction and Development, and established the principle of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Although the Lomé Accord contained a greater number of oversight mechanisms than Abidjan (periodic reviews were built in, some of which took place), the Lomé Accord still suffered from insufficient oversight and implementation, as well as a sentiment that the RUF acted in bad faith and gained more from the accord than the government.

After Lomé, the RUF indeed proceeded to violate a number of provisions of the accord, as they resisted disarmament efforts, and took several hundred UN peacekeepers hostage in May 2000. This action was protested vehemently by civil society, as tens of thousands of people marched to Foday Sankoh's house to demand the release of the seized UN peacekeepers. When Sankoh's men opened fire on the protestors, killing about 20 of them, the crowd stormed his house and had him arrested. This strong show of support in favor of the UN Peacekeeping force and against the RUF and their leader Foday Sankoh revealed the extent of popular disapproval for the RUF at this stage in the war. The arrest of Sankoh also led to Isa Sesay taking over as head of the RUF. Sesay later proved to be cooperative in the peace process.

The bold move by the RUF to take hundreds of UN peacekeepers hostage finally prompted far more robust involvement by the international community, led by Britain. International attention on Sierra Leone had been mounting since the mid-90s. The UN had sent a Special Representative to Sierra Leone in 1995 and approved an international peacekeeping force in 1999. Yet prior to May 2000 the Security Council had not provided sufficient resources or a strong enough mandate to the peacekeeping force.

Following the UK and UN response to the RUF aggression, two peace agreements were eventually signed in Abuja in November 2000 and May 2001 that finally put an end to the conflict. The next section will take a closer look at the role of the international community during the decade-long conflict and its aftermath.

THE EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT

Sierra Leone was dysfunctional from independence, but it remained below the radar of the international community from the 1960s through much of the '90s. Even in the context of the Cold War, Sierra Leone was not a major factor, unlike neighboring Liberia, which served as a Cold War base for the Americans in West Africa. The UK also generally neglected its former colony, as illustrated for example by the British refusal of President Momoh's request for military advisers, communications, and intelligence capacity in 1991 just after the start of the civil war.

The Role of Regional Actors

Though under-equipped and under-funded, ECOWAS can be credited for preventing Sierra Leone from descending deeper into chaos and protracted conflict. During the early years of the civil war when the international community was reluctant to get involved, ECOWAS, under Nigerian leader General Sani Abacha, played the main role in the attempt to end the conflict. Analysts have noted the irony in a dictator working to restore a democratically-elected government, yet Abacha was concerned about maintaining Nigeria's role as the most influential state, within ECOWAS as well as with the potential ramifications of the pan-African revolutionary

goals of influential government and rebel leaders such as Gaddafi, Taylor, Sankoh, and Burkinabé president Blaise Campaoré. Abacha feared that successful revolutions in Liberia and Sierra Leone could feed revolutionary fervor in Nigeria. Abacha took further interest in Sierra Leone as Nigerian forces were already fighting the NPFL in Liberia as part of the ECOMOG contingent, and using Sierra Leone as a base of operation. Therefore the regional and internal political dynamics within ECOWAS specifically and more broadly in West Africa had a significant impact on Nigerian and subsequently ECOWAS policy towards Sierra Leone.

ECOWAS pushed for an end to the civil war through the active promotion of peace negotiations as well as providing regional ECOMOG military forces in efforts to maintain control of Freetown. ECOWAS also played a critical role in peace talks – in 1997 in Côte d’Ivoire under Ivorian leadership, in 1999 in Lomé under Togolese leadership, and in 2000 and 2001 in Abuja under Nigerian leadership. As noted above, ECOMOG’s military offensive against the RUF in March 1998 enabled President Kabbah’s return to Freetown. Shortly after the March offensive, Nigerian Brigadier General Maxwell Khobe, who had been in charge of ECOMOG’s ground operations in Sierra Leone, was assigned Chief of the Defense Staff of the SLA. This inclusion of ECOMOG staff within the Sierra Leonean government is important as it set a precedent that later allowed British troops to serve at the highest levels of the SLA, the Sierra Leonean Police, and the Ministry of Defense.

Guinea was another important regional military player involved in Sierra Leone, as it backed and supplied the Kabbah government, contributed troops (along with Ghana and Nigeria) to the ECOMOG contingent, and even launched cross-border attacks on the RUF as it also became ensnared in the conflict that engulfed the region. While the Nigerians and their neighbors can be credited for engaging in Sierra Leone when the international community continued to ignore the conflict, it should also be noted that Nigerian ECOMOG troops in Sierra Leone were accused of committing heinous atrocities against the civilian population, and some generals were accused of partaking in the illicit diamond trade.

In addition to the military role, ECOWAS adopted sanctions in August 1997 on petroleum products, arms imports, and international travel for AFRC/RUF leaders. The UN Security Council adopted similar sanctions only six weeks later, as Nigerian Ambassador to the UN Ibrahim Gambari was instrumental in getting issues of conflict in West Africa on the UN Security Council agenda.

Following Sani Abacha’s sudden death in June 1998, General Abdusalam Abubakr took control of Nigeria. Abubakr promised elections to restore a civilian government in Nigeria, indicating that a possibility of a reduction and withdrawal of Nigerian forces from Sierra Leone might be on the horizon, which increased the pressure on the Sierra Leonean government to reach a peace agreement with the RUF. The election of Olusegun Obasanjo in early 1999 signified a critical shift in Nigerian policy, as Obasanjo found himself under significant pressure to end the conflict and bring the Nigerian troops home. It was only a year later, in May 2000, when the international community finally arose from its slumber and developed a united approach.

The Role of International Actors

The tepid global response to the 1997 coup encapsulates the general ambivalence of the international community with respect to the situation in Sierra Leone. This lack of response was due to a number of different factors: the recently ended war in Bosnia; the US and UN failures in Somalia and Rwanda, which severely decreased confidence (and first world participation) in UN peacekeeping operations; and the conflict in neighboring Liberia. Most Western nations saw Sierra Leone as an issue with which the British needed to deal. Although the British provided some assistance to maintain Kabbah’s government while in exile, tense relations between the UK and Nigeria (the UK refused to provide financial or material support to ECOMOG as long as General Abacha was serving as chair of ECOWAS) meant that Sierra Leone received little tangible support from the international community.

The events in May 2000 were a turning point in the international community’s role in Sierra Leone. Prior to this time, the UN had played a limited yet lead role: through establishing a Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) in 1995; financing and supporting elections in 1996; adopting aforementioned sanctions during the AFRC/RUF rule (following ECOWAS’ lead) and further sanctions in 2000 on illegal diamond exports; authorizing deployment of 10 UN personnel in 1998 to report on the situation in Sierra Leone and develop a plan of further UN involvement if needed; authorizing a military observer force (UNAMSIL) in July 1999; participation by the SRSG in peace negotiations in Abidjan and Lomé; and finally through establishment

of a full UN peacekeeping force, UNAMSIL, in October 1999, three months after the Lomé peace agreement. ECOMOG forces, bowing mounting popular pressure in Nigeria, began drawing down in early 2000. This withdrawal of ECOMOG forces occurred without a proper handover to UNAMSIL troops. The initial months of 2000 saw a rapid worsening of the conflict, culminating in a decision by the RUF to seize 500 peacekeepers as hostages, creating another potential major UN peacekeeping debacle.

UK Involvement

The UK responded immediately by intervening militarily and got the crisis under control. The British then pushed for a stronger and larger UNAMSIL force in the Security Council and took the lead bilateral role in Sierra Leone. Since 2000 the UK has provided prodigious support: for elections, the development of civil society, independent media, as well as security sector and judiciary sector reform. British assistance to the security sector has been critical in securing peace in Sierra Leone, especially given the historically pernicious role of the Sierra Leone military. British military support has consisted of numerous programs, including: the British Ministry of Defense Advisory Team (MODAT) and the British-led International Military Advisory and Training Team (IMATT), which both aim to train, equip, and advise Sierra Leonean military forces. In addition, UK military advisers have been integrated into government forces. The British also assisted the government in restructuring the Ministry of Defense to improve civil-military relations. Further key British contributions to democracy and development are included in the assets and application sections below.

British support in Sierra Leone, however, has not been without misgivings from critics. Prior to 2000 the UK had been criticized for its role in the Sandline affair, in which the UK government seems to have been aware of Sandline International's (a private security firm) intention to sell arms to the Kabbah government while international sanctions were in place prohibiting arms transfers. Peter Penfold, British High Commissioner in Sierra Leone at the time, and others in the British government claimed that the embargo applied only to the AFRC/RUF, not to the Kabbah government. The entire episode proved an embarrassment to the British government, though there are conflicting views as to whether or not tacit British support for arms transfers to the government was acceptable given the complexity of the situation (including the army's dubious loyalty) and possible ambiguous meaning and interpretation of the sanctions.

The UK also has been heavily criticized for the multi-million dollar Paramount Chiefs Restoration Program, which was introduced in 2000 and funded through DFID. This program was aimed at restoring paramount chiefs, a majority of whom had been displaced by the war, in an attempt to stabilize the vast rural areas of the country. As it turned out, money was often used in a corrupt manner, and the program reinforced traditional modes of local domination and governance that were in fact among the root causes of the war, helping to maintain the system of elite patronage politics pervasive at both the national and local level in Sierra Leone.

UN Involvement

The overall importance of the UN in Sierra Leone since 2000 should not be underestimated. The UN responded to the May 2000 crisis by revising UNAMSIL's strategy to include ongoing promotion of dialogue with the RUF as well as increased military enforcement, which led to UNAMSIL taking a much more pro-active approach in Sierra Leone. In addition, the UN began to be more aware of the regional dynamic to the conflict in Sierra Leone. A Security Council mission to Sierra Leone and Liberia in October 2000 documented Liberian President Charles Taylor's ongoing support to the RUF and facilitating illegal transport of diamonds from Sierra Leone through Liberia. In March 2001 the Security Council adopted travel sanctions against Taylor and an arms embargo. In brief the UN – through the SRSG, UNAMSIL, and the humanitarian agencies on the ground (UNDP, UNHCR, UNICEF, etc.) – has been critical to the progress made in Sierra Leone during this decade. It is also worth noting that the US and Japan, being the largest financial contributors to the UN's assessed and voluntary contributions, have contributed hundreds of millions of dollars to UN activities in Sierra Leone.

May 2000 is thus now seen as a real turning point in finally getting to peace in Sierra Leone. Following the UK and UN leads, international attention rapidly increased, along with a large injection of international assistance and the critical recognition by much of the international community of the regional nature of the conflict.

US Involvement

The United States has by and large played a supporting role to the British in Sierra Leone. The US too began to take the conflict in Sierra Leone seriously after fighting in late 1998 forced the evacuation of staff from the American Embassy as well as from other Missions. Although the US was concerned with Liberia at the time, it took a long while for the most senior-level officials in Washington to understand the regional context of both wars. US Ambassador to the UN Richard Holbrooke (1999-2001) was advocating during this period for much stronger American participation in peacekeeping in Africa, and he pressed the US to exert greater pressure on the RUF.

The US did play a significant role in the Lomé peace negotiations in 1999 where American Ambassador Joseph Melrose's was active as observer. Notably, the US had sent special envoy Jesse Jackson to press President Kabbah to go to the Lomé negotiating table with the RUF. According to former American Ambassador John Hirsch, "Many in Sierra Leone argued that Jackson's pressure forced Kabbah to enter negotiations from a weak position and that allowing several more weeks for ECOMOG forces to continue fighting would have changed the diplomatic equation significantly. Jackson earned the opprobrium of many Sierra Leoneans."

In the aftermath of Lomé critics have argued in hindsight that the US specifically, and the international community in general, may have pushed too hard for a negotiated solution to the conflict, essentially forcing the Kabbah government to the table and to accept an agreement that provided too much for the RUF, and one that would be extremely difficult if not impossible for each side to uphold. Although the provisions of the accord were heavily criticized by some, the agreement was seen by others as reflecting the realities on the ground – including the impending withdrawal of Nigerian troops – and the need for the government to reach a peace deal. Post Lomé and the British repulsion of the RUF from Freetown, the US played a key role in the establishment of the Special Court for Sierra Leone, in supporting the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and in providing support to elections and independent media.

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Once the international community was sufficiently engaged, the major priorities consisted of consolidating peace (including overseeing the DDR process as well as the reintegration of returnees back to their host communities) and addressing humanitarian needs. As peace began to hold, focus shifted to the 2002 elections and subsequently over the past several years to the general democratization process, which has included institution building, the fight against corruption, as well as support to civil society, independent media, and rule of law. Daunting challenges still remain – including many of the root causes of the civil war – that Sierra Leone must overcome if it is to continue along the path towards full democratization and development. The international community today can be criticized for not making significant enough demands of the post-war government, for putting in place weak accountability measures to fight corruption, for insufficient oversight mechanisms placed on the Kabbah government, and for certain initiatives introduced, such as the one to strengthen the local paramount chiefs. There is also a fear today of Sierra Leone stagnating. Inclusion as a priority country by the UN Peace Building Commission and ongoing attention from the UK, US, EU and others, however, should ensure that Sierra Leone continues upon an upward trajectory.

DIPLOMATIC RESOURCES IN SIERRA LEONE AND THEIR APPLICATIONS IN SUPPORT OF DEMOCRACY

Assets

The diplomatic community resident in Sierra Leone has been very limited. Through the early years of this decade, the major diplomatic presence in Freetown was provided by the UK, the US, and the EU, including some EU member states. But until the late 1990s, the UK and the US diplomatic Missions did not enjoy sufficient *support from their home governments*. Once London and Washington realized the importance of acting in Sierra Leone, the leverage of support from each of these global powers made a significant difference. The British sponsored UN Security Council Resolution 1132, which was adopted in October 1997 and established an embargo on weapons and other military equipment, petroleum, and petroleum products on Sierra Leone. This UN embargo followed directly upon the heels of a similar ECOWAS embargo adopted in August of the same year, once again illustrating the critical role ECOWAS played during the 1990s when the international community was not paying close enough attention to Sierra Leone. Support from a home authority was finally

illustrated by the 1999 visit of then US Secretary of State Madeline Albright to refugee camps outside Freetown, as well as the sending by US President Bill Clinton of Special Envoy Jesse Jackson to help negotiate the Lomé Peace Agreement in 1999. These events raised the profile of the crisis in Sierra Leone in the US – both in the media as well as in the government in Washington. The British also took very decisive and prompt action by intervening militarily in May 2000 following the seizure and hostage holding of nearly 500 UNAMSIL peacekeepers by the RUF, and the impending fall of Freetown to the rebels. The British deployed 600 troops in the defense of Freetown and the airport. This decision by the Blair Administration signified the recognition by the British that something had to be done in Sierra Leone to demonstrate that the international community had the will and capacity to act effectively in these types of situations. Finally, the British government made an “over-the-horizon” security guarantee to intervene militarily in Sierra Leone within 48 to 72 hours if a security crisis in Sierra Leone emerged. This guarantee, along with the presence of 17,500 UN peacekeepers serving under a Chapter VII mandate, helped serve as deterrents to the resumption of conflict.

The US played the lead role in both the preparation and implementation of the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL), which is a hybrid court (an international court staffed by expatriates and Sierra Leonean nationals, operating outside the Sierra Leonean judiciary but with the ability to prosecute under Sierra Leonean law), established by UN Security Council Resolution in 2000 to try those who bore the greatest responsibility for crimes committed after the 1996 Abidjan Peace Accord. The US has been the largest donor to the SCSL, and the first prosecutor for the Court was an American (marking the first time an American was prosecutor of an international court since Nuremburg).

Although viewed by many in the international community as a success, some Sierra Leoneans have not supported the SCSL, as complaining that the significant amount of money spent on the SCSL (the Court’s budget in its first year of operation was \$25 million) would have been better spent in other ways. Compared to recent international tribunals in Yugoslavia and Rwanda, however, the SCSL has operated in a much more timely and cost-effective manner. The US was also instrumental in supporting the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), established through the 1999 Lomé Peace Agreement and approved by Sierra Leone’s Parliament in 2000. The TRC was mandated to create an impartial historical record of human rights violations during the conflict, address impunity of offenders not tried by the Special Court, respond to the needs of victims, and promote healing and reconciliation. The US supported the TRC through sponsoring various seminars and conferences throughout the country to promote discussion of human rights and reconciliation type issues. Diplomatic support by the Americans of these two transitional justice mechanisms helped provide *legitimacy* to the processes and the government efforts to address major human rights violations that occurred during the war.

US Embassy staff would often participate directly in the seminars and meetings that were promoting the TRC and dialogue around human rights issues. This was also an example of the *solidarity* provided by the diplomatic community to those who were acting in support of peace and democracy promotion. There were frequent visits by American Ambassadors to civil society groups, as well as through diplomats speaking out publicly in support of the 1996 and 2002 elections. *Funds* from the UK and US governments have been channeled mainly through the aid agencies DFID (the Department for International Development) and USAID (the US Agency for International Development). Annual DFID bilateral funding to Sierra Leone is currently £40m. USAID funding for development assistance in 2008 was \$4 million, with an additional \$400,000 for International Military Education and Training (IMET), \$150,000 for narcotics control. USAID’s strategy for Sierra Leone focuses on “agriculture and local economic development” and “strengthening democracy and reducing corruption.” Both of these countries also footed a significant portion of the UNAMSIL bill, which totaled an estimated \$3 billion over six years (1999-2005). Direct diplomatic mission funds, while not that significant in amount, were used strategically to support independent media, civil society (including an emphasis on youth), and elections-based work.

APPLICATIONS

The Golden Rules

The small but influential diplomatic community in Sierra Leone was on the whole highly collaborative, in very regular contact regarding democracy-related activities. This *sharing* of information and coordination of

strategies allowed democracy-promoting missions to come to dialogue and come to consensus on key issues, as well as to coordinate which mission would take the lead on different issues. The British High Commission has played the largest role within the diplomatic community in Sierra Leone since 1992.

Diplomats in Sierra Leone also sought to *understand* the overall situation in Sierra Leone through interactions with a wide range of stakeholders, including civil society, local and international NGOs, the government, as well as the international community. Even though there were initially numerous failures to understand, including a general lack of comprehending the conflict and historical situation and the inability by many observers to grasp the regional nature of the conflict, diplomats were finally able to recognize that, although government and civil society capacity were relatively low, Sierra Leonean understanding of the conflict and its own history was critical to the international response. As former British High Commissioner Alan Jones has noted, “Credit for what has happened in Sierra Leone does not just lie with the international community. Primarily it lies with the people of Sierra Leone. They were the ones who suffered the horrors of eleven years of civil war. They are the ones who fought against injustice.” International NGOs such as Human Rights Watch, which was influential in identifying key human rights issues upon which to focus attention, and International Crisis Group, whose analysis helped the international community understand the on-the-ground realities of the conflict, were also instrumental in increasing greater awareness and understanding.

Truth in Communications

Diplomats *reported* back to their host governments in as candid a way as possible on the situation in Sierra Leone. From the American side, reports back to Washington were regular (except when communication was cut off because of personnel insecurity) and these reports were known for being candid and credible. Reports did not shy away from highlighting criticisms of the government and the true extent of atrocities being committed mainly by the RUF.

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While reports from the American Embassy in Freetown in the mid-1990s also highlighted the regional nature of the war in Sierra Leone, including direct Liberian involvement, it took a long time for Washington to finally understand the Sierra Leonean conflict. Washington, even with the candid reporting from Freetown, did not make responding to the conflict a policy priority until after the British mobilized to act against the RUF in 1999. This led to subsequent visits in 1999, first by the American Ambassador-at-Large for War Crimes Issues and then by the American Secretary of State. These visits helped raise the priority level of Sierra Leone in Washington. The British government began prioritizing Sierra Leone in 1999 as a result of a series of BBC news spots that were aired following the invasion of Freetown. These spots revealed the atrocities being committed against innocent civilians, and were influential in moving the UK to respond. American print and television media, particularly the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, and CNN (including Sierra Leonean journalist Sorious Somura’s *Cry Freetown*) also increased American awareness of and interest surrounding the conflict. Finally, the UN Panel of Experts reports on Liberia and Sierra Leone helped raise international community awareness and improve the understanding of the regional aspects of the conflict in Sierra Leone.

The diplomatic community has been deeply involved since 2001 in *informing* the Sierra Leonean population through support to independent media. Missions have frequently provided media with information from their governments’ perspectives, as well as supported local and international NGOs working in radio and print media, through financing, support to community radio, and promotion of independent media activities.

Working with the Government

The diplomatic community in Freetown has played a major role both in *advising* as well as *capacity / institution building*. When President Kabbah was in control of the government in the 1990s (which was on an on-again, off-again basis between 1996 and 2002), diplomats provided timely and critical advice to Kabbah and the Sierra Leonean government in general. American Ambassador Joseph Melrose was also involved in close discussions with President Kabbah regarding how to deal judicially with the seizure of the UN peacekeepers, especially given that this was a clear violation by the RUF of the terms of the Lomé Agreement. Discussions between Kabbah and Melrose revolved around concerns that the judicial system in Sierra Leone could not deal adequately with the RUF. Melrose also provided advice to the drafting of the TRC legislation that was passed by Parliament. In the early part of this decade, British High Commissioner Alan Jones and American Ambassador Peter Chaveas met frequently with President Kabbah on a wide variety of pressing issues and acted as interlocutors with senior level government officials.

The diplomatic community, particularly Britain, has played an instrumental role in efforts to strengthen the capacity of Sierra Leone's woefully inadequate state institutions. The British are currently in the process of providing major funding and support to a ten year security sector reform (SSR) program, which includes equipping, training, and restructuring both the military and police forces and is being led by IMATT. Much of the funding for SSR has come from the UK's Africa Conflict Prevention Pool. In addition, the UK is supporting a major decentralization process, as well as a five-year, £25 million project (funded via DFID) to develop an effective and accountable justice sector capable of meeting the interests and needs of Sierra Leoneans, especially the poor and marginalized. Finally, the British are funding the Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC), and through DFID have provided general support for reforming other government ministries and institutions since the late 1990s. The US, meanwhile, has complemented British efforts to SSR and justice sector reform. The US has targeted military personnel and civilians by organizing programs to improve civil-military relations, as well as initiated a significant program in the military to address HIV/AIDS. The US has also sent a small number of Sierra Leonean military personnel to the US for training. With respect to the justice sector, the US has brought in American legal experts for short capacity building programs, as well as assisted in repopulating the Supreme Court's legal library in Freetown. Finally, various international NGOs (INGOs), through financial support from various Community of Democracy members, have provided training to national parliamentarians. Support to Sierra Leone's weak institutions has not been without its share of controversy, however. For example, the British have been criticized for prioritizing police reform at the expense of military reform, leading to resentment within the armed forces. In addition, the penal system has been neglected as prison conditions remain deplorable, and many inmates have spent years in prison without being charged. The ACC has also never really been functional and has not pursued serious corruption cases at the senior level. Millions of dollars have thus been poured into a body that was supposed to be fighting corruption and was ironically proven to be quite corrupt itself. The British and others failed to use their leverage as donors to pressure the government into improving the ACC. Newly elected President Ernest Bai Koroma has, though, vowed to tackle corruption and has appointed Abdul Tejan-Cole, a well-respected civil society leader, as the new head of the ACC, illustrating this commitment to fight corruption.

Reaching out

Civil society groups have made important contributions to the peace and democratization processes in Sierra Leone. Diplomatic missions played an active role in *connecting* civil society groups to international NGOs, outside assistance, and other types of support. Since the early 2000s, the US and UK have supported the local NGO 50-50, which is an organization that has worked to bring more women into the political process. Other groups focusing on women and youth have also received diplomatic support. In the preparations for elections in 2002, the country director for an international NGO (INGO) working on democracy and governance issues, stated: "The international community saw civil society as the only hope... Civil society had more credibility and ability to function than (political) parties." The diplomatic community has also supported civil society through working with local elections observers. Prior to the 2002 elections, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the Forum for Democratic Initiative (FORDI), a local NGO, convened a workshop to discuss election monitoring. This workshop gave birth to the National Election Watch (NEW), which has grown into a coalition of over 375 local and international civil society organizations and a national network of civilian election observers, headed by Search for Common Ground (SFCG), another INGO. During the 2007 presidential elections, NEW placed trained civil society observers in 97% of polling stations around the country. NEW received funding from DFID, NDI, and the Canada Fund for Local Initiatives in 2007. NEW has thus helped ensure transparent elections over the past five years. Prior to the 2007 election, NDI also trained local NGOs to help with registration and voter education. It should be noted that NDI and Search for Common Ground both received a majority of their support in Sierra Leone from the US and UK since 2001, and are very highly respected by the diplomatic community.

In addition to providing support to civil society, diplomats have also played important *convening* roles in Sierra Leone. Diplomatic missions have supported the National Electoral Commission (NEC), the governmental body established to organize and conduct elections. In the early days of the NEC (preceding the 2002 elections), the UN, UK, US, and EU provided massive support to the NEC to enable it to function, including technical, material, and financial assistance. Following the 2004 parliamentary elections the NEC's performance was so poor that the NEC had to be nearly completely dismantled and restructured. The reconstituted NEC, under the leadership of well-reputed civil society and government veteran Christina Thorpe, is now seen as much more capable, neutral, and independent. Most recently, the NEC was lauded by the international community

for its oversight of free and fair presidential elections in 2007. Furthermore, prior to the 2002 elections, the diplomatic community provided funding to FORDI to set up the Political Party Resource Center (PPRC), a training and resource center in Freetown for political parties to use that included computers and a photocopier that all legitimate parties had access to, as well as meeting space. The meeting space was used for political party trainings, cross-party dialogues, as well as for meetings between parties and the NEC. The diplomatic community also used this space to come together with party leaders and presidential candidates.

Diplomats have *facilitated* peace processes and negotiations, as well as in trying to foster political dialogue and reconciliation. For example, American Ambassador Melrose met privately on multiple occasions with the RUF leadership, including Foday Sankoh, trying to push for a cease-fire. The diplomatic community has also been active in promoting dialogue, accomplished most notably through diplomatic support to the Special Court and the TRC. Diplomats have also shown support to political dialogue through public support of the Political Parties Registration Commission, a body established to ensure peaceful political representation of the population through independent registration and balanced monitoring of parties. This support was evidenced by a public communiqué issued in 2006 and signed by the US Embassy, the British High Commission, the European Commission, and the German Embassy. A section of the press release read, “We hope that Sierra Leone’s political parties... will take advantage of this opportunity to educate and inform the electorate by generating a genuine and vigorous issues-based national debate as they approach the 2007 presidential and parliamentary elections. Such a debate is a critical component of Sierra Leone’s successful emergence from its turbulent past.” Most recently, after the tense 2007 elections, the American Ambassador June Carter Perry and British High Commissioner Sarah MacIntosh worked with a number of international and local civil society groups to organize an event aimed at general reconciliation and dialogue among women and that also encouraged and supported women’s participation in the local elections that followed. First Lady Sia Koroma hosted the two day event, and NEC Commissioner Christiana Thorpe was the keynote speaker.

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Diplomats have used *financing* – channeled both directly through the missions as well as through aid agencies – to support democracy promotion work in Sierra Leone. Significant amounts of financing since 2002 have been devoted to preparing and running elections, UNAMSIL, DDR programming, capacity building of government institutions, fighting corruption, reforms in the diamond industry, and civil society and independent media support. In addition to the US, UK, and UN, major donors active in Sierra Leone include the European Commission, Canada, and Germany.

The US, for example, has provided funding to local democracy and human rights groups through the Democracy and Human Rights Fund, which is provided by USAID, as well as small grants to community groups through the Ambassador’s Special Self-Help project, which supports various activities such as small-scale economic initiatives and community theatre. USAID’s Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI) also provided funding for the Lomé peace talks, as well as other quick-impact projects (including independent media support). US financing to support parliamentary and presidential elections has been channeled through INGOs such as SFCG, NDI, IFES, the International Republican Institute (IRI), and the National Endowment for Democracy (NED).

In addition, financial support to diamond industry reform has included assistance in setting up the Kimberly Process for certifying non-conflict diamonds, as well as community initiatives to support miners and mining communities.

It should be noted that much of the money provided multilaterally to the government has not been spent in the way in which it was intended, due to ongoing government corruption and a lack of international community oversight and accountability mechanisms for financial expenditures of donor money. Government financial systems have not been sufficiently analyzed and improved, and the government has often accepted funding for projects it is not prepared to implement. There was a major scandal, for example, surrounding the parliamentary elections in 2004, as a damning report on the NEC’s performance by IFES detailed widespread irregularities and embezzlement of funds (this report was not made public, and led to the overhaul of the NEC).

Defending democrats

The diplomatic community in Sierra Leone has also been instrumental in *verifying* elections. Election monitoring has been an important part of diplomacy for democracy-promoting missions since the 1996 elections. The diplomatic community has also provided general elections support and contributed vast amounts of resources

to ensure the success of presidential, parliamentary, and local elections. During the 1996 presidential elections, the British took the lead within the international community in preparing the elections. The US and EU also played supporting roles. The 2002 presidential elections, the first since the official end of the civil war, were closely monitored by diplomats and were considered a major diplomatic priority. Once again, the UK, US, EU, and UN provided major funds for these elections. In addition, American Ambassador Chaveas secured the use of two contract helicopters that were dispatched around the country to fill gaps in preparation for election day. The UK, EU, and US all sent out election monitors in teams of two throughout the country to observe the elections. International observers have also been involved in monitoring in subsequent elections, including the 2007 presidential elections, whose results were monumental in that they brought about peaceful democratic transfer of power through the ballot box as Ernest Boi Koroma, leader of the APC opposition, won in a run-off. Koroma's election was seen by many as more a rejection of the SLPP and its years of inept and corrupt rule than a wholehearted or informed endorsement of the APC. In spite of this, the peaceful transition to opposition rule is an extremely significant result for Sierra Leone.

CONCLUSION

Although peace in Sierra Leone remains somewhat tenuous, diplomatic involvement in Sierra Leone has allowed the country to move out of civil war and begin the long and arduous path towards democratization and rebuilding. Once the UK and UN decided, beginning in the late 1990s and culminating in May 2000, to engage more sincerely and vigorously over the long-term, others followed their lead. Sierra Leone remains one of the poorest countries on earth today (ranked 176 out of 177 countries in the UN Human Development Index as of 2006), however, and still urgently needs to address many of the root causes of the civil war, including issues of corruption, abuse of power by politicians and local chiefs, and lack of economic opportunity for the majority of Sierra Leoneans, especially the growing youth population.

Sierra Leone does now have in place a functioning government – including a president and legislature elected freely and fairly by the populace; a justice system that, while seriously flawed, has shown signs of improvement; a security sector undergoing thorough reform; and a civil society that is becoming increasingly more active. Although elections are by no means a panacea, the 2007 presidential elections seem to have been a major step forward for the country. The election put in place a government that was seen as at least nominally credible by the international community and the population. The election, in combination with the security guarantee from the British and the major presence of the UNAMSIL force until 2005, helped consolidate the peace and allow Sierra Leone to move forward to focus upon other critical aspects of the democratization process, such as institution building, combating corruption, providing openings for civil society development, and ensuring freedom of the press and rule of law. Progress on each of these issues has been extremely slow. Yet continued international engagement in Sierra Leone since the late 1990s has illustrated the generally positive role that the international community can play once it decides to commit itself. The recent declaration of Sierra Leone as a priority country for the UN Peace Building Commission signifies the recognition of the need for the international community to maintain sufficient attention on post-conflict developments within Sierra Leone. In conclusion, Sierra Leone is a country where, if one judges in comparison with its past, and especially considering the conflict in the 1990s, the international community has gotten it somewhat right, while struggling in the attempt to address underlying causes of the war, foster institutions, or consolidate democracy.

Tanzania's Road to Multi-Party Democracy; Focus on a Single Mission's Efforts

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

This case-study attempts to illustrate democracy development support from the standpoint of the activities of one diplomatic Mission in a country in profound but peacefully realized transformation. It examines the experience of the Canadian High Commission in the early 1990's in Tanzania, which was then transforming its governance from being a centrally directed socialist state into a multi-party democracy. Of course, the Missions of several democracies were active in the effort to assist democratic and economic development in Tanzania, and the case-study does not mean to highlight Canadian efforts and neglect the importance of others. But the fact that the Canadian Mission geared virtually its whole country program to the holistic task of democratic development including thereby juridical and economic reform, makes it a useful case to outline from the perspective of a multi-faceted use of the "Diplomat's toolbox."

Background

Synopsis: Tanganyika became a one-party, centrally-directed, socialist state at independence from Britain in 1962. In 1964 Tanganyika amalgamated with Zanzibar to form Tanzania. But the single ruling party governance model endured for 30 years, with a variation in name if not in method for Zanzibar. In 1992, in a shift in governance under the paternal eye of Tanzania's legendary first President, the aging Julius Nyerere, Tanzania amended its constitution to allow the formation of a multi-party democracy and a free market economy. This was as dramatic a development in Tanzania's political narrative as had been the struggle of the younger Nyerere to secure national self-determination thirty years earlier. The Canadian High Commission was one of several Missions in Tanzania to try to accompany the Tanzanian government and people in their voluntary and peaceful transformation.

Pressures For Change

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By the mid-1980s, the Tanzanian government was under considerable stress from a collapsing subsistence economy which had pushed the government to look to foreign aid for survival. An informal civil society began to emerge. Branches formed around discontent over the need for greater political freedoms, and more generalized economic benefits. The nascent de facto opposition was awarded significant validation when ex-President Julius Nyerere spoke out in February 1990, and himself challenged the exclusive legitimacy of the ruling party, the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) on the grounds it had lost touch with the people. As well, a donor community fatigued by ever increasing African needs had, under the aegis of the World Bank, argued that "underlying the litany of African development problems is a crisis of governance". The Tanzanian government like others in Africa responded to the growing combined internal and external pressures for change. Tanzania under the enormous influence and stature of Nyerere, one of the giants of Africa's emergence from colonialism, initiated its first, albeit reluctant, steps to reversing its unique African model of one party socialism.

In February 1991 the government appointed Chief Justice Francis Nyalali to head a Commission to consider whether Tanzania should operate in a multi-party environment and to report back by December.

The Nyalali Commission's controversial report recommended that Tanzania indeed establish a multi-party democracy, and identified 40 pieces of "repressive" legislation which should be amended to facilitate this move. It also recommended a timetable for the transition, together with the establishment of a body to oversee the transition process, which would include a redrafting of the constitution. It would also require a considerable campaign of public information to engage citizens in the exercise of their new responsibilities.

There was immediate and significant opposition within the governing party, the CCM, to the reach of the report's recommendations. Though he had agreed to a study of options, President Mwinyi was widely quoted in the local press as opposing a decisive move to multi-party democracy. However, Nyerere, who had stepped down from the Presidency in 1985, remained Chairman of the CCM. He chaired a Party Congress which under his leadership indeed unanimously accepted the Nyalali Commission's recommendation to move to multi-party democracy. The constitution was amended accordingly in February, 1992.

These events took place against a background of similar changes in neighboring Kenya, where, however, amendment of the constitution to allow for multi-party democracy was taken principally in reluctant response to pressure from Western donors and especially the World Bank.

The initiation of multi-party politics

A Political Parties Act was passed in June, 1992, repealing the single-party clause in the Tanzanian constitution. There was by this time an abundant number of groups keen to take on the mantle of political parties in a multi-party system to press their concerns for improved economic structures, greater transparency in public information, and business, consumer, and personal freedoms.

But the learning curve was very steep. As there had been no history of multi-party politics in the country, there was no experience in Tanzania of a political, yet loyal opposition to Government. All the new parties were led by dissidents from the CCM, which had been the only arena where politics was practiced. Some had been expelled because of policy differences with the ruling party; others had simply left, dissatisfied with the current regime. All had one thing in common: they opposed the control of the current ruling elite of the CCM.

For its part, the CCM's own reflexes had been shaped by the long experience of one-party rule, during which opposition to the CCM became equated with opposition to the government and therefore considered virtually treasonous. This instinctive hostility among the ruling elite to the notion of political opposition remained a problem for some years.

In its wariness about the emerging forces of opposition, the government was particularly conscious of the external pressures which had allegedly played such a part in the Kenyan shift to a multi-party system. Tanzanian authorities were allergic therefore to the idea of outside assistance to new political parties, which they deemed to be external interference in their sovereign domestic affairs. Financial support to the new parties from anyone but local supporters was risky and unwelcome.

The multi-party competitive outcome was very one-sided, however. During the one-party system, the state and the CCM party had become financially one and the same. After the new constitution was adopted, the government and the CCM became separate entities and public financing of political parties ceased, but not before the CCM was provided with significant private sector assets and investments to finance its activities. The fledgling opposition parties struggled to make ends meet.

Resources and Assets of Diplomatic Missions

In this climate of uncertainty and suspicion, Canada, along with other Western donors and like-minded countries, responded cautiously, welcoming the move to multi-party democracy, but deferring to the sensitivities of the Government. Tanzania had been a major partner in development assistance over the years. Julius Nyerere had been something of an African political soul-mate of Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau. So, while the High Commission had the potential for favorable influence, there was little room at senior levels of the Foreign Ministry for much attention to events in Dar-es-Salaam. But in that the Tanzanian government had publicly welcomed the appearance of the new political parties, High Commissioner Patricia Marsden-Dole and Deputy High Commissioner Terry Jones decided it would be in line with the interests of both governments to do all the High Commission could do to encourage the transition to multiparty democracy, short of providing financial support to political parties themselves.

APPLICATIONS OF THE DIPLOMATIC TOOLBOX

The period of support for transformation to a multi-party democracy covered in this case-study was roughly from February 1992 to June 1994.

The Golden Rules

In moving to support the emergence of political parties, and in contributing to other areas of transformation in Tanzania, such as the emergence of independent media, and reform of the justice system, the High Commission was deeply conscious of the need to defer to Tanzanian realities and preoccupations. It involved a lot of listening and understanding rather than lecturing.

Sharing with other members of the diplomatic community from democratic countries was generally unstructured, except for the “Western Donors Group” which met regularly to discuss and very loosely coordinate development assistance to the Tanzanian government. Direct assistance to civil society had not in the early 1990’s taken on the significance it has today, but there were information exchanges among western partners as to local partners, so as to avoid duplication. On election monitoring, there was considerable division of labor among Canadian, British and French diplomats in particular. As mentioned below, democratic Missions also made joint demarches on some critical issues of press independence.

Getting to the Truth

The Tanzanian constitution provided for freedom of speech for the press. However, various laws, such as the Newspaper and Broadcasting Acts, limited the effective functioning of the media, and the government, through the Registrar of Newspapers, subtly pressured journalists to practice self-censorship.

The Canadian High Commission believed that a free and vigorous media was an essential element for *informing* a society moving to multi-party politics. The media could provide critical comment, advice, popular feedback and a measure of accountability to a society and a government feeling their way during an uneven transitional period, and yet being unused to robust public debate.

Before the Nyalali Commission’s report was published, journalists were very circumspect about being seen meeting with diplomats. In the more liberal atmosphere which prevailed after the 1991 Report, these relations thawed.

Accordingly, High Commissioner Marsden-Dole and Deputy Terry Jones met regularly and publicly with independent journalists. This bolstered their credibility and status. It also supported their independence. At the meetings held at the High Commission, or Canadian diplomats’ homes, there was some discussion of how parties and the media could be in a position of loyal opposition. As well, Canadian officers provided objective information on international events and reports from international organizations which were in the public domain but not generally accessible to Tanzanian media, in those pre-internet days. Current reports from the World Bank, the IMF and the Paris Club were particularly appreciated, as often the reports dealt with matters relevant to the Tanzanian economic situation.

As part of the political “re-education” of the society after the reform of basic laws and criminal justice proceedings, Chief Justice Nyalali drafted a series of radio talks on the rights of the individual in Tanzania. Radio talks were important, particularly in rural areas, where many were illiterate and where access to newspapers was not readily available. The Canadian High Commission paid for these radio talks to be broadcast across the country.

Working With the Government

The Canadian High Commission also *dialogued* with the government to promote acceptance of the right of an informed media to critique government policies. The period of adaptation was not always smooth. In the increasing relative freedom felt by the media in the post-Nyalali period, reporting became laced with opinion and the independent press began to comment on matters which had previously been taboo, including providing scurrilous details of the President’s personal life, and detailing the ostentatious private wealth of very senior government officials. The authorities responded by arresting the journalists and charging them with treason. The High Commission remonstrated with authorities, proposing that inflammatory media reports could be dealt with as libel in a democratic society. The officials had the honesty to respond that the problem was that most reports were substantially correct.

Given the increasing license felt by the media to report on topics hitherto off-limits, Western missions feared the Government would react by instituting controls on the recently awarded press freedoms. In this situation, High Commissioner Marsden-Dole led an informal diplomatic *demarche* of Western Embassies on the Government, urging freedom of the press and transparency in government operations. Whether the Government was influenced by the demarche was not clear, but no new controls were implemented, and the treason charge against the offending journalists was dropped. For its part the press constrained itself thereafter, limiting its reports and comments to non-personal items and government policies.

Reaching Out

In order to bolster the confidence and public credibility of the new political parties, Canadian diplomats made a point of being seen in public with their new leaders, calling on them in their offices and receiving them officially at the Canadian High Commission. During these meetings, officers made available pertinent current material, including reports and studies issued by international organizations such as the World Bank, which could inform and instruct their policies and programs. Again, while this material was in the public domain and often relevant to the situation in Tanzania, even ruling Tanzanian politicians were unfamiliar with the existence and utility of these important documents.

The situation provided opportunities for a *convening and facilitating* role for outside diplomats. The plethora of new parties which sprang up, compounded by the parties' lack of experience and organizational skills, divided and weakened their effectiveness. For example, without any specifically Canadian agenda, but in an effort to encourage them to cooperate with each other, the High Commission *convened* new party leaders in the home of the Deputy High Commissioner, where they could meet, compare notes and possibly even agree to collaborate without the pressure of an attendant press or the necessity of preparing a public statement on their deliberations. The ruling party, the CCM, was invited to participate but chose not to do so. However, they stationed officers of Tanzania's Intelligence Service at the entrance to the CHC property, to note the names of those who did attend.

In the end, all 24 new parties declared their intention nonetheless to pursue independent courses. However, few of the new leaders had any experience in running a political party, though they had previously been members of the CCM and had in some case even held cabinet posts. In order to *facilitate* the organization and operation of political parties, the High Commission sponsored a day-long workshop for the new leaders. Ed Broadbent, former head of a social-democratic national political party in Canada and President of the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, led a seminar in the mechanics of creating, funding and operating a political party. The High Commission made sure to seek the moral support of the CCM for the project, but in the end the ruling party only sent an observer to monitor the proceedings.

Showcasing was a strong representational emphasis as well. In late 1991, while he was researching and preparing his report, Chief Justice Nyalali visited Canada, at the initiative of the High Commission, to meet with his Canadian counterpart, parliamentarians and federal government officials. Similarly, the Mission proposed and organized a working visit to Canada of the Speaker of the Tanzanian House and other officers of Parliament to explore with counterparts in Canada the functioning of Parliament under the new multi-party conditions.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW

Under the one party system, village elders in rural areas judged local criminal and civil cases, advised by a CCM appointed District Commissioner (DC), who held the deciding vote. The organization of society in groups of ten families under the helpful/watchful eye of a CCM leader – the ten cell leader – gave additional political weight to the interventions of the DC. Over time justice became more political, arbitrary, and unfair for all but those able to bribe the local CCM leaders.

Justice Francis Nyalali played a significant role in changing this system. He declared that political reform to a multi-party system would help ensure that the administration of justice would no longer be in the exclusive hands of one party's politicians.

This became a major emphasis in *advising* and training. The High Commission worked diligently with both the Chief Justice and the Solicitor General to get the government's agreement to request from a variety of donors the funds needed for reform of the justice system: the training of judges and magistrates; physical upgrading of principal courts; secure holding to prevent tampering with court files; provision of law books, etc.

The Canadian High Commission gave physical stature to the effort via a project to restore an important court house in the middle of Dar es Salaam, which helped to *demonstrate* the pre-eminence of the rule of law to Tanzanian society. Justice Nyalali used the occasion of the re-opening of this court house to make a nation-wide radio address to give voice to the reasonable expectation of Tanzanian citizens for fair and impartial justice.

ELECTION MONITORING

The first multi-party election held in Tanzania was a by-election held in a rural constituency. The Canadian High Commission, working together with the British High Commission, monitored this landmark election, as did the French Embassy. Canadian, British and French diplomats were prominently present at polling stations in a public show of support for the elections and to *verify* they were free and fair. Local officials were familiar with election procedures, as Tanzania had held elections since its independence, so the move to multi-party elections on a small scale was not difficult.

Running a general multi-party election was another matter. The government established an Electoral Commission to organize and run the first multi-party general election scheduled for 1995. The Western Donors Group provided financial support and information to the Electoral Commission including visits for electoral officials to meet with electoral commissions of donor countries.

THE UNIQUE CASE OF ZANZIBAR

Developments in Zanzibar followed a separate track, as in Tanzanian political life, the multi-island political culture of Zanzibar was always treated as a case apart. The terms of the Union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar permitted the Zanzibar Afro-Shiraz Party (ASP) to operate within the one-party system of the mainland. Over time it morphed into a repressive version of the CCM. With the advent of a multi-party system in 1992, one new party, the Civic United Front (CUF) led by Sheik Shariff Hamid, established itself as a threat to the ruling CCM, particularly on the smaller northern Zanzibar island of Pemba.

Western embassies found it very difficult to work with new political parties in Zanzibar and almost impossible on the island of Pemba, where its remoteness, closed culture and political system made outside assistance all but impossible. Nevertheless, it was in Zanzibar (and particularly Pemba which was a stronghold of the leader of the CUF) that the multi-party system established itself and posed the greatest challenge to the ruling CCM party in Zanzibar, to the extent of holding the CCM in Zanzibar to a 1% margin of victory in the first multi-party election in 1995. The CUF claimed widespread voter rigging and, as a result, donor aid was suspended. Unfortunately the 2000 election was annulled, due to irregularities in 16 out of 50 Zanzibar constituencies. Commonwealth observers declared the election a total shambles. Despite these problems, it was clear by then that popular support for multi-party politics was established in Zanzibar.

REFORMING THE ECONOMY

At the same time that multiparty politics were in the air, so was the policy of enhancing the fledgling private sector. The World Bank had given its first loan to the Tanzanian government in 1986 with a view to encouraging market-based economic activity, and by 1990 small street-side enterprises were evident, especially after liberalization of the regime in nearby trading partner South Africa. Most other donors followed suit, though China remained a major economic partner of Tanzania. The Canadian aid program was providing funds for micro finance schemes, while continuing to support the improvement and greater responsiveness of state enterprises such as the railway, the Hanang wheat farms, the water supply to Dar, the electricity grid, etc. The High Commission was actively engaged in working with Canadian resource extraction companies to change the many restrictive regulations and institutional attitudes which had previously blocked foreign investment. Public accountability and the rule of law were slowly accepted as essential for both political and economic reform.

POSTSCRIPT: MULTI-PARTY POLITICS HERE TO STAY

Tanzania has continued its progress. The general elections of 2005 showed that multi-party politics were well established across Tanzania. Ten parties put forward a candidate for President. The CCM's candidate Jakaya Kikwete won with 80+% of the votes. The runner-up was the CUF candidate with 11+%, a respectable showing. In the Tanzanian Parliament the CCM won 70% of the seats; the remaining seats were split among 6 opposition parties. In Zanzibar the CCM won 30 seats, the CUF won 19.

Multiparty democracy developed in relatively remote Zanzibar with a minimum of outside moral and financial encouragement and assistance. In the rest of Tanzania, diplomatic Missions played a constructive supportive role which no doubt helped create a framework in which multi-party democracy could begin to grow. What is clear is that after a history of 30 years of one-party rule, the Tanzanian people chose and forged a nationally-adapted governance system of multi-party democracy, a free media, private sector economic management, and the rule of law. That great success is the achievement of the Tanzanians themselves.

Zimbabwe: From Hope to Crisis

NOTE TO READERS: *The volatile and tragic situation in Zimbabwe is in a crucial phase. An election has produced a multi-party outcome in Parliament, with the formerly ruling party in a minority position. According to much-delayed official results of the election for President, the opposition candidate Morgan Tsvangirai won a plurality of votes over President Mugabe but was just short of an outright majority, requiring a second round of voting in a run-off to be held at the end of June. Tsvangirai has indicated his readiness to participate subject to assurances to ensure a free and fair campaign. However, there are already signs of systematic efforts by Mugabe's supporters to intimidate voters, especially in the countryside. Diplomats exploring conditions and seeking to verify illegal behavior have been obstructed by security forces. While the prospects for healthier and more democratic governance in Zimbabwe have improved after Zimbabwean voters indicated a wide-spread wish for profound change, the final outcome remains in the balance.*

INTRODUCTION

Zimbabwe's precipitous decline from peaceful "bread basket" to malnourished autocracy has become one of Africa's most notable stories of post-colonial state failure. But the situation was not always grim: far from it. Upon transition from white-ruled Rhodesia in 1979, the country's future appeared bright. With plentiful natural resources, a bountiful agricultural sector, a strong complement of educated human capital, and solid government administration, Zimbabwe appeared poised for success. The government of the new Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, regarded as a liberation hero for his role in armed struggle against white supremacist rule, was racially inclusive in language and personnel. The new regime in Harare was embraced worldwide, on both sides in the Cold War and in the group of nonaligned developing states.

Since that moment of optimism a slow decline, blamed by Western observers almost entirely on Mugabe's misrule, has led to the crippling of a vibrant agricultural economy, repression of political dissent, and violent land seizure. Others note the effect of rosy assessments early on and easy money in the 1980s, followed by the social destabilization of structural readjustments in the 1990s. As conditions in Zimbabwe began growing steadily worse in the 1990s, and as President Mugabe grew more adversarial, the European Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States, among others, opted for an approach of punitive and denunciatory opposition to his methods and sought to isolate him while supporting a second track of outreach from Zimbabwe's regional neighbors.

But among Zimbabwe's neighbors in the Southern African Development Community (SADC), Mugabe's casting of Western powers as neo-colonialist meddlers has carried some weight with politicians and a public attuned to the language of liberation struggle. President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa and other SADC leaders for some time eschewed open criticism of Mugabe in favor of attempts at engagement and mediation. However, though their methods differ, SADC leaders claim to seek the same goal as Western leaders: a stable transition to new leadership that now, after elections in March 2008, may finally appear possible.

The harsh fact, though, is that neither sanctions nor "quiet diplomacy" has alleviated the fiscal and humanitarian crisis in the country. With inflation soaring to over 100,000 per cent and a population at risk of hunger, the Mugabe regime will leave behind a devastated economy that will take years to rebuild, and a society in need of reconciliation to heal the scars of political violence. In addition, the issue of land distribution at the heart of Zimbabwean conflict for decades remains divisive. The tasks ahead will likely require technical capacity from government that has largely eroded, and which will need robust reinforcement from the donor community.

Roots of Conflict

The history of Zimbabwe's independence from British colonialism and white supremacist rule continues to play a significant role in political discourse. Southern Rhodesia, as it was formerly known, was settled by whites beginning in the late 19th century. In 1930, the Land Apportionment Act restricted black access to land and forced many would-be farmers into wage labor.

In 1965, Ian Smith, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, fearing that the "wind of change" sweeping over Africa in the wake of de-colonization would ultimately produce majority rule in Rhodesia, unilaterally declared

independence from Britain of his white-minority regime. The international community declared Rhodesia an outlaw state and imposed strict sanctions. It was recognized only by apartheid South Africa.

Liberation groups ZANU and ZAPU (the predominantly majority Shona and Chinese-backed Zimbabwe African National Union and predominantly minority Ndebele and Soviet-backed Zimbabwe African People's Union, respectively) intensified their guerilla campaign against white rule, eventually leading Smith to submit to negotiations. British-brokered talks at Lancaster House in the UK led to British-supervised elections in 1980, won by independence leader Robert Mugabe's ZANU party. Mugabe became Prime Minister and has remained leader of the country ever since, changing the constitution to become President in 1987.

Post-Colonial Violence

In 1982, Prime Minister Mugabe feared rebellion by his political rival and cabinet member Joshua Nkomo and sacked him (ZAPU was unified with ZANU in 1987 to form ZANU-PF, or Patriotic Front, in what was seen by some as a move toward the one-party state Mugabe had been advocating). Mugabe then sent the North Korean trained 5th Brigade, a unit subordinated directly to him, into Matabeleland in an operation known as *Gukurahundi* ("the early rain that washes away the chaff before the spring rains" in Shona). Nkomo himself fled to London in 1983, accusing the 5th Brigade of killing three persons in his home and fearing for his own life, calling the unit a "political army," and denying the main issue was tribal in essence, but rather one of political control. The killings that took place over the next few years are widely referred to as a massacre, with estimates of the number killed as high as 20,000.

Diplomats in Harare conveyed to their governments the reports of massacres but authorities at home, not eager to call into question such a recent success and fearful of further regional instability, chose not to confront Mugabe's evident intolerance for dissent. It remains a searing memory for Ndebeles and a social divide in the country. A commission to look into the campaign drafted a report that was never publicly released. Fear of accountability or retribution for the campaign is reputed to be among the reasons Mugabe fears losing power. Mugabe eventually succeeded in bringing ZAPU to heel, signing an accord with Nkomo to merge ZAPU into ZANU in 1987, and amending the constitution to create an executive presidency.

Hope and Disappointment: the 1990s

There was a glimmer of hope for democracy in 1990 when Mugabe's post-election attempt at constitutional change to establish a one-party state failed (his party and loyal security forces continued their *de facto* one-party rule, and Mugabe was re-elected in 1996). In 1991, hope continued to predominate among Western diplomats as Mugabe hosted the Commonwealth Summit, at which he held a garden party with Queen Elizabeth. With his support, the Commonwealth adopted the Harare Declaration, which committed member states to protect "democracy, democratic processes and institutions which reflect national circumstances, the rule of law and the independence of the judiciary, just and honest government; (and) fundamental human rights, including equal rights and opportunities for all citizens regardless of race, colour, creed or political belief..." Mugabe's "constructive neutrality" was instrumental in overcoming objections from a number of autocrats: Kenya's Daniel arap Moi, Malaysia's Mahatir Mohammed, and Uganda's still-serving Yoweri Museveni among them.

In the early 1990's, the land distribution issue came to the fore as Mugabe seized four large white-owned farms and denied any right of appeal. He dismissed the objections of Harare-based diplomats and isolated from government contact those who protested vigorously, such as Canada's High Commissioner, Charles Bassett. The sense emanating from President Mugabe that he was embattled by foreign opponents began to dominate his public statements from this time.

Through the 1990s, Mugabe increasingly relied upon party and loyal security forces, which included the feared Central Intelligence Organization. In 1996, after being re-elected, Mugabe stated that land would be expropriated without compensation, which would be deferred until later. With infusions from international financial institutions drying up, both due to larger global trends and to misuse by the government, Zimbabwe sought alternative sources of income. Wealth from timber and mining concessions in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), where his armed forces participated in what became a regional war, went directly to military and party leaders. The relationships with Libya and China grew closer as the West became more estranged, less tolerant of Mugabe's authoritarian tendencies.

In 1997, John Major's Conservative government was defeated at the polls by the Labour Party under its new leader, Tony Blair, in Britain. Blair's first meeting with Mugabe at the Commonwealth Summit in Edinburgh was mostly consumed by a monologue by Mugabe on land compensation. The Mugabe government claims that Britain reneged on a commitment to support land redistribution efforts. Britain's position was that it would support "willing seller" land purchases, along with other donors, so long as it was integrated in a wider land reform and poverty reduction policy. Earlier efforts were assessed to have benefitted ZANU-PF officials rather than the intended recipients. Mugabe never agreed to these stipulations. According to British High Commissioner Brian Donnelly, "The great Mugabe myth is that it has been lack of money that has precluded land reform. There would always have been money if he had been prepared to accept a transparent and equitable process." In Mugabe's worldview, this was an injustice.

By late 1999, a government-appointed commission on drafting a new Constitution recommended that his powers be curbed, and limited to two terms in office. At that point, the Constitution had been amended fifteen times to increase executive power. Dissenting opinions on the committee criticized the draft for leaving Mugabe too much authority. Mugabe then proposed a constitution to increase his powers, put it forward in a referendum in February 2000, and lost. A civic movement, the National Constitutional Accord, met despite official vilification to discuss a constitution that could be accepted by a majority of Zimbabweans.

Land Seizure and Opposition Politics: Becoming a pariah

In 2000, forcible seizures of white-owned land by ZANU-PF "war veterans" (often party thugs too young to have fought in the wars of independence) began to seriously destabilize Zimbabwe's economy.

The 2000 Parliamentary elections saw a ZANU-PF victory over the newly formed opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), led by trade unionist Morgan Tsvangirai, but Mugabe's party lost its margin to change the constitution.

In 2002, Mugabe won the Presidency, but the freedom and fairness of the vote was condemned by the Commonwealth and western powers. A planned EU observer mission was called off by Brussels due to obstacles from the government, despite the advice of EU ambassadors in Harare that criticism of what was already an unfair electoral process would be undermined by not having observers on the ground. Norway did field an observer mission and strongly criticized the electoral process. The Commonwealth suspended Zimbabwe, citing high levels of violence in the election; this was the beginning of ongoing sanctions by the EU, US, Australia and New Zealand. South Africa, fearful of state collapse on its border, endorsed the poll, as did the rest of SADC's members. The divergence between the western democracies' views and those of most in the region widened from here.

Also in 2002, the Supreme Court struck down the legislation allowing non-consensual land acquisition. Mugabe forced many judges from the bench in response.

Zimbabwe suffers from periodic droughts, and the combination of natural conditions and the chaos surrounding the country's agricultural land combined in 2002-3 to require rapidly escalating external food assistance – indeed most generously from the countries most vilified by Mugabe. The economic and social ripple effect from high rates of HIV/AIDS infection also began to take their toll. Zimbabwe's agricultural productivity and economy in general began to nosedive.

In 2004, Morgan Tsvangirai, leader of the opposition MDC, was tried for treason on trumped-up evidence and acquitted. Violence against MDC supporters would only escalate. The following year, 2005, the United States ramped up its anti-Mugabe rhetoric, declaring Zimbabwe one of six world "outposts of tyranny." Perhaps both threatened and emboldened by his pariah status, Mugabe authorized Operation *Marambatsvina* ("take out the trash"). In the months leading up to another flawed election, hundreds of thousands of urban slum dwellers were forcibly displaced and their homes destroyed. ZANU-PF won at the polls in the wake of this brutality.

The next few years, leading up to the 2008 Parliamentary and Presidential elections, were marked by further sanctions, escalating rhetoric on all sides, and increasing economic woes, especially for Zimbabwe's poor. Agricultural production and distribution fell to a point where at least half of Zimbabwe's population was at risk for hunger. Inflation reached astronomic dimensions. The flow of refugees across the border to South

Africa grew unabated as Zimbabweans fled in search of jobs, food, and safety from political persecution. MDC leaders and activists came under increasing attack, often physical, by the government and ZANU-PF's own youth militia. The security forces publicly beat a number of prominent opposition figures, including Tsvangirai himself, in early 2007.

The different approaches of Western and African leaders to the crisis would grow more divergent, with increasing isolation and condemnation by the former, and what the international press dubbed "quiet diplomacy" led by South Africa's President Thabo Mbeki, though Mbeki's passiveness following the April 2008 election has been increasingly contested by other SADC leaders and in South Africa itself. The failure of these two schools of thought to find more common policy ground on at least the shared interest in change is the subject of argument on both sides.

One thing is certain; when a new, legitimate government does emerge to lead Zimbabwe, the international community will have to be united in its support for reconstruction and reconciliation.

DIPLOMATIC ASSETS

Diplomats have supported the quest for democratic rule in Zimbabwe since the country's early days of independence. The assets available, however, have varied largely depending on factors including historical legacy, membership in regional organizations such as SADC and international ones such as the Commonwealth, and whether or not the diplomat's home country is in Zimbabwe's neighborhood.

The legacy of colonialism and the power of the liberation struggle still make for strong domestic politics in Zimbabwe, and ZANU-PF has traditionally exploited its roots in the independence movement. Robert Mugabe has specifically vilified Britain, reveling in caricatured criticism of Tony Blair during his tenure as Prime Minister and referring to any diplomatic actions taken by British diplomats as plotting by "colonizers". After United States President George Bush openly advocated regime change in Iraq and invaded that country in 2003, Mugabe was able to invoke the US as bogeyman, and scapegoat US sanctions for Zimbabwe's economic crisis.

The dynamic created by Zimbabwe's colonial legacy has limited diplomatic assets available to many embassies. By linking diplomatic actions taken by Western countries with colonialism, the Zimbabwean government limits the *influence* that these diplomats can have. But the sense that there was a golden age of mutual understanding may be illusory. According to High Commissioner Brian Donnelly, "I am not sure that Mugabe ever would have been receptive to advice on democracy. Moreover, he was never very accessible to diplomats...even in the 'good' years."

Furthermore, *immunity*, traditionally one of the greatest assets afforded to diplomats, has been called into question as Mugabe has threatened and intimidated many Western diplomats along with journalists and other critics of his government. Mugabe has grown increasingly outspoken and brazen in his actions. Security services have used violent tactics against two Canadian High Commissioners.

On 20 March 2007, President Mugabe threatened to expel Western diplomats, accusing them of meddling in Zimbabwe's domestic affairs. This warning to Western diplomats against supporting or interacting with opposition leaders was thought to have been aimed at scaring Zimbabweans from interaction with Western diplomats, and most specifically the British Ambassador Andrew Pockock and the American Ambassador Christopher Dell. Ambassador Dell walked out of the meeting in protest.

Other countries, particularly those with similar historical circumstances such as South Africa, have enjoyed a larger degree of *legitimacy* in Zimbabwe – and thereby access to decision makers. Mugabe and ZANU-PF leaders perceive shared interests arising from common struggle for African self-rule in a post-independence environment. Many countries in the Southern African region directly supported Zimbabwe's independence struggle, and Mugabe returned the favor to them once in power by assisting against South African-backed insurgencies. These governments, acknowledging Zimbabwe's economic crisis, have been able to leverage these historical ties to maintain a dialogue with the ruling ZANU-PF party. In becoming a SADC member, nations agree to share values including "human rights, democracy and the rule of law." But this formal pledge has rarely been employed by SADC members to hold Zimbabwe to these commitments, in part because of questionable

democratic credentials of some SADC members themselves, although Botswanan legislators operating in the SADC inter-parliamentary assembly have long been critical of Zimbabwe's anti-democratic practice; recently the Foreign Minister followed suit. Diplomats from South Africa, particularly Ambassador Jeremiah Ndou, have on occasion reminded Zimbabwe of democratic values all members have agreed to uphold. South Africa has also been leading SADC-supported negotiations between ZANU-PF and opposition parties, although MDC leader Morgan Tsvangirai has publicly called for South African President Thabo Mbeki to be replaced in this role, citing his lack of willingness to confront Mugabe.

The centrality of the British contribution to Zimbabwean independence was recognized by Mugabe until a decade ago. Other Commonwealth, EU, and democratic governments like the US and Norway also contributed a great deal to post-independence development. Western embassies have shown *solidarity* toward Zimbabwe's civil society and opposition, though often at the risk of antagonizing the government.

Finally, many diplomats have cited their ability to leverage *funds* in Zimbabwe as a useful asset to their diplomatic efforts. Funds have been used to provide support to civil society groups and democratic institutions, such as the judiciary, as part of a larger strategy to support democratic development in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwean lawyer and intellectual Dr. Alex Magaisa has emphasized the importance of these initiatives as local resources become increasingly scarce. Embassies refrained from direct support to the MDC, "since any evidence of this would be used to prosecute opposition leaders." International food aid – both bilateral from governments such as the UK through embassies, and multilateral through programs like the World Food Programme – has also been a major force by the diplomatic community in helping to stave off famine in Zimbabwe. This aid has vastly increased as Zimbabwe's food crisis has worsened in recent years as a result of land seizures, economic mismanagement, non-cancellation of debt, and persistent drought. In terms of proportion, funds for democracy and civil society assistance are dwarfed by the level of humanitarian aid.

TOOLBOX APPLICATION

The Golden Rules

Many diplomats cited *listening* as an important part of their strategy for democracy support. This includes listening to all sides of the struggle for democracy in Zimbabwe. Edward Gibson Lanpher, US Ambassador to Zimbabwe from 1991-1995, said that he never turned down an invitation to speak to people throughout every region of the country. He made an effort to be very public in his conversations with a variety of stakeholders in Zimbabwe's future, including both white and black farmers, rural and urban residents, and missionaries. Listening to a wide variety of perspectives helps Ambassadors to better *understand* the political situation. British High Commissioner Brian Donnelly organized "roadshows" rotating around the main provincial cities, including staff from all the High Commission's sections – commercial, consular, British Council, and aid. This effective moving open house facilitated access for citizens. Local officials, parliamentarians, religious and civic figures were invited to evening receptions. Often the visits would be pegged to the opening of some UK-funded project in the area. The effort allowed the High Commission to counter accusations that it was acting covertly. Other embassies conducted similar efforts on a smaller scale. Yet the ability of diplomats to operate this freely was considerably greater in the early 1990s and even at the beginning of the decade than it is today.

A major part of listening to stakeholders and gaining a strong understanding of the situation in Zimbabwe is showing *respect* for Zimbabweans' hopes for the country. This respect forms a major part of South Africa's diplomatic interactions with Zimbabwe, which is largely centered on listening and engaging the government and opposition so that Zimbabweans can find a common solution to their political problems. Former South African Ambassador Jeremiah Ndou says, "The most important thing is that Zimbabweans themselves sit down and agree on what they want." Yet, the Zimbabwean opposition and civil society feel this approach is overly solicitous to Mugabe and insensitive to their democratic aspirations.

In recent years it has become more difficult for some diplomats to engage broadly across all sectors of Zimbabwean society. This is especially true for many of the more outspoken critics of the Zimbabwean government, such as the UK, who have been unable to speak directly with government officials. Because of these limitations, information *sharing* between diplomatic missions has become an important tool for foreign offices. The EU

ambassadors meet regularly, Commonwealth countries have monthly lunches, and constant informal bilateral exchanges among diplomats are the norm. Matthew Neuhaus, Director of the Political Affairs Division of the Commonwealth, says that since Zimbabwe withdrew from the Commonwealth in 2003, it has relied largely on its relationship with SADC for information.

Truth in Communications

Sharing information gathered from stakeholders in Zimbabwe with others through *informing* has been an equally important task of diplomats in the country. A key component of the Canadian mission's current approach is informing the public about human rights abuses and violent or undemocratic actions. Jennifer Metayer, Head of Aid for the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), says that CIDA stays in direct contact with all of its implementing partners several times per week. If affiliated staff members disappear or experience harassment, incidents are publicly reported so as to shine a spotlight aimed at preventing further abuse.

Formal *reporting* also plays an important role in communicating the current situation in Zimbabwe to home countries and the public, especially with the government's effort to limit international media access. Eden Reid, of the South African High Commission, said that a major role of South African diplomats inside of Zimbabwe is reporting back to the Department of Home Affairs in Pretoria. Because South African diplomats are able to talk to government officials, opposition leaders, and civil society within Zimbabwe, Reid believes they are able to report an accurate picture of the situation in the country, which is useful for forming South African policy. Yet given misgivings about South African policy, some opposition and civic figures are more apt to talk to Western diplomats. Furthermore, the humanitarian aid given by western governments enabled insight into conditions and contacts with civil society around the country.

Some of the failure of diplomacy in Zimbabwe, however, may be attributed to a failure to heed warnings reported by diplomats. Former Canadian High Commissioner Robert MacLaren found little support at home for his alarm over reports of massacres in Matabeleland in the 1980s. A decade later, former US Ambassador Lanpher reported in his final cable to Washington DC in 1995 that Zimbabwe was "increasingly corrupt" and had "the appearance of democracy, but was basically under a one-party, one-man control." In this case it was not a failure of reporting, but a failure of capitals to follow up these reports with action to help prevent further breakdown of democracy.

Working with Government

Though working with ZANU-PF government officials was initially the goal of most, if not all, diplomatic envoys, many diplomats soon found their efforts at democracy support severely impeded by these same officials. When Mugabe's government became increasingly authoritarian beginning in the late 1990s, many diplomats decided they could no longer stay quiet and issued public demarches condemning the actions of the ZANU-PF government. While there continued to be efforts to work with the Zimbabwean government, illegal land seizures and violence surrounding the 2000 elections seemed to be the last straw.

The UK and US governments most notably attempted to pressure the Mugabe regime through public condemnation and economic sanctions, though this made their relationship with a retaliatory Zimbabwean government even more dysfunctional. Sir Brian Donnelly, the British High Commissioner from 2001 to 2004, was demonized in the official press and denied Ministerial access, which led him to turn to public means of expressing his views on human rights, and detailing the UK's large humanitarian assistance program. The Mugabe regime, seeking to undermine his local credibility, retaliated in many ways, placing Sir Brian on 24-hour surveillance in 2002 and threatening to expel him in 2003, accusing him publicly of various fictitious plots ostensibly intended to overthrow the Zimbabwean government. Donnelly believes these acts were designed primarily to intimidate Zimbabwean interlocutors.

This pattern of the Zimbabwean government continuing to refuse to work with diplomats in the wake of public declarations, may prompt reflection on the benefits of such pro-active public diplomacy in a one-man state. While such condemnations satisfied domestic constituents' desires to have their governments speak out about human rights abuses in Zimbabwe, the ability of diplomats in the country to influence or negotiate with ZANU-PF officials via *demarches* was severely thwarted. While the softer line taken by other countries'

diplomats may have preserved access, their ability to influence – or will to influence – Zimbabwean policies is hardly evident.

Matthew Neuhaus believes that better *advising* and greater mentoring involvement with Zimbabwe's government in the early years of independence might have made a difference in the country's ultimate democratic development. Yet the first Zimbabwe cabinets included several leaders who had spent exile years in international institutions. Focused diplomatic advising to build up more such homegrown future leaders may have forestalled the transformation to authoritarian rule that Zimbabwe later faced. Zimbabwe's government *did* avail itself of external advice in areas of concern when it was desirable. Britain, for instance, helped mold the Zimbabwean National Army, having deployed a military training mission in Zimbabwe for over 20 years. However, many in the international community were eager to overlook governance deficiencies that could have been corrected through advising earlier in exchange for having a "model" democratic African leader to point to in the once-esteemed figure of Mugabe.

The abilities of diplomats to *advise* the Zimbabwean government in a way that would meaningfully improve democratic development have been constrained by a frequent divergence of views with officials on what constitutes a modern democratic state in Africa. But diplomats have also turned to civil society as a potential force to strengthen Zimbabwean governance. By advising civil society leaders and working to build their capacity, diplomats believe they are helping to create an environment conducive to better future government.

This advising has largely taken place through an emphasis on *dialogue* that has formed a cornerstone of many diplomats' actions in Zimbabwe. South African Ambassador Ndou emphasized the importance of dialogue, specifically citing South Africa's efforts to encourage conversations between government officials and opposition leaders using the institution of SADC to maintain legitimacy and solidarity as an honest broker. Others tried to reel Zimbabwe back before relations with the West reached their current state. Commonwealth Secretary General and New Zealand ex-Foreign Minister Don McKinnon was mandated by the Commonwealth Ministerial Advisory Group (CMAG), formed as a follow-on to the 1991 Harare Declaration, to attempt to forge a creative solution, but was unsuccessful in gaining meaningful political access to Mugabe.

Following this failed attempt, the Commonwealth adopted the Abuja Process in 2001 at the request of then-British Foreign Secretary Robin Cook to attempt to work with the Zimbabwean government on issues of human rights, elections, and land reform. A deal was reached, but the September 11, 2001 attacks on the US diverted international attention, and Mugabe rescinded his consent to the agreement at the end of the month. According to one senior diplomat, this "led the UK (and other western governments) to doubt the value of dialogue when the other party seemed patently insincere."

Reaching Out

Former Canadian Ambassador John Schram was typical of several Ambassadors over recent years who sought to encourage dialogue by *convening* a group of people who had a stake in Zimbabwe's future development and provide them with a safe place for discussion. This allowed local leaders to network with others in the country who were also working toward a more democratic Zimbabwe.

Strengthened by experience in South Africa a decade earlier, Ambassador Schram also emphasized his efforts to encourage dialogue by hosting private dinners every few weeks attended by leaders from government, business, academia, and the media, among other segments of civil society to discuss Zimbabwe's challenges and brainstorm solutions for the future. He and other such diplomatic hosts believe these efforts had an impact and helped to create a cadre of leaders who will be ready to help move Zimbabwe on a path toward democracy once the opportunity for change arises. The Norwegians developed a prominent profile for their outreach efforts in Zimbabwe, drawing on their experience organizing the negotiations that led to the Oslo Accords. Most embassies engaged in convening government and opposition at dinner parties and other gatherings.

Ambassador Lanpher highlighted active participation of U.S. diplomats in the International Visitor Program, which brings current and potential government, business, and civil society leaders to the United States for 30 days to "meet and confer with their professional counterparts and to experience America firsthand." Many diplomatic missions also worked to *connect* local leaders with outside groups or individuals who might be helpful to their efforts, including in policy centers and universities outside Zimbabwe. Britain's Chevening

program sends about 20 Zimbabweans per year for one year of graduate training in the UK. Other democracies have such exchange programs. The British Council also organizes training programs on aspects of democratic governance inside and outside of Zimbabwe.

By *showcasing* best practices through these trainings, diplomats such as those from the US Embassy attempted to build capacity of the local Zimbabwean officials, public institutions and civil society.

Much of the support diplomats have provided to Zimbabwe has also been in the form of *financing*. Diplomats have given funds to promote dialogue, support Zimbabwe's vocal labor movement, reinforce human rights, promote gender equality, and build capacity of civil society to push for democratic governance, among others. These funding mechanisms have chiefly been lauded as successful in supporting democracy development. Jennifer Metayer points to the especially flexible and rapid-response nature of CIDA's funding as critical to the impact it has had in Zimbabwe.

Beyond the direct benefit diplomats have gained from providing funding to local groups, an additional benefit is that providing funding – especially to development or humanitarian projects – allows diplomats an opportunity to interact with people and the media in a more public way than they might otherwise be able. Ambassador Schram, for instance, cited his ability to discuss the values of human rights, democracy, and rule of law enshrined in such agreements as the “Harare Declaration” of the Commonwealth and New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) undertakings on governance, both of which Zimbabwe had signed, to the media and the public during ceremonies designed to unveil development projects funded by the Canadian government.

The ability to provide funds and other forms of aid also gives diplomats some leverage over government officials who rely on these funds. Ambassador Lanpher recalls an example in the early 1980s when Zimbabwe was suffering from a severe food shortage due to drought. Mugabe had imposed a food curfew on Matabeleland as part of the punishment for perceived rebellion by followers of Joshua Nkomo in 1982. When the US sent food aid to the country, Ambassador Lanpher refused to distribute it until Mugabe's government signed an agreement stating that the food would be distributed across all areas of the country. “I had a good relationship with the government,” Ambassador Lanpher stated. “But sometimes you have to be tough.” This approach became increasingly difficult, and with the 2002-3 drought and resultant food shortages, leverage was very limited, as most donor governments refused to channel aid through the Zimbabwean government for fear of it being misused or inequitably distributed.

These financing mechanisms sometimes come at a cost. The public emphasis that many Western diplomats have put on funding pro-democracy civil society groups and opposition parties has allowed Mugabe to decry that the West has been funding “regime change” and has, to some extent, delegitimized opposition groups and even some NGOs in the public eye. Methods developed in post-Cold War Europe in the 1990s were predicated on open access to all parties. Given Zimbabwe's deepening authoritarianism, support to the ruling ZANU-PF seemed perverse. But it therefore generated fierce resistance. Anecdotal evidence points to infighting that has begun to occur within NGOs and other civil society groups over access to foreign funds. The opposition MDC party split in 2005 was reported by some sources to be driven by disagreements over spending.

Defending Democrats

Support for local leadership in the Zimbabwean struggle for democracy has also been a part of diplomatic action in the country. Diplomatic missions like the US Embassy have *demonstrated* their support by being quite vocal in defense of democrats who have been persecuted by the Mugabe regime. These diplomats have identified and called for an end to persecution through official statements, such as the following, released by the US State Department on 26 July 2007: “Yesterday's beating of over 200 Zimbabwean citizens that were peacefully demonstrating for a new constitution is an overt attempt by the Government of Zimbabwe to eliminate any criticism in advance of elections planned for next year.”

CIDA's Jennifer Metayer says that *verifying* the whereabouts of civil society members, and reporting any disappearances or threats has formed a large part of CIDA's efforts in Zimbabwe. By verifying any persecution that civil society activists experience, CIDA lets the Zimbabwean government know that the Canadian mission is watching their actions.

In May 2008, a group including the British, American, EU and Japanese ambassadors and the deputy chiefs of mission from the Netherlands and Tanzania (which chairs the African Union) and several other diplomats drove in an 11-car convoy north of the capital to investigate allegations that the government and ruling party were targeting opposition supporters in the aftermath of the first round of the presidential election, held in late March. The diplomats found a ZANU-PF detention and torture center, and visited local hospitals to interview those injured. The diplomats pushed their way through armed guards at one hospital. On the way back to Harare, the diplomatic convoy was stopped at a roadblock, and a Central Intelligence Organization officer after hearing from a US diplomat of what they saw told them “we are going to beat you thoroughly too.” Diplomats prevented the agents from fleeing and photographed them. US Ambassador James McGee said afterward “We are eager to continue this type of thing, to show the world what is happening here in Zimbabwe. It is absolutely urgent that the entire world sees what is going on. The violence has to stop.”

Dr. Alex Magaisa believes that the attention of the diplomatic community, including their *witnessing* trials of accused opposition supporters, has had a big impact on Zimbabwe’s democratic development. “It’s reassuring to know that the world is watching,” Magaisa said. “If you get a diplomatic figure from a more powerful country, it makes news and it communicates a message to the world...I think this has been very, very useful.”

Diplomats have also tried to *protect* democratic rights by identifying when these rights have been curbed or violated and publicly petitioning the Zimbabwean government to restore democratic norms, including safety for those who are working toward democratic goals. On 26 November 2007, the US government released a statement: “We call on the Government of Zimbabwe to end immediately the violent attacks against democratic activists and civil society organizations, to respect the rule of law, and to allow the Zimbabwean people to exercise peacefully their political rights.”

These types of public statements that defend the actions of domestic democrats have become even more important in Zimbabwe’s increasingly constrained media environment. Many foreign journalists have been expelled. The few that are allowed in the country are subject to being censored and periodically arrested, as are local Zimbabwean journalists. Stories of journalists being censored, jailed, or beaten have become common, as independent media within the country has withered under stifling laws. Many of the country’s journalists have since taken refuge in willing host countries including Britain, the United States, and South Africa, where new independent media sources covering Zimbabwe have flourished.

CONCLUSION

From an early optimistic start, diplomats from both Western countries and those closest to Zimbabwe in history and geography have been able to use the assets at their disposal with diminishing success. Though colonial history has been manipulated by the Mugabe regime to exclude meaningful influence by the UK and other Western powers, the policies of entities as varied as the US government and the Commonwealth still require careful examination. In light of the diverging approaches of African and specifically SADC leaders and their diplomatic counterparts from the West, two questions are especially worth considering.

First, to what extent is public condemnation an effective diplomatic tool? The planned EU Observation Mission of the 2002 elections was canceled on the grounds that the conditions of observation were unacceptably constrained, but also to defer to EU public opinion. It left EU and other Missions the task of trying to monitor the elections with inadequate means (an apt example, however, of *sharing*).

Many countries and bodies have taken a hard line public stance against Mugabe himself and his regime. For example, US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice took a stern position in a statement in 2007 which read in part: “The world community again has been shown that the regime of Robert Mugabe is ruthless and repressive and creates only suffering for the people of Zimbabwe. We will continue to follow closely events in Zimbabwe, and we urge the Government to allow all Zimbabweans to freely express their views without being subject to violence and intimidation.” In addition, “targeted” western sanctions directed at regime officials and supporters have become a standard policy tool. They can have a strong psychological impact. But while these measures are felt by their intended targets, their application and perceived irreversibility can also create a further obstacle to contact and influence with power brokers.

Such declarations and policies probably further hampered diplomats' already reduced ability to work directly with government officials and maintain a flow of information about the situation on the ground. But democracies understandably wish to maintain what they judge is an important position of principle on human rights abuses, political violence, and undemocratic action, and ideally consistently around the world. Inconsistencies on the part of critical democracies are exploited by autocrats and sow confusion among broad populations as well. Countries and bodies that on the other hand have focused on working within official channels have been accused of silent collaboration, but they have maintained open channels of communication and information inside Zimbabwe, for what they are worth in effecting moderation and change. Both approaches have had their strengths and weaknesses, with little public acknowledgment or cooperation on either side. Neither seems to have achieved their stated aim.

The second question concerns how much open support diplomats should provide to opposition parties and democracy-promoting civil society groups. In the case of politicians especially, credibility hinges on authenticity and independence. Too much public support and funding from foreign sources open opposition parties and civil society groups to charges that they are simply fronts for foreign governments. Yet without outside support, many of these groups do not have the resources or political space to operate. It is important for diplomats to find a balance between support for a multi-party democratic process and perceived support for "regime change."

This case study does not pretend to provide an answer to these questions. But it does draw attention to the merit of creative thinking about the opening up of diplomatic space between differently positioned actors with varying strategies (an example in this case would be SADC and the Commonwealth), to find common ground in pursuing similar goals. Rather than viewing these approaches as either-or choices, better calibration of application might maximize the potential benefits of each: greater willingness to conduct back-channel talks on the part of western democracies and a greater willingness by SADC members to use the access they have to influence beneficial change.

If the current political turmoil is resolved in a way which leads to change in Zimbabwe, it will still need significant outside support to lift Zimbabwe back on the track of realizing its potential, given that its once noteworthy assets are now severely degraded through abuse or neglect. Rebuilding an effective civil service not tied to political leaders, and re-establishing an economic and fiscal climate in which trade and industry can flourish again will be priorities. Generous international support for Zimbabwe's government and civil society will hopefully help Zimbabwe to enjoy at last the self-governance and prosperity by and for the people that independence and self-determination promised.

Resource List:

Donor Organizations, Other Democracy Support Organizations and Election Assistance and Observation Organizations

Accompanying the Third Wave of global democratization we have witnessed a new tide of needs for ideas and funding. Nongovernmental democracy activists seeking to establish and consolidate democratic institutions have knocked on doors of embassies seeking that help from representatives of democratic governments as well as from foundations and international organizations. To meet the complex and growing demand for assistance an array of new organizations have emerged to join the ranks of traditional sources of help.

The following list of organizations is provided as a guide to diplomats. The list provides answers to the question: what advice can I give to a representative of a lawyer's organization, a women's association, a group of journalists seeking to establish a press association or any other representative of a civic organization on sources of help beyond that assistance my own government might provide through its Foreign Ministry or official assistance programs? This list seeks to be the source of some answers. It does not intend to be exhaustive. We plan to expand upon it in future. It does not include major official governmental assistance programs. The list does not seek to include the many thousands of nongovernmental organizations; many of which courageously and against great odds, are participating in the struggle for democracy. Many are grouped together in such organizations as the World Movement for Democracies (WMD). Through such formal or informal networks democracy organizations learn from each others' experiences. This list seeks to link those organizations to ideas, information and resources that will help them in their struggle.

The resource list provides a brief description of institutional goals of each organization and a link to their websites where detailed information can be found.

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DONOR ORGANIZATIONS

Alfred Mozer Stichting

<http://www.alfredmozerstichting.nl/>

At the beginning of 1990 the Dutch Labour Party (PvdA) established a foundation to make and maintain contacts in Central and Eastern Europe. The foundation was named after Alfred Mozer, the first international secretary of the PvdA. The aim of the AMS is to support the development of democracy through the training and schooling of (social) democratic political parties. We are a demand driven organisation and we are sponsored by the MATRA programme of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in The Netherlands. Interested political parties and organisations can send in applications for projects. The Alfred Mozer Foundation has now shifted its focus slightly, concentrating less on Central Europe and rather more on Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. The Foundation's work is intended to help in developing stable democracy. A fully democratic political system is one of the main preconditions for EU membership.

Balkan Trust for Democracy

<http://www.gmfus.org/balkantrust>

The Balkan Trust, which opened its office in Belgrade in June 2003, is a ten-year funding project of the German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF), in partnership with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation. It is a \$27 million grantmaking initiative to support good governance in South East Europe. The Balkan Trust works in the Western Balkans, Romania and Bulgaria. Its aim is to strengthen democratic political institutions through two main programmes: Linking Citizens with Government - supporting local and national organizations working to improve citizen engagement with government, monitoring government performance, and improving citizens' understanding of their rights and responsibilities; and Cooperation and Collaboration - supporting sub-national and trans-Balkan collaboration among governments, NGOs, civic initiatives, and other institutions working to improve understanding and cooperation throughout the region.

Robert Bosch Stiftung

<http://www.bosch-stiftung.de/>

The foundation uses a variety of methods to have an impact on society and its practices, trigger development, and bring about change....Since its founding over forty years ago, in 1964, the Robert Bosch Stiftung has spent 735 million Euros on funding. Among its many program areas regarding Germany's linkages with the world is its "International Relations Central and Eastern Europe" program: Promoting relations between Germany and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe is the main focus of this program area. Our work in this area is based on four pillars: promotion of language and culture, dialog with the media, politics and civil society, and international exchange. In the future, our activities will be extended to include the countries of Southeastern Europe.

Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Lisbon, Portugal)

<http://www.gulbenkian.org/>

The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation is a Portuguese private institution of public utility whose statutory aims are in the fields of arts, charity, education and science. It also organises international conferences, meetings and courses, awards subsidies and scholarships for specialist studies and doctorates in Portugal and abroad. It also fosters co-operation projects with Portuguese-speaking African countries and East Timor pursuing the Millennium goals, promotes Portuguese culture abroad, and operates a programme to preserve evidence of the Portuguese presence in the world.

Carnegie Corporation

<http://www.carnegie.org/>

Carnegie Corporation of New York was created by Andrew Carnegie in 1911 to promote «the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding.» Under Carnegie's will, grants must benefit the people of the United States, although up to 7.4 percent of the funds may be used for the same purpose in countries that are or have been members of the British Commonwealth, with a current emphasis on Commonwealth Africa. As a grant making foundation, the Corporation seeks to carry out Carnegie's vision of philanthropy, which he said should aim «to do real and permanent good in this world.»

Charles Stewart Mott Foundation

<http://www.mott.org/>

The mission of the Mott Foundation's Civil Society program is to support efforts to assist in democratic institution building, strengthen communities, promote equitable access to resources, and ensure respect of rights and diversity. The program is organized into four program areas: Central/Eastern Europe and Russia, South Africa, United States, Special Initiatives – International. Three broad themes unite grantmaking within the program: strengthening the nonprofit sector; promoting people's rights, responsibilities and participation; and improving race and ethnic relations.

European Foundation for Democracy through Partnership (the Hague, Netherlands)

<http://www.efdp.eu> (Site opens in April 2008)

Launched in 2008, the EFDP is part of an effort to enhance Europe's profile and identity in democracy assistance. The EFDP will act as a portal to Europe for those engaged in democratic reform processes outside Europe, who wish to access European knowledge and resources to enhance the impact of their efforts. The EFDP aims to become a European knowledge hub in the complex field of democracy building. Finally, the EFDP has the potential to function as a catalyst for the EU in meeting the challenges of the often messy democratization processes and in increasing the coherence between democracy assistance, development and security in the envisioned EU foreign policy.

Ford Foundation

<http://www.fordfound.org/>

The Ford Foundation is a resource for innovative people and institutions worldwide. Its goals for are to strengthen democratic values, reduce poverty and injustice, promote international cooperation, and advance human achievement.

Freedom House

<http://www.freedomhouse.org/>

Freedom House, a non-profit, nonpartisan organization, is a clear voice for democracy and freedom around the world. Through a vast array of international programs and publications, Freedom House is working to advance the remarkable worldwide expansion of political and economic freedom.

Friedrich Ebert Foundation

<http://www.fes.de/>

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) was founded in 1925 as a political legacy of Germany's first democratically elected president, Friedrich Ebert. The foundation was established to further political and social education of individuals from all walks of life in the spirit of democracy and pluralism; facilitate access to university education and research for gifted young people by providing scholarships; and contribute to international understanding and cooperation.

Friedrich Naumann Foundation

<http://www.fnst.de/>

The Friedrich Naumann Foundation is an independent, nonprofit, nongovernmental organization that is committed to promoting liberal policy and politics. Originating in Germany, the Foundation has won a reputation for promoting freedom in human dignity as the ultimate precondition of a society where people can live freely and in peace. It carries out intensive work in political education, advice, training and dialogue. In Africa it supports various projects in co-operation with partner organizations and is similarly active in over 50 countries worldwide.

German Marshall Fund of the United States

<http://www.gmfus.org/>

The German Marshall Fund of the United States (GMF) is a nonpartisan American public policy and grantmaking institution dedicated to promoting greater cooperation and understanding between the United States and Europe. GMF does this by supporting individuals and institutions working on transatlantic issues, by convening leaders to discuss the most pressing transatlantic themes, and by examining ways in which transatlantic cooperation can address a variety of global policy challenges. In addition, GMF supports a number of initiatives to strengthen democracies.

Hanns Seidel Foundation

<http://www.hss.de/>

Since its establishment on April 11, 1967, the Hanns Seidel Foundation has been practicing political education work with the aim of supporting "the democratic and civic education of the German people with a Christian basis." Beginning with the first development aid project in Togo in 1977, the Foundation's Institute for International Contact and Co-operation has steadily expanded its geographical and conceptual framework with a focus on promoting a sense of democratic community while preserving traditions which deserve to be preserved.

Heinrich Böll Foundation

<http://www.boell.de/>

The Heinrich Böll Foundation is a non-profit organization affiliated with the German Green Party striving to promote democracy, civil society, human rights, international understanding and a healthy environment internationally. Headquartered in Berlin, it has 25 offices worldwide and cooperates worldwide, with over 200 partner organizations in more than 60 countries.

IFES (formerly the International Foundation for Election Systems)

<http://www.ifes.org/>

IFES is a nonprofit democracy development organization that works to give people a voice in the way that they are governed. It is a leading election assistance organization, providing countries with the technical advice and tools required to run democratic elections.

Jean Jaures Foundation

<http://www.jean-jaures.org/>

Foundation of the French Socialist Party dedicated to the study of the international workers and socialist movements and the promotion of democratic and humanist ideals through research and debate and to contribute to the knowledge of man and his environment and carry out economic, cultural and assistance activities that contribute to the growth of pluralism and democracy in the world.

Konrad Adenauer Foundation

<http://www.kas.de/>

The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung offers political education, conducts scientific fact-finding research for political projects, grants scholarships to gifted individuals, researches the history of Christian Democracy, and supports and encourages European unification, international understanding, and development-policy cooperation.

The National Endowment for Democracy (NED)

<http://www.ned.org/>

The National Endowment for Democracy (NED) is a private, nonprofit organization created in 1983 to strengthen democratic institutions around the world through nongovernmental efforts. With its annual congressional appropriation, it makes hundreds of grants each year to support pro-democracy groups in Africa, Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and the former Soviet Union. The NED family of organizations includes the American Center for International Labor Solidarity, the Center for International Private Enterprise, the International Republican Institute, and the National Democratic Institute.

National Democratic Institute (NDI)

<http://www.ndi.org/>

The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs (NDI) is a nonprofit organization working to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide. Calling on a global network of volunteer experts, NDI provides practical assistance to civic and political leaders advancing democratic values, practices and institutions. NDI works with democrats in every region of the world to build political and civic organizations, safeguard elections, and to promote citizen participation, openness and accountability in government.

International Republican Institute (IRI)

<http://www.iri.org/>

A nonprofit, nonpartisan organization, the International Republican Institute (IRI) advances freedom and democracy worldwide by developing political parties, civic institutions, open elections, good governance and the rule of law.

American Center for International Labor Solidarity (ACILS)

<http://www.solidaritycenter.org/>

The Solidarity Center is a non-profit organization that assists workers around the world who are struggling to build democratic and independent trade unions. It works with unions and community groups worldwide to achieve equitable, sustainable, democratic development and to help men and women everywhere stand up for their rights and improve their living and working standards.

Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE)

<http://www.cipe.org/>

The Center for International Private Enterprise is a non-profit affiliate of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce and one of the four core institutes of the National Endowment for Democracy. CIPE has supported more than 1,000 local initiatives in over 100 developing countries, involving the private sector in policy advocacy and institutional reform, improving governance, and building understanding of market-based democratic systems. CIPE provides management assistance, practical experience, and financial support to local organizations to strengthen their capacity to implement democratic and economic reforms. CIPE programs are also supported through the United States Agency for International Development.

Center for International Media Assistance

<http://www.ned.org/cima/cima.html>

The Center for International Media Assistance (CIMA), an initiative of the National Endowment for Democracy, aims to strengthen the support, raise the visibility, and improve the effectiveness of media assistance programs throughout the world. The Center approaches its mission by providing information, building networks, conducting research, and highlighting the indispensable role independent media play in the creation and development of sustainable democracies around the world.

Netherlands Institute for Multiparty Democracy (The Hague, Netherlands)

<http://www.nimd.org/>

The mandate of NIMD is to encourage the process of democratization in young democracies by providing support to political parties as the core pillars of a multiparty democracy. NIMD works in a strictly non-partisan and inclusive manner.

Nordic Council

<http://www.norden.org/>

Nordic co-operation is outward-looking. The parliamentarians in the Nordic Council and the governmental co-operation within the Nordic Council of Ministers have established close contacts, especially in the Baltic Sea Region. Since the enlargement of the EU regional co-operation takes place within a new European framework.

The Nordic Council of Ministers opened its office in St. Petersburg in 1995 and since then smaller information points have been opened in Archangel, Murmansk and Petrozavodsk. Most recently a Nordic office was opened in Kaliningrad in 2006. At the same time the Nordic Council maintains close contacts with parliamentary colleagues, both centrally in Moscow and regionally in Northwest Russia.

The Oak Foundation (London, UK)

<http://www.oakfnd.org/>

Since 1998, the Oak Foundation has made over 1000 grants to not-for-profit organisations throughout the world. The Oak Foundation's International Human Rights Programme focuses on three human rights enshrined in international law: the right to liberty and security of the person; freedom from torture; and the right to asylum. The programme seeks to, inter alia, place human rights squarely on international and national agendas, especially in the global south, through influential coverage in opinion-making media; effective advocacy in centres of political leverage; defend the right to truth through the construction, preservation

and popular presentation of the historical narrative of human rights violations in societies emerging, or yet to emerge, from authoritarian or repressive rule; and build the capacity of local human rights activists, communities and networks.

Open Society Institute (*independent offices operate in Budapest, Brussels, London, New York and Paris*)

<http://www.soros.org/>

The Open Society Institute (OSI), a private operating and grant-making foundation, aims to shape public policy to promote democratic governance, human rights, and economic, legal, and social reform. On a local level, OSI implements a range of initiatives to support the rule of law, education, public health, and independent media.

Pablo Iglesias Foundation (Madrid)

<http://www.fpabloiglesias.es/>

The Pablo Iglesias Foundation is a cultural institution that focuses on research and dissemination of socialist ideology and on recovering and compiling historic and contemporary documentation of Spanish socialism. The Foundation also promotes cooperation with political, economic and cultural entities both from Spain and abroad, aiming to promote and support the values and culture of democracy and to defend human rights.

People in Need (Prague, Czech Republic)

<http://www.clovekvtisni.cz>

People in Need is a Czech nonprofit, nongovernmental organization that has implemented relief and development projects in crisis regions around the globe and has supported human rights and democracy in countries repressed by totalitarian regimes over its twelve-year history. PIN is one of the largest organizations of its kind in post-communist Europe, and has administered projects in thirty-seven countries over the past fourteen years.

Pontis Foundation (Bratislava, Slovakia)

<http://www.nadaciapontis.sk/>

The Pontis Foundation was established in 1997 as the successor to the Foundation for a Civil Society, and is one of the largest grantmaking and operational foundations in Slovakia. The name of the foundation is taken from the Latin word for “bridge” and expresses the foundation’s purpose: to connect the sectors of Slovak society with one another and to link sources of financial support with those who need it. We encourage individuals and businesses to take responsibility for those in need and for the world around them, contribute to the building of democracy in non-democratic countries, create awareness about this need in Slovakia, and advocate for values-oriented Slovak and EU foreign policies.

Rights & Democracy (Montreal, Canada)

<http://www.dd-rd.ca/>

Rights & Democracy works with individuals, organizations and governments in Canada and abroad to promote the human and democratic rights defined in the United Nations’ International Bill of Human Rights. Rights & Democracy enjoys partnerships with human rights, indigenous peoples’ and women’s rights groups, as well as democratic movements and governments around the world with whom it cooperates to promote human rights and democracy.

Rockefeller Foundation

<http://www.rockfound.org/>

The Rockefeller Foundation was established in 1913 by John D. Rockefeller, Sr., to “promote the well-being” of humanity by addressing the root causes of serious problems. The Foundation works around the world to expand opportunities for poor or vulnerable people and to help ensure that globalization’s benefits are more widely shared. With assets of more than \$3.5 billion, it is one of the few institutions to conduct such work both within the United States and internationally.

Rockefeller Brothers Fund

<http://www.rbf.org/>

The Rockefeller Brothers Fund was founded in 1940 as a vehicle through which the five sons and daughter of John D. Rockefeller Jr., could share a source of advice and research on charitable activities and combine some of their philanthropies to better effect. The RBF's grantmaking is organized around four themes: Democratic Practice, Sustainable Development, Peace and Security, and Human Advancement.

SILBA – Support Initiative for Liberty and Democracy (Copenhagen, Denmark)

<http://www.silba.dk/>

SILBA is a Danish cross-political NGO founded in 1994 by Bertel Haarder, today Minister of Education, as a result of the strong wish among Danes to assist in developing the new democracies in Eastern Europe. The main goal of SILBA is to assist democratic political parties, youth organisations and NGO's in the new EU East European Member Countries and new Neighbouring Countries, with a strong focus on projects with youth. SILBA today mainly works in and with Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Kaliningrad, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Georgia.

Taiwan Foundation for Democracy (Taiwan)

<http://www.tfd.org.tw/>

Domestically, the TFD strives to play a positive role in consolidating Taiwan's democracy and fortifying its commitment to human rights; internationally, the Foundation hopes to become a strong link in the world democratic network, joining forces with related organizations around the world. The TFD's international grants program is designed to assist organizations based outside of Taiwan to carry out projects to promote democracy and human rights. International nongovernmental organizations, academic institutions or think tanks, and other related organizations are eligible to apply. Geographically, the program places a priority on support for projects that address the Asian region, but projects in other regions occasionally receive funding.

U.S. State Department: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor

<http://www.state.gov/g/drl/democ>

The State Department promotes democracy as a means to achieve security, stability, and prosperity worldwide; assist newly formed democracies in implementing democratic principles; assist democracy advocates around the world to establish vibrant democracies in their own countries; and identify and denounce regimes that deny their citizens the right to choose their leaders in elections that are free, fair, and transparent.

Westminster Foundation for Democracy (London)

<http://www.wfd.org/>

WFD, based in London, was founded in 1992 to provide flexible and imaginative funding assistance to countries managing the difficult transition to democracy in Central and Eastern Europe and sub-Saharan Africa. Throughout the 1990s WFD's work expanded to support countries emerging from conflict and authoritarian rule and to support the consolidation and effectiveness of existing democratic regimes. The Foundation now invests a substantial proportion of its resources in supporting projects and developing programs in wider Europe, sub-Saharan Africa, and the Middle East and North Africa.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL BODIES**The Commonwealth (London)**

<http://www.thecommonwealth.org/>

The Commonwealth is an association of 53 independent states consulting and cooperating in the common interests of their peoples and in the promotion of international understanding and world peace. The

Commonwealth's 1.8 billion citizens, about 30 per cent of the world's population, are drawn from the broadest range of faiths, races, cultures and traditions. Emphasizing equality, trust and understanding, the Commonwealth facilitates the advancement of democracy, human rights and sustainable economic and social development within its member countries and beyond.

European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission)

<http://www.venice.coe.int/>

Created by the Council of Europe, the European Commission for Democracy through Law, better known as the Venice Commission, is the Council of Europe's advisory body on constitutional matters. The work of the European Commission for Democracy through Law aims at upholding the three underlying principles of Europe's constitutional heritage: democracy, human rights and the rule of law - the cornerstones of the Council of Europe.

The European Democracy Caucus (Brussels)

<http://www.democracycaucus.org/>

The European Democracy Caucus was set up in 2005 as an informal, all-party group of Members of the European Parliament, committed to the promotion of democracy worldwide, but primarily in the EU's "Neighbourhood." The Neighbourhood is a formal definition of the arc of countries from Russia to Morocco which are now identified as a strategic priority for the EU after its enlargement in May 2004 to the eight ex-Soviet bloc countries, Cyprus and Malta.

European Parliamentarians for Africa

<http://www.awepa.org/>

The Association of European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA) is an international nongovernmental organization that supports parliaments in Africa and works to keep Africa high on the political agenda in Europe. It has some 1500 current and former parliamentarians as members from the European Parliament and almost all EU member states, plus Norway and Switzerland.

International IDEA

<http://www.idea.int/>

Created in 1995, the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) is an intergovernmental organization that seeks to nurture and support sustainable democracy worldwide. Working in concert with policy makers, donor governments, UN organizations/agencies, regional organizations, and others engaged in democracy building, IDEA acts as a catalyst for democracy building by providing knowledge, resources, expertise, and a platform for debate on democracy issues.

North-South Centre of the Council of Europe (Lisbon, Portugal)

<http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/nscentre/>

The North-South Centre has a twofold task: to provide a framework for European co-operation designed to heighten public awareness of global interdependence issues, and to promote policies of solidarity complying with the Council of Europe's aims and principles - respect for human rights, democracy and social cohesion.

Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe: Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) (Warsaw, Poland)

<http://www.osce.org/odihr/>

The OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights is based in Warsaw, Poland. It is active throughout the OSCE area in the fields of election observation, democratic development, human rights, tolerance and non-discrimination, and rule of law.

Organization of American States

<http://www.oas.org/>

The Organization of American States (OAS) works to strengthen democracy, justice, peace and prosperity in the Americas by bringing together the nations of the Western Hemisphere. The OAS acts as the Americas' principal multilateral forum for furthering democratic values, promoting human rights, and confronting shared problems such as, poverty, terrorism, illegal drugs, and corruption.

Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE, Vienna)

<http://www.osce.org/>

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) is the world's largest regional security organization. It is active in early warning, conflict prevention, crisis management and post-conflict rehabilitation. It is dealing with a wide range of security-related issues including arms control, preventive diplomacy, confidence- and security-building measures,

Permanent Secretariat of the Community of Democracies (Warsaw, Poland)

(Website not currently available)

The Permanent Secretariat of the Community of Democracies will be established in Warsaw, Poland in 2008. The Community of Democracies is an intergovernmental organization of democratic governments in the world, dedicated to a core set of democratic principles and cooperation among democracies worldwide.

United Nations Development Program

<http://www.undp.org/>

At the United Nations Millennium Summit, world leaders put development at the heart of the global agenda by adopting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which set clear targets for reducing poverty, hunger, disease, illiteracy, environmental degradation and discrimination against women by 2015. On the ground in 166 countries, UNDP focuses on helping countries build and share solutions to many challenges including democratic governance, crisis prevention and recovery, the environment, and HIV/AIDS.

United Nations Democracy Fund (UNDEF) (United Nations)

<http://www.un.org/democracyfund>

The United Nations Democracy Fund was created in 2005 as a means to support democratization throughout the world. It provides assistance to governmental, nongovernmental, national, regional, and international organizations, including relevant UN departments, offices, funds, programs, and agencies. The Fund will complement current UN efforts to strengthen and expand democracy worldwide.

OTHER DEMOCRACY PROMOTION ORGANIZATIONS

African Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies

<http://www.acdhrs.org/>

Established by the Government of The Gambia by an Act of Parliament in 1989, The Centre's main objective is to give meaning to Article 25 of the African Charter, which requires States Parties to, "promote and ensure, through teaching, education and publication, respect of the rights and freedoms contained in the Charter and to see to it that these freedoms and rights, as well as corresponding obligations are understood."

African Democracy Forum (Nairobi, Kenya)

<http://www.africandemocracyforum.org/>

The African Democracy Forum (ADF), launched in Abuja, Nigeria, in October 2000, is an African regional

network of democracy, human rights, and governance organizations. The ADF seeks to consolidate democracy in Africa by providing opportunities for democrats to openly express their views while also acting as a platform for mutual support and the sharing of resources. Over 300 organizations and individuals working on democracy issues in Africa currently participate in the ADF activities. The ADF provides opportunities for democrats to speak with one voice as well as a platform for mutual support and the sharing of resources. The ADF is an Africa regional network of the World Movement for Democracy.

Albert Einstein Institution

<http://www.aeinstein.org/>

The Albert Einstein Institution is a nonprofit organization advancing the study and use of strategic nonviolent action in defense of freedom, democracy, and the reduction of political violence in conflicts around the world. Their goals are “to understand the dynamics of nonviolent action in conflicts, to explore its policy potential, and to communicate this through print and other media, translations, conferences, consultations, and workshops.”

The Albert Shanker Institute

<http://www.shankerinstitute.org/>

The Albert Shanker Institute is a nonprofit organization established in 1998 to honor the life and legacy of the late president of the American Federation of Teachers. The organization’s by-laws commit it to four fundamental principles—vibrant democracy, quality public education, a voice for working people in decisions affecting their jobs and their lives, and free and open debate about all of these issues.

Alianza Civica (Mexico City)

<http://www.alianzacivica.org.mx>

A Mexican citizen organization devoted to advancing citizen participation in support of democracy established before the 1994 elections.

American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative

<http://www.abanet.org/rol/>

The Rule of Law Initiative is a public service project of the American Bar Association dedicated to promoting rule of law around the world. The Rule of Law Initiative believes that rule of law promotion is the most effective long-term antidote to the pressing problems facing the world community today, including poverty, economic stagnation, and conflict. The Rule of Law Initiative promotes legal reform efforts in over 40 countries in the following regions: Africa, Asia, Europe and Eurasia, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the Middle East and North Africa. The Rule of Law Initiative has over 400 professional staff working in the United States and abroad, including a cadre of short and long-term expatriate volunteers who typically spend between three months to two years in the field providing technical assistance. The Rule of Law Initiative concentrates its technical legal assistance efforts in the following substantive areas: anti-corruption, criminal law reform and human trafficking, gender issues, human rights and conflict mitigation, judicial reform, legal education reform, and legal profession reform.

Amnesty International (London)

<http://www.amnesty.org/>

Amnesty International is a worldwide movement that works to promote the human rights inscribed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international agreements. With more than 2.2 million members and subscribers in over 150 countries and regions, it coordinates support of justice on a variety of issues.

The Arab Democracy Foundation (Qatar)

<http://www.arabdemocracyfoundation.org>

The Arab Democracy Foundation (ADF) is an independent initiative by peoples of the Arab region to channel resources to causes that strengthen their democracy transitions. The mechanism by which ADF accomplishes its aims is strategic grant-making, augmented by advocacy, networking and knowledge transfer. The Foundation believes that its primary impact lies in stimulating and supporting innovation in the programs of Arab civil society organizations (CSOs) and citizens' initiatives. Qualified groups will be assisted to strengthen their institutional capacities, engage in promoting democratic values, and awareness-raising, participate in important public policy debates to prepare their societies for a transition to democratic governance, work against all forms of social and political exclusion, and increase their ability to serve their communities.

The Arab Human Rights Fund (Beirut, Lebanon)

<http://ahrfund.org>

The process of establishing the Arab Human Rights Fund (AHRF) started in 2002 with the formation of a four-member Preparatory Committee, with financial and administrative support from the Ford Foundation. The Committee initiated a series of studies exploring the feasibility of establishing an endowed and sustainable funding agency devoted to supporting long-term efforts to promote human rights and the rule of law in the Arab region.

ARTICLE 19

<http://www.article19.org/>

ARTICLE 19 is a London-based human rights organisation with a specific mandate and focus on the defence and promotion of freedom of expression and freedom of information worldwide. ARTICLE 19's work is organised into five Regional Programmes – Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, and the Middle East – and a Law Programme. ARTICLE 19 also works on global issues of concern that cut across national boundaries. To make freedom of expression a reality all over the world, we undertake the following: Working in Partnership, Monitoring and Research, Advocacy and Campaigning, Standard-Setting, Legal Development, Litigation, Capacity-Building, Lobbying, Cutting Edge Research and Policy Development

Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (Regional offices in Brussels, Beirut, Moscow, Beijing)

<http://www.ceip.org/>

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace is a private, nonprofit organization dedicated to advancing cooperation between nations and promoting active international engagement by the United States. Founded in 1910, its work is nonpartisan and dedicated to achieving practical results.

The Carter Center

<http://www.cartercenter.org/>

In collaboration with Emory University, the Center is a not-for-profit organization committed to advancing human rights and alleviating human suffering. By working side by side with high-ranking government officials, as well as the general population, the Center has strengthened democracies in Asia, Latin America, and Africa. It has been very active in the monitoring and strengthening of elections in both emerging and established democracies.

The Center for Civic Education

<http://www.civiced.org>

The Center for Civic Education is a nonprofit, nonpartisan educational corporation dedicated to promoting an enlightened and responsible citizenry committed to democratic principles and actively engaged in the practice of democracy in the United States and other countries.

Center for Democracy and Citizenship

<http://www.publicwork.org/>

The work of the Center for Democracy and Citizenship draws on a rich heritage of people and institutions doing public work to achieve things of lasting importance. Part of the University of Minnesota, the CDC's philosophy is forged around the fundamentals of democracy and public work.

Centre for Democracy and Development

<http://cddwestafrica.org>

The Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) was established in the United Kingdom in 1997 as an independent, not-for-profit, research, training, advocacy and capacity building organisation. The purpose was to mobilise global opinion and resources for democratic development and provide an independent space to reflect critically on the challenges posed to the democratisation and development processes in West Africa. The CDD's mission is to be the prime catalyst and facilitator for strategic analysis and capacity building for sustainable democracy and development in the West African sub-region.

Committee to Protect Journalists

<http://www.cpj.org/>

The Committee to Protect Journalists is an independent, nonprofit organization founded in 1981. We promote press freedom worldwide by defending the rights of journalists to report the news without fear of reprisal. By publicly revealing abuses against the press and by acting on behalf of imprisoned and threatened journalists, CPJ effectively warns journalists and news organizations where attacks on press freedom are occurring. CPJ organizes vigorous public protests and works through diplomatic channels to effect change. CPJ publishes articles and news releases; special reports; a biannual magazine, *Dangerous Assignments*; and *Attacks on the Press*, the most comprehensive annual survey of press freedom around the world.

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Center for Democracy and Election Management – American University

<http://www.american.edu/cdem/>

The Center for Democracy and Election Management (CDEM) was established by American University in 2002 to fill the gap between abstract academic research on democracy and the work of the many practitioners administering or monitoring elections all over the world. CDEM has three goals – education, research, and public engagement – on the full gamut of democracy and election-related issues. We are determined to fill the gap between abstract academic research on democracy and the work of the many practitioners administering or monitoring elections all over the world.

Center for the Protection of Journalism

<http://www.cpj.org/>

The Center is a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization that promotes press freedom worldwide by defending the rights of journalists to report the news without fear of reprisal.

Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy

<http://www.csidonline.org/>

The Center for the Study of Islam & Democracy (CSID) is a non-profit organization, based in Washington DC, dedicated to studying Islamic and democratic political thought and merging them into a modern Islamic democratic discourse. The organization was founded in March 1999 by a diverse group of academicians, professionals, and activists--both Muslim and non-Muslim--from around the USA who agree on the need for the study of and dissemination of reliable information on this complex topic.

The Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law (CDDRL)

<http://cddrl.stanford.edu/>

Stanford University's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law seeks to promote innovative and practical research on the design and implementation of policies to foster democracy, to promote balanced and sustainable growth, and to advance the rule of law in countries undergoing dramatic change.

Centre for Democratic Institutions (Canberra, Australia)

<http://www.cdi.anu.edu.au/>

CDI responds to the needs of developing countries in the field of good governance and democratic institutions. The centre was established as an Australian Government initiative and receives its core funding through the Australian Agency for International Development (AusAID). Its geographic focus is the Asia-Pacific region.

Children's Resources International

<http://www.childrensresources.org/>

Children's Resources International, Inc. (CRI) is a non-profit educational and training organization whose mission is to promote democratic educational practices for children, their families, and their teachers around the world.

CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation (Johannesburg, South Africa)

<http://www.civicus.org/>

CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation is an international alliance of members and partners which constitute an influential network of organizations at the local, national, regional and international levels, and span the spectrum of civil society including: civil society networks and organizations; trade unions; faith-based networks; professional associations; NGO capacity development organizations; philanthropic foundations and other funding bodies; businesses; and social responsibility programs. CIVICUS has worked for over a decade to strengthen citizen action and civil society throughout the world, especially in areas where participatory democracy and citizens' freedom of association are threatened.

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CIVITAS International

<http://www.civnet.org/>

CIVITAS International, a world-wide nongovernmental organization for civic education, aims to strengthen effective education for informed and responsible citizenship in emerging and established democracies around the world. CIVITAS International is composed of individuals, nongovernmental associations, and governmental institutions from many countries as well as international organizations.

Council for a Community of Democracies

<http://www.ccd21.org/>

The Council for a Community of Democracies (CCD) is a nongovernmental organization that seeks a community of nations working together to strengthen democracy especially the inter-governmental Community of Democracies across a wide spectrum of cultural and religious traditions and transparency of government processes, sound electoral systems, respect for human rights and the rule of law, active civic education, prevention of official corruption and related core values basic to democratic governance. Its aim is to foster awareness of the importance of democracy both as a central organizing principle of official government foreign policy and as the basis of international alliances of nongovernmental organizations devoted to the strengthening of democracy.

Democracy Coalition Project

<http://www.demcoalition.org/>

The Democracy Coalition Project is a nongovernmental organization that conducts research and advocacy relating to democracy promotion policies at the national, regional and global levels. Begun in June 2001 as an initiative of the Open Society Institute, the Democracy Coalition Project relies on an international network of civil society organizations, scholars, foreign policy experts and politicians committed to democracy promotion as an essential element of international peace and human development.

Democracy Digest
<http://www.demdigest.net/>

Democracy Digest provides news, analysis and information on democracy promotion and related matters. The Digest is produced at the *National Endowment for Democracy* and published by the Transatlantic Democracy Network, which aims to inform and convene democratic and civil society activists committed to promoting democracy. The Network is affiliated with the *World Movement for Democracy*.

Democracy International
<http://www.democracyinternational.us/>

Democracy International, Inc. (DI) designs, evaluates, implements, and provides technical assistance for democracy and governance programs worldwide. DI offers expertise in election processes and election monitoring, political party organizing, local government and decentralization, legislative strengthening, civil society development, strategic communications, and rule of law programming. The firm has extensive experience with assessments, evaluations, project designs, and survey research.

A Diplomat's Handbook for Democratic Development Support
www.diplomatshandbook.org

Commissioned by the Community of Democracies and produced by the Council for a Community of Democracies (CCD), this publication (in print and online) is a project led by former Canadian Ambassador Jeremy Kinsman and provides practicing diplomats with a toolbox of resources and case studies to assist civil society with democratic development.

Forum of Federations (Ottawa, Canada)
<http://www.forumfed.org/>

The Forum of Federations is an independent organization that was initiated in Canada and is supported by many countries and governments. The Forum is concerned with the contribution federalism makes and can make to the maintenance and construction of democratic societies and governments. It pursues this goal by: Building international networks and fostering the exchange of experience on federal governance; enhancing mutual learning and understanding among practitioners of federalism; and disseminating knowledge and technical advice of interest to existing federations and of benefit to countries seeking to introduce federal elements into their governance structures and constitutions.

Front Line
<http://www.frontlinedefenders.org/>

Front Line is the International Foundation for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders. It was founded in Dublin in 2001 with the specific aim of protecting human rights defenders at risk, people who work, non-violently, for any or all of the rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Front Line aims to address some of the needs identified by defenders themselves, including protection, networking, training and access to international bodies that can take action on their behalf. Front Line seeks to provide rapid and practical support to at-risk human rights defenders, including through a 24 hour emergency response phone line, and to promote the visibility and recognition of human rights defenders as a vulnerable group. Front Line runs a small grants program to provide for the security needs of defenders, and mobilizes campaigning and lobbying on behalf of defenders at immediate risk. In emergency situations Front Line can facilitate temporary relocation.

Freedom Forum
<http://www.freedomforum.org/>

The Freedom Forum is a non-profit, international organization dedicated to ensuring free press, free speech and free spirit for all people.

The Fund For Peace

<http://www.fundforpeace.org/>

The Fund for Peace exerts two main efforts to affect decision makers: the promotion of scholarship to define problems and the provision of competent answers, and the use of knowledge and information obtained to participate in debates and inform the public of the facts.

The Global Network for Good Governance (Yaounde, Cameroon)

<http://www.gngg.org>

The network is a non-profit, nongovernmental, independent research, information and training organization registered under Cameroon Law. It is dedicated to practical and country-tailored strategies and mechanisms to combat corrupt practices and to foster popular participation and transparency in the management of public affairs and honesty in private business transaction as a prelude to sustainable development.

Human Rights Watch

<http://www.hrw.org/>

Human Rights Watch is a nongovernmental organization dedicated to protecting human rights of the people around the world, standing with victims and activists to prevent discrimination, upholding political freedom, protecting people from inhumane conduct in wartime and bringing offenders to justice.

For issues of human rights, Human Rights Watch has an extensive list of resources organized by issue, in many cases including links to additional organizations, at www.hrw.org/advocacy/

Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies (Egypt)

<http://www.eicds.org/>

The Center's Director is Saad Eddine Ibrahim. Named after the great Arab thinker Abdel-Rahman Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406), who was the founder of Arab Social Science. ICDS has distinguished itself through quality research and effective advocacy around issues deemed relevant to Egypt and the Arab world. ICDS pioneered many of these programs, typically beginning with activities in Egypt, and then branching out to other countries of the Arab World. In future, the Center will concentrate its efforts in the following areas: civil society and democratization; sects, ethnic and minority groups; and gender and human development.

IJTIHAD

<http://www.ijtihad.org/>

IJTIHAD seeks to promote freedom of thought, rational thinking, and the quest for truth through an epistemology covering science, rationalism, human experience, and critical thinking among Muslims everywhere.

Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Pretoria, South Africa)

<http://www.idasa.org.za/>

IDASA is an independent public interest organization committed to promoting sustainable democracy based on active citizenship, democratic institutions, and social justice. Formed in 1987, IDASA maintains international links with many similar organizations through the World Movement for Democracy.

Institute of Social Sciences (New Delhi)

<http://www.issin.org/>

Institute of Social Sciences is dedicated to systematic study of social issues and problems that confront India, in trans-disciplinary perspective. Its finding and recommendations are made available to the members of the decision-making organization such as government bodies, trade unions, people's organization and corporate bodies and scientific communities to encourage them to enlarge the options for action. The evolution of an informed and action-oriented public opinion is our primary aim.

International Center for Journalists

<http://www.icfj.org/>

The International Center for Journalists, a non-profit, professional organization, promotes quality journalism worldwide in the belief that independent, vigorous media are crucial in improving the human condition. Since 1984, the International Center for Journalists has worked directly with more than 40,000 journalists from 176 countries. Aiming to raise the standards of journalism, ICFJ offers hands-on training, workshops, seminars, fellowships and international exchanges to reporters and media managers around the globe.

International Centre for Democratic Transition (Budapest, Hungary)

<http://www.icdt.hu/>

International Centre for Democratic Transition (ICDT), based in Budapest, promotes democracy worldwide by drawing on the experiences of those who have taken the road to democracy and helping apply what they have learned to the needs of those seeking to take this route or who need practical assistance in consolidating democracy in their own countries and societies.

International Center on Nonviolent Conflict (Washington DC)

<http://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/>

The International Center on Nonviolent Conflict is an independent, non-profit, educational foundation that develops and encourages the study and use of civilian-based, nonmilitary strategies to establish and defend human rights, democracy and justice worldwide. Acting as a catalyst to stimulate interest in nonviolent conflict, the Center collaborates with likeminded educational institutions and nongovernmental organizations to educate the global public, influence policies and media coverage, and educate activists.

International Institute for Democracy (Seattle, Washington)

<http://www.civilsoc.org/elctronic/ngo-devl/iid.htm>

Created in 1987 at the Second Strasbourg Conference on Parliamentary Democracy, the IID conducts training programs, holds conferences, and issues publications that contain a variety of resources pertaining to a wide range of democratic areas.

International PEN (London, UK)

<http://www.internationalpen.org.uk/>

International PEN, the worldwide association of writers with 145 Centres in 104 Countries, exists to promote friendship and intellectual co-operation among writers everywhere, to fight for freedom of expression and represent the conscience of world literature.

International Steering Committee (nongovernmental) of the Community of Democracies

<http://www.ccd21.org/>

The ISC is a 21-member committee of civil society leaders from all regions of the world that represents the positions and concerns civil society in the Community of Democracies. The Council for a Community of Democracies (CCD) serves as the secretariat for the ISC.

Journal of Democracy

<http://journalofdemocracy.org/>

Founded in 1990, the Journal of Democracy is an influential quarterly journal which focuses on analyzing democratic regimes and movements around the world. The Journal is a branch of the International Forum for Democratic Studies at the National Endowment for Democracy, and is published by The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Kawakibi Democracy Transition Center (Tunis, Tunisia)

<http://www.kawakibi.org/>

The Kawakibi Democracy Transition Center is a technical nongovernmental regional organization, specialized in transferring knowledge, sharing experiences, and building capacity in the field of democratic transition. The Centre was founded on the principle of partnership between organizations and experts in the Arab region and in the Middle East.

League of Women Voters

www.lwv.org

The League of Women Voters, a nonpartisan political organization, has fought since 1920 to improve our systems of government and impact public policies through citizen education and advocacy. The League's enduring vitality and resonance comes from its unique decentralized structure. The League is a grassroots organization, working at the national, state and local levels. The Global Democracy Program is the League's integrated program for activists and nongovernmental organizations worldwide. Working with groups abroad to increase their voice in demanding transparency, accountability, and good government in their societies, Global Democracy assists in expanding community influence in public policy-making processes while building leadership skills through interactive, hands-on training and exchange programs.

openDemocracy (London)

<http://www.opendemocracy.net>

openDemocracy is the leading independent website on global current affairs - free to read, free to participate, free to the world...offering stimulating, critical analysis, promoting dialogue and debate on issues of global importance and linking citizens from around the world. It is committed to human rights, democratization, election monitoring and economic and environmental security.

Pact, Inc.

<http://www.pactworld.org/>

Pact's mission is to build empowered communities, effective governments and responsible private institutions that give people an opportunity for a better life. We do this by strengthening the capacity of organizations and institutions to be good service providers, represent their stakeholders, network with others for learning and knowledge sharing, and advocate for social, economic and environmental justice. Interdependence, responsible stewardship, inclusion of vulnerable groups, and respect for local ownership and knowledge are core values across all of our programs.

PARTICIPA (Santiago, Chile)

<http://www.participa.cl/>

PARTICIPA, based in Santiago, works on domestic and international initiatives that seek to advance the knowledge and exercise of fundamental principles of democracy and human rights, so that citizens can participate in the public sphere in a more informed and organized manner.

Partners for Democratic Change

<http://www.partnersglobal.org/index-flash.html>

Partners for Democratic Change (Partners) is an international organization committed to building sustainable local capacity to advance civil society and a culture of change and conflict management worldwide. For over a decade, Partners has developed and strengthened institutions, trained and taught, built consensus, resolved conflict, promoted public policies, and developed curricula, as well as provided other services to representatives from more than 50 countries and provinces throughout the world.

Politeia (Amsterdam, Netherlands)

<http://www.politeia.net/>

Politeia is a partnership among European NGOs that works to strengthen active European citizenship and democracy participation. Current goals include: creation of a structure that sets civic participation and education higher on the European and national agenda, the strengthening of capacities of partner organizations through the exchange of methods and practices, increasing visibility on the European-NGO scene, and creation of a pool of potential partners for European projects as well as being able to profit from European funds.

PASOS (Czech Republic)

<http://www.pasos.org>

PASOS supports the development and strengthens the outreach and impact of its 28 member policy centers (and six Associate Members). PASOS builds upon the work undertaken by the Local Government and Public Service Reform Initiative (LGI) of the Open Society Institute (OSI) since 1999 to upgrade the institutional capacities of the OSI-related policy centers which operated until 2004 within a collaborative and supportive network known as the Related Centres Network (RCN).

Reporters sans frontières (Reporters without borders)

<http://www.rsf.org/>

Reporters sans frontières, based in Paris, was founded in 1985. Reporters Without Borders: defends journalists and media assistants imprisoned or persecuted for doing their job and exposes the mistreatment and torture of them in many countries; fights against censorship and laws that undermine press freedom; gives financial aid each year to 100 or so journalists or media outlets in difficulty (to pay for lawyers, medical care and equipment) as well to the families of imprisoned journalists; and works to improve the safety of journalists, especially those reporting in war zones.

Robert Schuman Foundation (Paris)

<http://www.robert-schuman.org/>

The Robert Schuman Foundation works to promote the construction of Europe both with regard to its ideas and in the field alongside the citizens themselves. The Foundation, which is a centre renowned for its research on the European Union, has provided itself with the task of maintaining the spirit and inspiration of one of the “Founder Fathers” of Europe, namely Robert Schuman and of promoting European values and ideals both within the Union’s frontiers as well as beyond.

Robert Schuman Institute for Developing Democracy in Central and Eastern Europe (Budapest)

<http://www.schuman-institute.eu/>

Based in Budapest, the basic objectives of the Schuman Institute are to promote the idea of a United Europe; support and foster the process of democratic transformation in the CEE/EE/SEE countries on the basis of European Christian Democratic values in the spirit of Robert Schuman; and promote the development of civil societies in the CEE/EE/SEE countries.

Search for Common Ground

<http://www.sfcg.org/>

Founded in 1982, Search for Common Ground works to transform the way the world deals with conflict - away from adversarial approaches and towards collaborative problem solving. They work with local partners to find culturally appropriate means to strengthen societies’ capacity to deal with conflicts constructively: to understand the differences and act on the commonalities. Search for Common Ground is engaged in Angola, Burundi, Cote d’Ivoire, Guinea, Indonesia, Liberia, Macedonia, the Middle East, Morocco, Nepal, Sierra Leone, Ukraine, USA, on US-Iran relations, and in West Africa in general.

Stefan Batory Foundation (Warsaw, Poland)

<http://www.batory.org.pl/english/index.htm>

The Foundation's mission is to support the development of an open, democratic society in Poland and other Central and East European countries. The key priorities of the foundation are to enhance the role and involvement of civil society, promote civil liberties and the rule of law, and develop international cooperation and solidarity.

Street Law

<http://www.streetlaw.org/>

Street Law is practical, participatory education about law, democracy, and human rights. A unique blend of content and methodology, Street Law uses techniques that promote cooperative learning, critical thinking, and the ability to participate in a democratic society.

Students for Global Democracy

<http://www.sfgd.org/>

SGD is a nonpartisan organization that works to support those, especially students, who are fighting dictatorship worldwide.

TEAM (Copenhagen, Denmark)

<http://www.teameurope.info>

The European Alliance of EU-critical movements (TEAM) is an information network connecting 57 EU critical organizations in 23 countries across Europe. TEAM brings together civil society organizations and political parties from all parts of the spectrum in the fight against the emerging EU State and the ongoing erosion of democracy in Europe.

World Movement for Democracy

<http://www.wmd.org/>

The World Movement for Democracy is a global network of democrats, including activists, practitioners, academics, policy makers, and funders, who have come together to cooperate in the promotion of democracy. The World Movement offers new ways to give practical help to democrats who are struggling to open closed societies, challenge dictatorships, democratize semi-authoritarian systems, consolidate emerging democracies, and strengthen established democracies.

World Forum for Democratization in Asia (Taiwan)

<http://www.wfda.net/>

The World Forum for Democratization in Asia (WFDA) was inaugurated in 2005 to advance the democratic agenda in Asia. WFDA serves to reaffirm and revalidate the core values of Asian democrats and expand the awareness of them among Asian peoples. It does this not primarily through discussion of the merits of democracy, but through a focus on facilitating concrete measures and strategies to assist the democratization process in Asian societies; proposals for action plans to achieve identified goals and targets take precedence.

ELECTION ASSISTANCE AND OBSERVATION ORGANIZATIONS

Leading organizations in this field are:

International Human Rights Law Group

National Endowment for Democracy

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs

International Republican Institute
Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe: Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR)
International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA)
The Carter Center
IFES (Formerly the International Foundation for Electoral Assistance)
La Federation Internationale des Droits de l'Homme
International Commission of Jurists
Inter-Parliamentary Union
Center for Democracy

In addition, two cooperative partnerships provide information and support for the conduct of elections. These are:

The ACE Project: www.aceproject.org.

The ACE *Electoral Knowledge Network* provides comprehensive and authoritative information on elections, promotes networking among election-related professionals and offers capacity development services. ACE is a joint endeavor of eight partner organizations, including Elections Canada, EISA, Instituto Federal Electoral - Mexico, IFES, International IDEA, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA) and United Nations Electoral Assistance Division. All are long-term supporters of the Administration and Cost of Elections Project and leaders in the provision of targeted technical assistance in elections management.

BRIDGE Project (Melbourne) www.bridge-project.org

The past 15 years has seen a rapid increase in the number of democratic states. As a result, the number of elections worldwide has increased dramatically. Capable and professional election administrators are essential for organizing elections, and without the right skills in place election processes can be undermined. The Bridge Project maintains that to achieve effective, sustainable electoral administration professional election administrative staffs must be developed.

