

Equally, democracies require freedom of the press. They require an impartial and professional civil service. And they require freedom of speech and assembly. Helping build the institutions and the expertise to support those fundamentals is a task for development assistance which also builds democracy.

Fifth, we must face squarely the issue of the conditions we put on development assistance. This is not an easy question. It often poses the difficult choice between supporting human rights and fighting poverty. I believe people should not be punished for regimes they do not support, regimes which are punishing them already. We may abhor governments and detest regimes but that distaste should not become a prejudice against people.

That does not mean there are no limits. There must be fundamental standards which cannot be discarded. Regimes must know that tolerance is not total and that if they insist on inhumanity as a systematic tool of governance, there will be consequences from the world which watches.

Canada's development assistance effort reflects that approach. We look at human rights records in deciding on the level of aid we give and on what type of aid that should be. But we do not expect societies which have been prisons to become perfect overnight. So we look for trends of improvement and we review those trends annually.

In addition, as an alternative to the severance of aid, we will often alter the type of assistance given. If a regime becomes a systematic, gross and continuous abuser of human rights, we will cease to deal with that regime. But we will not cease to deal with the people as long as they can be reached. We will not add to their suffering. So what we do is work through local organizations -- churches and NGOs -- to allow help to get through without helping those governments. I admit that this does not always work perfectly. But I believe it is morally correct.

Sixth, I think we must avoid delivering development assistance as if we were rewarding horses in a race. There are real reasons why some societies are able to develop their democracies and human rights practices more quickly than others. And one of those reasons can be their level of development. If democracy becomes the central criterion for development assistance, we could end up rewarding the wealthy and punishing the poor.

Seventh, we must recognize that there can be a contradiction between our demand for democracy and our insistence on structural adjustment. Structural adjustment, if crudely designed and