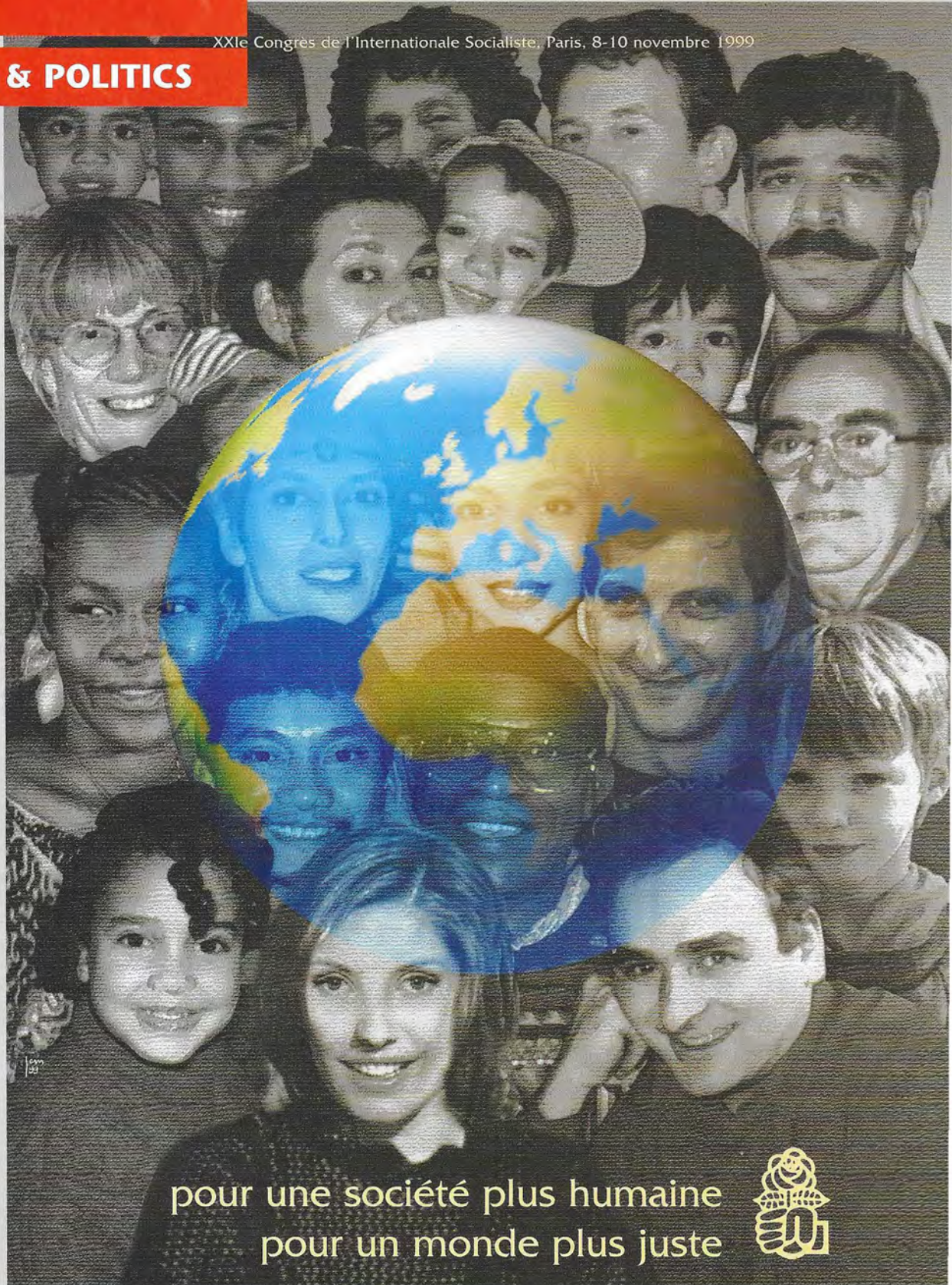


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AND WOMEN & POLITICS



pour une société plus humaine  
pour un monde plus juste



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## **for a more humane society, for a world more fair and just**

Paris '99 is set to be a landmark in the development of social democracy and a special moment in the life of our International.

The XXI Congress, which opens on 8 November in the French capital, is designed to be a rallying point from which our movement will charter the course for the new century.

This event finds social democracy at the centre and soul of the actions of governments, political parties and citizens throughout the world, with unprecedented vitality and dynamism.

Our International today is not only a truly global architecture of peoples' hopes and aspirations for the future through our members around the world. It is also a promise that the values and principles, which have served this family well, will shape change and build a more humane society and a world more fair and just.

## 4 Working for the stability and prosperity of the European Union

Finland holds the Presidency of the European Union, EU, as the new millennium approaches and brings with it formidable challenges for the whole of Europe. Issues related to the long-term stability and prosperity of Europe and to enlargement will occupy a prominent place in the Union's activities during the Finnish Presidency. The Union is dealing with deepening economic cooperation and the need to adapt to global changes. We are working for more effective common foreign and security policy with a particular emphasis on building up a capacity for crisis prevention and management. And, most importantly, we are preparing the new phase of enlargement of the Union.

In recent decades, the structure and competitiveness of the European economy has not developed favourably. Productivity in the United States is still approximately 20 per cent higher than in Europe and the growth of gross domestic product, GDP, in EU countries is slower than in the USA. If the direction does not change, Europe's resources will not be fully utilised and the long-term outlook for our economy will deteriorate. Europe has so far not been able to take full advantage of the new opportunities opened up by globalisation.

With the Economic and Monetary Union we have been able to create a better and a more balanced framework for the sustainable development of our national economies. We must maintain the stability of the public economy and continue to make sure that wage increases go hand in hand with increases in productivity. Encouraging investment in research and development and improving the education system, including adult education, are central challenges with respect to the future success of European economies and our employment policies.

The European Union is facing a completely new situation where deepening integration, and especially the implementation of the single currency, makes it increasingly clear that responsibility for Europe's success is something we share.

Therefore, the increased coordination of economic policies, cooperation on tax policy matters and the building of a common European employment strategy will occupy a prominent position in the Union's policy formulation. We should increase confidence in the stable long-term development of the European economy with reforms that prepare our societies for future challenges like that of an ageing population. More attention should also be paid to the functioning of labour, commodities and capital markets in Europe.

The European Union must also work actively to increase the openness of the world economy and to encourage positive economic and social development. Europe has a great interest to start a broad and balanced WTO negotiation round. Continuing the liberalisation of trade, strengthening the international trade system and integrating developing countries within the world markets are the main goals of these negotiations.

The Finnish Presidency has a particularly heavy agenda with foreign and security policy issues and external relations matters. Finland has consistently supported a more efficient foreign and security policy for the Union. Economic and political integration in Europe must be complemented with similar developments in security and defence, bearing in mind – as has been the case with economic and political relations – the importance of transatlantic cooperation.

The most urgent need is for a credible crisis management capacity for the Union. The Cologne European Council in June 1999 gave the Presidency the task of dealing thoroughly with all aspects of security. What we need is an integrated civilian and military approach to conflict prevention.

On the non-military side, there is already a well-built capacity and

*Prime Minister of Finland Paavo Lipponen, Chair of the Finnish Social Democratic Party, writes about the Finnish presidency of the European Union*

*Pushing towards  
prosperity...*



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James Bedding/Panos Pictures

considerable expertise among individual member states. But there is a need for better coordination, so that the Union can use this capacity as a tool in crisis management.

In strengthening the military crisis management capability of the Union, the Finnish Presidency will concentrate on developing the necessary decision-making mechanisms. An important task is to make NATO assets readily available to the Union. At the same time, there is a need to develop member states' military capacity in crisis management. Without this emphasis on resource building, European crisis management will remain an elusive task.

As a basis for decision-making, the Union needs reliable common analysis and joint proposals for Union action. In this respect, one of the main tasks of the Finnish Presidency is to establish good cooperation with the High Representative, Javier Solana. One of the first tasks pending is to start the operations of the new Policy Planning and Early Warning Unit.

As an instrument for strengthening the Union's policies for the northern regions and for building a closer relationship with Russia, Finland has been promoting the Northern Dimension of the Union. The Northern Dimension contributes to the reinforcement of positive interdependence between the European Union, Russia and the other states in the Baltic Sea region, thus enhancing security, stability and sustainable development in Northern Europe. In this way, it will support the EU enlargement process and help to integrate Russia into European and international structures. One of the objectives of the Northern Dimension is to create favourable conditions for EU enlargement in the Baltic Sea region, without creating new dividing lines.

The strategic interests of the Union are manifold. The Northern Dimension aims to forge cross-border links and create networks between actors at both the national and the regional level in order to enhance stability in the region. It also seeks to encourage joint efforts to solve long-term problems created by adverse social and economic conditions, especially in neighbouring regions of Russia. It is clear that in the end these conditions will change for the better only as Russia itself develops. It is, however, in the interest of Russia's neighbours to initiate cooperation in order to help with the difficult process of transforming society. We should also look at the huge potential for increasing trade in energy from



*... in a European context, Tampere, October 1999*

northern regions. It is estimated that in 2020 the Union will be importing about 70 per cent of its natural gas and nearly all of its oil. European energy networks will strengthen the positive interdependence between the enlarging Union and Russia.

The Northern Dimension will build on a partner-oriented approach which encourages consultative dialogue between the Union and the Northern Dimension partner countries, for example, Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, the Russian Federation and the European Economic Area countries, Norway and Iceland.

However, the Northern Dimension should not be seen as only a regional initiative. It forms part of EU policies on external relations and it is based on the interests of the whole Union. Nor is the Northern Dimension a unique invention: the Union has a 'Southern Dimension', too - its Mediterranean policy - and also a 'Western Dimension', its Transatlantic Agenda.

The Union's northern and southern policies are mutually supportive. Stability on its northern borders will also strengthen the Union in the south. In the south-east, the Union is preparing a common strategy on Ukraine and on the Western Balkans. The Barcelona process will be complemented with a comprehensive common strategy on the Mediterranean region.

Enlargement is the single most important goal for the Union at the beginning of the new millennium. The crisis in the Balkan region has highlighted the importance of unifying the continent with the European Union. The inclusion of all European states willing to take part in intensifying cooperation within the European Union is the best guarantee for the creation of a peaceful Europe. The process of enlargement is therefore a priority for the Finnish Presidency.

Union membership is bound to bring economic benefits for the whole of Europe. However, this requires timely adaptation from many sectors of the economy and production in applicant countries. No time should be wasted in beginning, for example, the reforms urgently needed in the agricultural sector.

Each applicant country is expected to be able to uphold democracy, human

rights and the rule of law. These are the core values on which the Union was founded. Violations against human rights and lack of respect for the rights of minorities are the main reasons for instability and conflicts. When we are discussing the importance of these rights, we are also discussing the fundamentals of security in Europe.

At the Helsinki European Council in December, the Union will decide how to deal with those applicant states from Central and Eastern Europe and Malta with which the Union has not yet started accession negotiations. At the same time, the Member States will elaborate the relationship between the Union and Turkey.

Enlargement can only take place if both the Union and the applicants are prepared for accession. Decision-making in EU institutions and the Union's capability to act should not be diminished by the very process that should make Europe stronger and better equipped to face global challenges.

Finland will be preparing a report on the necessary institutional reforms to be adopted at an Intergovernmental Conference organised during the year 2000. Apart from finding a permanent solution to the composition of the Commission and re-weighting of the votes in the Council, we should also decide on a major extension of qualified majority voting.

One of the great challenges of the European Union is maintaining contact with its citizens and ensuring the acceptability of its own actions in the process of constant development. One answer to this is the transparency and openness of the Union activities. As the Presidency, Finland has increased the openness of the work of the Council and promotes access to documents for example with the efficient use of the internet. Finland has also initiated reform of the Council working methods in order to improve efficiency. Reforming the Union is a task for all the Union's institutions – not only for the Commission.

Another important way for the Union to ensure acceptability is to strengthen the close cooperation between the Union and non-governmental organisations. The social partners, for example, have become increasingly important for the Union through the development of a common policy on employment and the introduction of a macro-economic dialogue.

A more transparent and efficient Union, open to cooperation with different actors is well-equipped to face the challenges in the new Europe and in the globalising world. The Union has more potential than we have so far been able to use. As the new millennium approaches, it is high time to use the full potential of this unique cooperation to the benefit of Europe and the whole world. ◆

## 8 Recovering from War

Peace, democracy, development and globalisation are issues of great relevance and immediacy for our citizens and they require us to think about them carefully, linked as they are to the well-being of our peoples.

The peace in which we live today in Mozambique and which cost us so much to achieve is the symbol of the dream which was denied us during almost three decades of successive wars. These wars desolated our country, destroying its social and economic infrastructure, as well as its social fabric. Today our efforts are concentrated on the political, economic, social and cultural spheres, with priority being given to dialogue and to the encouragement of pluralism of ideas within our own country and in the regional and international framework.

The peace that we enjoy today in Mozambique, and which we want to be long lasting, has made significant growth of our economy possible through investments and greater possibilities for commerce throughout society. This includes the private sector which is growing in strength in the context of a partnership where everyone benefits.

We are proud to have been able to safeguard and defend the highest interests of the nation and of its citizens, even in the most difficult moments of our history when the enemies of peace tried their best to split us apart.

Today all our people are concentrating on preparing for the second, general multiparty elections, due to take place on the 3-4 December of this year. Citizens will exercise their fundamental right to freely choose their leaders. Democracy is an irreversible process in Mozambique.

We are highly aware that democracy does not end once ballots are cast. Democracy must reflect the collective will of the people as they seek solutions to the problems of their daily lives, on the basis of common interests at all levels. Democracy means citizens getting together in political, economic and social life as active participants in their future.

It is in a spirit of brotherhood, tolerance and responsibility that we visualise the future of a Mozambique, indeed of an Africa which is prosperous, cohesive and guided by the ideals of social justice, solidarity and humanism. It was in that spirit that we welcomed the recent meeting of the Southern African Development Community, SADC, in our country. We look on the unanimous election of Mozambique to head the SADC as an increased responsibility that we have to fulfil in the global struggle for peace, security and stability in Southern Africa.

Our continent must commit itself to adopting policies which promote a culture of peace and commitment to such a culture as a way of establishing mutual confidence among countries and their respective citizens as an essential condition for long-term stability. We must promote good, participatory government which eradicates intolerance and encourages democracy and social justice.

The democracy we experience in Mozambique day by day and which gains strength in this independent country of ours was inherited in great measure from the traditions of the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, Frelimo. Through its successful struggle for national independence it gave Mozambicans the chance of seeing the destiny of their country in their own hands for the first time. It is a democracy based on criticism and self-criticism, freedom of expression, thought and information and the promotion of human rights and the fundamental liberties of the citizen. In this context we believe that the Socialist International can play an important role in the consolidation of these ideals through the concrete actions partnership of all its member parties.

Democracy and good government are reinforced by dialogue. This in turn is the right road towards the goal of negotiated solutions to conflicts which continue to block achieving real regional integration and cooperation. The

*President Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique, sets out an agenda for his country, for his party, Frelimo, and for the Socialist International in Africa.*





***New dialogue, SADC,  
Maputo, August 1999***

conflicts which affect large parts of our continent and many regions of the world are not compatible with the need for development and the promotion of social justice and with increasing globalisation.

In this situation we are encouraged by the prospects of peace in the Democratic Republic of Congo created by the signature of the Lusaka Agreement by all of the parties involved. If this accord is to be fully implemented, the international community as a whole - the Socialist International included - needs to assume its responsibilities, assisting the process of reconciliation of those in conflict. The United Nations, and other parties concerned, have a particular responsibility to send observers urgently. Our experience in Mozambique shows that such a sensitive problem like the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo can only be solved through a combination of factors, including the political will of the parties. As a peace-loving country we are resolved to do all we can for the restoration of peace in this important SADC country and throughout the Great Lakes region.

Sadly the expectations aroused concerning a solution to the Congo problem does not seem to be accompanied by similar progress on the question of Angola which is on the edge of a humanitarian catastrophe.

With great effect the recent SADC summit expressed particular worry about the aggravation of the situation in Angola and the political and social destabilisation that the political and military conflict means for the region and the continent as a result of the irresponsible and warlike attitude of Savimbi. We would like, once more, to appeal vigorously to Savimbi to save the people of Angola from suffering, hunger, poverty and illness, and from the death and destruction that have plagued them for more than forty years.

The attainment of peace and stability in Angola is vital if the calm which has been denied there during these long years is to be restored and if this conflict, one of the most tragic legacies of the Cold War, is to be buried for good like a nightmare of the past. We must also fight so that our continent is a zone free of conflict in the approaching millennium. We know that only with peace and stability throughout the African continent will it be able to play a more active



and enterprising part in meeting the challenges of globalisation. Globalisation is an irreversible and unavoidable process for which we must prepare.

We are convinced that the Socialist International in its diversity can make a significant contribution so that developing countries are not being eternally pushed to the margins and deprived of the benefit of the technological advances of today's world.

Africa needs a voice, more coordinated action, policies and clear strategies from the Socialist International to banish the great ills which plague her. By this we mean dialogue on the foreign debt, HIV-AIDS, malaria and poverty. When we talk of poverty we observe the large degree of illiteracy, the great shortages of drinking water, the high levels of mortality among infants and their mothers which prevail in most countries.

By calling attention to the need for action within our organisation we turn to the great resources and the vast stores of knowledge and know-how that are wasted on the manufacture of excessively costly weapons of war. They are bought at the expense of a culture of equality among nations and among humankind, at the expense of a culture of peace and humanism.

It is with this vision and conviction that Frelimo is active in the Socialist International, conscious that it has valid experiences to share, and aware of the increasingly important role that such a political organisation plays in today's world.

We are firmly convinced that a family such as the Socialist International, imbued with the ideals of peace, democracy, progress, solidarity and social justice, offers great possibilities and advantages to its members. I am sure that together we can effectively contribute to the strengthening of partnerships and coordination of mutually advantageous instances of cooperation in the search for a new international economic order in which developing countries are not merely eternal suppliers of raw materials and consumers of the manufactured products of the industrial countries.

I know that such a partnership can really pull Africa out of the lethargy, misery and exclusion that have characterised its international relations, resulting in hunger and poverty prevailing on this continent. The Socialist International must be even more forceful in its worldwide agenda and thus strengthen its influence in international fora.

The Socialist International Congress in November in Paris will be the perfect opportunity for it to adopt the policies it needs to become ever more influential in the 21st century. ◆

### ***Building peace in southern Africa***

*P.J. Patterson, Prime Minister of Jamaica and leader of the People's National Party, analyses the concerns of his country in the context of the region*

## Jamaica's place in the Caribbean

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At this juncture in the history of Jamaica and the Caribbean, issues relating to our effective participation in the international marketplace as individual nations and as a regional grouping are among the most pressing. At the same time the flow of illegal guns into our states and the use of the region as a trans-shipment point for drugs destined for markets in North America continue to occupy the attention of regional governments.

Linked to our ability to succeed in international trade, in arms and narco-trafficking control, is the question of the relationship between the governments and people of the region and importantly, our ability to communicate effectively with each other. There is no point lamenting our historical fragmentation along the lines of European colonial control - English, Spanish, French, Dutch and the accompanying barrier of language. We must seek quickly to minimise and eventually eliminate this barrier.

The Association of Caribbean States represents the ideal vehicle for achieving this kind of social and cultural cohesion. As Caribbean governments seek to improve the quality of life for their citizens and to generate economic growth, national development and prosperity, we have seen the increasing need for closer cooperation and deeper integration of our economic systems. The Caribbean Community has been the primary vehicle for economic integration in the region. We are now well on our way towards the creation of the CARICOM Single Market and Economy.

In the sphere of international economic relations, we have seen the need to proceed as a united group in the many trade negotiations now underway. These include collaboration with other states of the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) group in negotiations for an arrangement to replace the current Lome IV convention with the European Union.

There are also negotiations for the creation of a hemispheric Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) by 2005, as well as the Millennium Round trade talks of the World Trade Organisation to commence in Seattle in November this year.

Since the Grand Anse Declaration of 1989, the government of Jamaica has been

*Coffee: Jamaica's premium product*



12 committed to working with its CARICOM partners towards upgrading the Caribbean Common Market into a Single Market and Economy (CSME). Whereas the Common Market provides principally for the free movement of goods among countries, the objective of the CSME is to develop the individual markets of the region into a single economic space. This would provide not only for the free movement of goods but also for the free movement of services and freedom for enterprises in any member state to establish an enterprise in others. The right of establishment will allow the free movement of capital and the free movement of labour, in practice of managerial, supervisory and professional personnel.

We are already in the process towards the formation of the CSME, as a result of initial CARICOM arrangements for the freeing of intra-regional trade, a common external tariff, and some provision for the free movement of university graduates, media workers and other categories. All but a few governments have completed the necessary processes for ratifying these arrangements.

We have sought policy convergence in some related areas as a means of establishing enterprises in member countries to take advantage of the larger markets in producing greater volumes and varieties of goods in substitution for imports. In today's world, these goods will no longer suffice.

The freeing of trade in services is also needed, because of the growing importance of services trade in the world economy, illustrated by the fact that the international services trade has expanded to account for one quarter of world trade in goods and services.

The effective development of trade in goods and services requires provisions for the protection of intellectual property rights such as copyright and trademarks; rules for competition, including anti-dumping and countervailing measures; and, effective machinery for dispute settlement. Work is now underway to create the Caribbean Court of Justice, which will eventually replace the Judicial Committee of the UK Privy Council as our final court of appeal. The Caribbean court with an original jurisdiction will become the final arbiter in trade disputes within the region.

We intend to use the single market and economy as a building block towards developing greater trade and economic cooperation with our immediate neighbours in the Caribbean Basin, with our partners in the Hemisphere, and to strengthen our arrangements with traditional partners in the European Union.

We are looking towards longer-term possibilities for opening up markets and developing collaborative arrangements with non-traditional partners in Africa and Asia. We want to secure adequate accommodation of our special features, circumstances and needs as small countries in the rules and disciplines that govern international trade through the World Trade Organisation (WTO). At the present time, we are working on all these fronts.

We have already concluded partial free trade agreements with Venezuela and Colombia, and have in prospect a trade development agreement with Cuba, and free trade arrangements with the Andean Community and Central America. As an initial step towards developing our trade arrangements with these countries and groups, discussions have begun on the exchange of trade concessions among country-members of the Association of Caribbean States.

In Europe, we are negotiating a successor convention to Lomé IV. We have made considerable progress in working towards a framework agreement containing objectives, principles, and modalities for negotiating the successor agreement itself.

We are committed to finalising the framework agreement before February next year when Lomé IV expires, so that there will be a basis for asking the WTO to roll-over the present waiver of WTO compatibility for a period which is not yet agreed between the EU and the ACP; the former supporting a request for five years, whereas the ACP requires a longer period of ten years.

At the national level, the imperatives for Jamaica at this time can be

*Education: a  
springboard for  
change*



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E. Duigenan-Christian Aid/Still Pictures

summarised as being:

- to continue our efforts to provide universal education and training for the people;
  - pressing ahead with poverty alleviation programmes;
  - creating jobs and high quality jobs in particular;
  - modernising the economy and expanding and improving our productive base to compete effectively globally;
  - accelerating our macro economic programme geared towards achieving growth in the economy and doubling per capita income to US\$4,000 over the next decade;
  - achieving further gains in creating a safe, investor-friendly environment for residents and visitors alike;
  - and participating as a full member of the Caribbean team of countries in the range of international trade and other economic negotiations that will ensure maximum gains for the region and its people in the emerging global village.
- Education is currently receiving the largest share of the national budget outside of debt servicing. We intend to increase this even further as part of our efforts to make education and training the central plank of our human resource and national development strategy.

Economic and social indicators show that despite some setbacks in the economy, poverty levels are on the decline. We are firmly of the view that rapid improvements in education represent the only sustainable weapon against poverty.

Recognising the need to build new innovative industries to broaden our economic base, fashion, craft and agro-processing are areas that have been receiving significant attention in our productive capacity building programme. As areas with vast untapped potential for growth, they have been identified as growth centres in the National Industrial Policy.

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This is part and parcel of our efforts to create high quality industrial jobs that will enable Jamaicans to learn new and adaptable skills, earn more money and compete more effectively in a stable, vigorous labour market.

The State intends to serve as a catalyst for the continued modernisation of the Jamaican economy and diversification of the productive base.

We believe the liberalisation of telecommunications in Jamaica will open new doors of business opportunities in information technology.

A new telecom agreement provides for a programme of employment creation of some 40,000 new jobs in the sector over the next three years. The overall response to the announcement has been encouraging.

The IT businesses are gearing up to capitalise on the recent initiative. Some people are re-tooling to meet demands. Some are moving ahead with expansion initiatives. Others are seeking overseas joint ventures.

Our anti-inflation measures have been the most successful element of our macro economic programme with annual inflation now well below ten per cent. Our aim is for even further reductions in line with the inflation rate of our major international trading partners.

We are working to create a modern, responsive and well-equipped police force, capable of performing at the highest levels of efficiency and professionalism. In this respect we have been pursuing strategic cooperation with international crime fighting organisations in the United States and Britain.

The challenges facing the nation are reflected in the Jamaican saying, "rain a fall, but dutty tough" (rain is falling, but the earth is still hard). However, we continue to move forward confident in our ability as a people, reinforcing our courage and finding new strength to carry through programmes and policies to improve the lives of the people.

Our vision for Jamaica and the Caribbean cannot be confined to building nations of material self-sufficiency. Improved governance, dynamic social policies and initiatives to lift the spirit of the people are essential ingredients in bringing social cohesion and lasting prosperity to the country and the region.

We aim to do so by building a participatory democracy, which engenders confidence in our people to realise their own creative potential and to fulfil our true destiny. ♦

Socialist Affairs looks at the life of  
Joaquín Almunia, socialist  
candidate for the Spanish  
premiership



**Joaquín Almunia**

In June 1997, the 34th congress of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE, elected Joaquín Almunia as Secretary General. Then, at the age of forty-nine, he had already been a long-time prominent member of the party and a man familiar with the workings of the PSOE all over Spain.

He was born in Bilbao in 1948 and gained his degree in Law and Economics at the University of Deusto, also in the Basque Country. Nevertheless Almunia early in his career transferred to the capital and for a time taught labour law and social security at the University of Alcalá de Henares. He joined the PSOE and the UGT labour confederation in 1976 and became an adviser to the UGT two years later. He has always represented voters of Madrid since he first became a deputy in the Cortes in 1979. Three years after becoming a member of parliament, he won his first place in the cabinet as Minister for Labour and Social Security, a brief he held until 1986 when he took the Public Administration portfolio. As well as being leader of his party he is now the socialist candidate to succeed José María Aznar, the head of the Spanish government and leader of the Popular Party, PP.

Public opinion polls taken in September show that the PSOE is increasing its popularity, as is their leader, Almunia. The forecast that he made towards the end of last year to the effect that "Aznar is more fragile than ever", certainly seems to be coming true.

In October 1998, on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of Spain's constitution, he gave his definition of what modern democracy means.

"Today", he said, "democracy is the equality of men and women. Today democracy is the mingling of races. Today democracy is equality in education. Today democracy is development cooperation. Today democracy is participation in missions of peace and security. Today democracy is more than ever a state with a social conscience. Today democracy is also the development of the rights of the citizen; those which make up personality and

bonds of affection. And, as a result, democracy today is the acceptance of new forms of the family, democracy is respect for sexual preferences. Democracy is the decriminalisation of abortion, democracy is the right to be different. Democracy is tolerance."

In October of this year, the Spanish public got more of an idea of the details of the political

platform on which Almunia will fight the elections due to take place early in 2000.

Speaking in Madrid at a party gathering, the candidate for the premiership said that education would be the party's priority if the PSOE won the poll. He would see to it that state schools would be open for eleven months of the year and for twelve hours a day, seven days a week. Everything would be done so that at the end of their schooldays, young Spaniards would have a good grasp of information technology and be able to speak one foreign language fluently. A PSOE government would make every effort to ensure that there would be no more than twenty-two pupils in a class.

The conservative Aznar government, Almunia said, had "abandoned public education in favour of private education." They had left aside education as a way to encourage equality and the progress of the individual and society. "Any government that I lead will do the opposite", he declared.

People would be at the heart of a PSOE government, Almunia has made clear, with policies promoting the socialist commitment to giving support to the family, moving away from the right-wing concept of the role of men and women in society. Initiatives would also include plans for assisting older people and a programme for preschool education. Almunia stresses the importance of providing a government plan in which Spanish men and women feel their lives and concerns are reflected. Consequently, his government would dedicate itself to defending the rights which affect all family members.

## 16 A clear programme of work

A year ago, the Government of the Czech Republic, the first social-democratic government in the history of the country, presented its 'Policy Statement' as the basic document for the vote of confidence by the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech Parliament. A minority government cannot, of course, implement its programme other than on the basis of effective communication with all parliamentary parties. We believed that draft legislation submitted by the government would be assessed on the merit of its material content and that it would be able to win the necessary approval under the conditions of parliamentary democracy.

This first year has proved to be difficult. Heritage from years of conservative governments, growing economic problems and unemployment, unrealistic expectations of voters, war in Yugoslavia and never ending media attacks certainly did not make the Government popular. Some of the proposals failed to gain support in the Parliament, mistakes have been heavily criticised, successes passed almost unnoticed. But a major part of the work is still to be done and the priorities remain the same.

The Government considers its integral goal to be its contribution to the Czech society becoming a society of learning, participation and solidarity, and to this effect transforming itself into a modern society of the 21st century. It is aware of the fact that it cannot attain this goal without the active cooperation of all the citizens of the Czech Republic, and it is also aware of the limitations of government policy resulting from the free individual activities of citizens. Moreover, the long-term process of necessary modernisation of Czech society cannot be completed during a mere four-year-term of this Government. Nevertheless we believe that without a long-term vision of the development of Czech society, our policy would lack firm ground and that it is our duty therefore to attempt to formulate the necessary vision.

The idea of a learning society draws on the presumption that the qualifications of people are currently becoming a basic production factor. Only a society which is capable of making an investment in the lifelong education of its citizens, and in this respect in the development of their skills, will be able to achieve long-term success in international competition. We reject the idea that it is cheap labour which could become our basic comparative advantage in the world competition of an increasingly globalised society. On the contrary, we should be able to break through by the effective utilisation of qualified and well-paid labour with high productivity. Social spending, investment in human capital or in the development of the human potential is considered by the Government to be the most effective form of investment. It intends to reflect this form, especially investment in education, in its budget priorities and transform our society gradually into a knowledge society.

The participation of citizens in the administration of public affairs is a way of applying human potential, of freeing it from the conditions of an alienated - in fact, passive - society. We understand this participation is a motivational and inspirational factor which contributes to the growth of productivity of labour by expanding the number of carriers of innovation, and also as the basis for the self-confidence of citizens reflected in their participation in governing political entities. Participation requires decentralisation, the application of the principle of subsidiarity common in the European Union, communication between employees and employers, linking up inter alia to the successful entrepreneurial tradition of the well-known Bata company. It may be claimed that a society of stakeholders is the model for a fully-fledged civic society.

And finally, a society based on solidarity is the embodiment of the principle of social cohesion, of avoidance of unnecessary conflict during any one-sided

*Prime Minister Milos Zeman, leader of the Czech Social Democratic Party, describes the priorities for his government after years of conservative rule*





### **Heritage and opportunity**

providing public service to be subjected without restraint to the invisible hand of the market. The Government believes that the market mechanism is effective particularly in the short-term allocation of resources. The spheres distinguished by a significant time-lag between the investment and its effect - for example, education or basic research - should, in the view of the Government, remain a part of the public sector. Of course we are aware of the fact that the line between the two sectors is hazy and that its delimitation will remain the subject of permanent debate.

The Government has intended to demonstrate its emphasis on the long-term establishment of its policy when it assigned its ministers the task of drafting, by the end of the first quarter of 1999, long-term concepts of development of their departments, including a four-year legislative plan. Concepts of housing, energy and other policies are needed as well as at least a mid-term budget prospect besides the annual State Budget Act. Indeed, we are required to do so due by our commitments to the European Union.

The current state of Czech society is the result of developmental trends which bear the influence of the period of approximately forty years of communist regime and of the first eight years following the fall of that regime. Under communism, the discrepancy between the economic performance of then Czechoslovakia on the one hand and of the developed countries on the other

polarisation of interest groups. The Government upholds solidarity of the healthy with the sick, because any one of us may become ill. It declares, solidarity of the rich with the poor, since no-one should be deprived of their human dignity. In this respect we wish to develop the idea of a permanent and multilateral social dialogue and to take active part in this dialogue as one of its partners. It is for instance unacceptable that access to education or provided health care should depend on any other criteria than the aptitude of the candidate to learn or the state of exposure to health risk. Of course, the economic circumstances of the country will, in this context, always limit the capacity of public service provided.

The dispute on the proportion of the public and private sectors is a permanent dispute between left and right governments. The Czech Government rejects ideological fundamentalism which in its communist form led to the elimination of the private sector. However, it does not share the ultra-liberal views on the restriction of the public sector, either. It upholds the European Union idea of permanent partnership between both sectors and is aware of the fact that concrete practical policy must always seek anew the fragile and historically changing equilibrium between the two. We do not think it appropriate for economic entities whose mission is the maximisation of profit to remain in the hands of the government, just as we do not think it appropriate for entities

18 continued to deepen and grow. Compared to the period before the second world war when Czechoslovakia was one of the ten most successful countries in the world, its ranking gradually declined under the communist regime and eventually dropped significantly. There is no need to repeat the reasons which led to this state: the constitution of a subjugated society under bureaucratic dictatorship, a society with no feedback, one that did not lean on democratic control over power, a society which made room for the average and below average and oppressed any individual who dared to voice a different view.

We still lack a systematic evaluation of the first eight years following the November revolution of 1989. It is understandable that at the time of the change democratic instincts had been weakened by forty years of communist dictatorship, creating space for often naive and one-sided solutions. Too soon did we proclaim ourselves the top of the class in central Europe without there being any rational reasons to do so. In describing the current situation, it is necessary to point out that countries which we used to outdistance continuously in the past - namely Poland and Hungary - are currently distinguished by a rapid economic growth while in the Czech Republic we have, in actual fact, economic stagnation, called an economic depression by some.

The incoming CSSD-led Government inherited a situation marked by a drop in economic performance (in 1997 the gross domestic product had been growing by a mere one per cent, and in the first quarter of 1998 growth was actually negative), by a declining standard of living measured by a drop in real wages (especially in the public sector), by growth in unemployment with regional consequences, and by a twofold increase of the national debt compared to the official figures published a year ago (due to the losses of some banks and other institutions). The lack of transparency of the capital market resulted in an outflow of foreign investors. The standard of living of significant social groups - namely old-age pensioners and young families - is lower today than in 1990. There is growing social tension, reflected in action by trade union associations. Revenue collected from the yield of "large scale privatisation" has been spent without achieving the desired restructuring of industry and agriculture. The previous Government had estimated the budget deficit for 1998 at twenty billion crowns.

We are not quoting these details to set an alibi for an austere budget and for its economic policy in general. The current government merely considers it necessary to inform the public about the true state of affairs and has therefore decided to present to the public and to the Chamber of Deputies a comprehensive inventory of the state of Czech society, unburdened by ideological ballast and relying on hard statistical data. This inventory should map the scope of our internal debt and define the distance separating us from the average standard of European Union countries with the aim of avoiding being overcome by illusions about the extent to which we are lagging behind. The Government believes that any, even the most complicated situation can be resolved; what it requires is not sugaring the pill, not concealing problems behind fine facades and being able to admit albeit even very unpleasant facts.

The Government of the Czech Republic fully supports the idea of social transformation launched by the November revolution of 1989. It is also firm in its decision to contribute by its policies to the amendment of the errors and mistakes that have accumulated during the transformation and have aggravated the mentioned loss of dynamics in the economy and the growing social tensions. Specific measures have been proposed in individual spheres and it is useful to present an outline of the measures considered essential:

- Stepping up the fight against economic crime demonstrated by tax and credit fraud, money-laundering, corruption and otherwise; elimination of circumstances in which the debtor has an advantage over the creditor and when those who default on their payments are inadequately penalised. More consistent

control over the capital market to achieve greater transparency, more severe sanctions and law enforcement, closing gaps in legislation which allow enrichment that is in contradiction with traditional business ethics. Investigation of suspect financial operations, including past privatisation cases. Legal amendment of the funding of political parties to prevent their dependence on economic pressure groups; fight against political corruption carried out in a similar manner as in European Union countries (e.g. the Italian Clean Hands campaign). At the same time the Government emphasises unequivocally that such activities must not assume the nature of any kind of political purge. That, too, is another reason why the Government has decided as a matter of principle that the Minister of Justice should be a person with no party affiliation;

- Reform of public administration, including the commitment of a number of new bills for the implementation of the already adopted constitutional act on the establishment of self-governing regions. Depoliticizing the state administration by adopting a new Civil Service Act to stabilise the state apparatus, enhance its effectiveness and remove its dependence on short-term political pressure. To reduce state administration in spheres where there is rampant bureaucracy. The commitment of draft legislation allowing the extension of citizen participation (referendum, ombudsman, employee stockholding). Tax and budget reform reinforcing the economic powers of local and regional government;

- Revival of economic growth by applying active industrial, agricultural and pro-export policies. Support given to inflow of foreign investment. Accomplishment of the privatisation of the banking sector by the end of 2000 and using the yield from privatisation mainly to support housing development. Accomplishment of the deregulation of prices by the end of 2002 in a socially feasible manner and on the basis of regulation of natural monopolies. Change of budget priorities by increasing the share of education spending and by high multiplication impact investment into infrastructure;

- Acceleration of the approximation of our legislation to European Union law. Cooperation within NATO not only in the military field but also in the spheres of science, research and economy, including the utilisation of new opportunities for our arms industry. Extension of regional central European cooperation including the effort to develop special relations with the Slovak Republic;

- Adoption of the Social Charter of the Council of Europe (this proposal of the Government has already been approved by the Parliament). Increase of the minimum wage to secure, in compliance with the Charter, a life not dependent on social benefits, and to motivate the acceptance of employment. The extension of job offer opportunities by systematic organisation of work on community projects. Boosting the mechanism of tripartite bargaining and the establishment of a permanent social dialogue with the aim of securing social peace even in difficult economic conditions.

The Government of the Czech Republic expects to inform the Chamber of Deputies on the fulfilment of this 'Policy Statement' once a year (as we have recently done) and believes that at the end of its four year term the country will be in considerably better shape than when we took government.

The Government will strive to bring the Czech Republic into the ranks of active proponents of European and, as far as it is possible, also world politics, leaning on cooperation, solidarity, human rights and cooperative security. It will promote the development of all-round co-operation with the countries of Central Europe and coordination of preparations for EU membership, especially together with the Polish Republic and the Republic of Hungary. The Government supports the vision of a united, democratic, prospering and peaceful Europe without tensions and conflicts, a Europe of free citizens and cooperating regions. ♦

## The challenges of the new millennium

The Nepali Congress Party of Nepal, a party that strongly believes in and adheres to the principles of democratic socialism, has been mandated by the people to form the new government. In the recently concluded general elections, the third since the restoration of multiparty democracy in Nepal, the people returned the Nepali Congress to parliament with a comfortable majority.

During the elections, the Nepali Congress went to the people for their mandate with as its main electoral issues the protection of Nepal's hard-won democracy, political stability, drastic socio-economic change and all-round development of the people and nation.

The fact that the Nepali Congress has been returned to parliament with a comfortable working majority amply proves that the people, as in the past, have placed their hope, faith and trust in this, the oldest democratic institution in Nepal. The Nepali Congress is the only political party which played a crucial role in ushering in democracy twice in Nepal. Additionally, it also proves that the people, once again, have given the Nepali Congress Party the opportunity to form a single-party government so that the policies set out in the election manifesto can be put into action.

Now that the Nepali Congress is steering the helm of state affairs in Nepal, the stupendous task of fulfilling its promises has devolved upon its shoulders. The responsibilities are, to say the least, indeed stupendous. On the other hand, the means are always limited. To add to this the Government, now that it is a single-party government, has the additional responsibility for effectively responding to the inordinately high expectations among the people.

It may be pertinent to recall here that prior to the formation of this government the people witnessed a minority government and four coalition governments running the country's affairs. This unfortunate experimental phase was brought about by the fractured nature of the mandate given by the people to the political parties in the wake of the second general elections after the restoration of

*Prime Minister of Nepal Krishna Prasad Bhattarai, of the Nepali Congress Party, reflects on the tasks which his new government faces*

*Rural isolation...*



multiparty democracy in the country. This fractured mandate, translated in parliamentary configuration, saw one minority and four coalition governments succeeding each other in quick succession. While one coalition government after another tried to manage the competing wishes of the people, with the limited resources at hand, the unfulfilled expectations of the people inexorably burgeoned. Although the snowballing of the people's unfulfilled expectations and hopes are to be an expected phenomenon in any poor yet democratic country while it is passing through an unstable phase, this majority government is now faced with the task of fulfilling them.

In other words, the challenges before the Government are, as far as translating its promises into concrete deeds is concerned, not only Herculean in nature and scope, but also fraught with many obstacles. Needless to point out, these very obstacles in the path of the Government are the offshoots of the anomalies that crept into all spheres of Nepalese life during the politically unstable period. These anomalies range from political instability to stagnant economic development with others like corruption, unemployment, environmental degradation and sporadic violent activities by some misguided insurgents.

Now the Government, perceiving all such anomalies as challenges that should and must be faced head on, has already charted out appropriate strategies to solve, or ameliorate, the problems thrown up during the time of political instability.

Foremost among them is the challenge of bringing about political stability in the country. For, in the absence of political stability, other aberrations are likely to crop up in the political firmament, thereby vitiating the new dispensation's democratic norms, practices and values. The Government has already initiated necessary steps to bring about inter-party dialogue and discussion within and outside the parliament so that a broad consensus can be reached in all affairs pertaining to national issues, such as, among others, economic development, harnessing the nation's vast water resources, local development legislation and activities, the law and order situation, the devolution of power to the local bodies and environmental degradation. More importantly, these measures are envisaged to bring about the much-needed rapport among the various political parties which in a multiparty democratic dispensation like Nepal's are the main players in the strong and healthy development of democratic norms, values and practices. For, unless there is political stability at the centre, the resultant discord and in-fighting among the political parties as they jostle for power could lead to the dissipation of the democratic institutions, values and norms. All these were paid for dearly by the sweat, tears and blood of the innumerable fighters for democracy who, despite the harsh and repressive laws imposed on them by the former administration, kept alive their struggle for over three decades.

It is heartening to note that the steps initiated by the Nepali Congress Government to bring about a congenial atmosphere to put political activities on an even keel are bearing the desired results. While people no longer gripe and worry over the current political situation, the political parties, in the wake of the people's recent mandate to the Nepali Congress Party, seem to have more or less reconciled themselves to their respective roles, forwarding some constructive suggestions, especially during the sessions of the parliament. Yet another is that the people's confidence in the ability of this Government to translate its promises into tangible results has risen considerably. Also, the stability brought about by the Government in the political sphere has percolated down to the grassroots in the form of more local development activities taking place. It is of great interest to note that the economy, which had more or less stagnated, is showing positive signs of picking up. This, in more ways than one, speaks voluminously of the Government's ability to re-inspire the industrialists' and investors' confidence in the management of the economy. What can safely be predicted is that as it comes up with more and more liberal policies in the economic sector, the economy,



Carlos Reyes-Manzo / Andes Press Agency

... urban challenges

through the infusion of investments from home and abroad, will not only pick up but also grow in strength and volume. By doing so, other problems associated with a moribund economy and development status like unemployment, poverty and illiteracy, among others, will gradually be solved and addressed. Yet another anomaly that has been raising its ugly Hydra-like head amidst the people and in practically all spheres of national life is corruption. It is not that corruption was not there before. It was very much there – but in a more subdued and less virulent form. But just like the other anomalies mentioned above, corruption became more rampant during the time of political instability.

All this, much to the chagrin of other political leaders and people alike, began to have a negative impact on the general people who, in a democratic state, invariably look up to the leaders to set the right path and conduct for the rest to follow. With the installation of the Nepali Congress majority Government, hopefully all this will be an aberration of the past. As the prime minister, my prime concern is to eradicate corruption from the social and political life of the nation.

In order to do this, the Government has come up with a series of appropriate measures that are aimed at permeating all strata of Nepalese society. Not only have the ministers and high government officials been strictly warned that they will be persecuted under existing laws if they are found wanting in their conduct, but also measures have already been initiated to ferret out ill-gotten gains of highly placed official and personalities. Likewise moves to coordinate the activities of law and order enforcement agencies that look into anti-corruption cases, bringing them under one umbrella, are also afoot. Similarly, the commission that looks into the abuse of power and high offices has been strengthened by enacting appropriate by-laws. That these anti-corruption measures are having a telling impact on this crippling malaise can be vouchsafed by the mass media, particularly the press, as there is less and less news of

corruption indulged in by high government officials and such people nowadays.

Expediting development, particularly in the social and economic spheres, has been the foremost aim of the Nepali Congress Party since its inception over five decades ago. Until, and unless, development, especially in the economic front, takes place to the desired extent, the people, the majority of whom live in rural areas amidst abject deprivation, will continue to be mired in poverty. This same malaise, poverty, has been identified as a ready breeding ground for many an anomaly like corruption, socially deviant acts and actions, and worse still, even acts against society. I am of the firm view that unless and until poverty is banished, corruption and corrupt practices will continue to take place in all walks of life.

As such, if corruption, an offshoot of poverty, is to be combated in all its nefarious ramifications, then development endeavours have to be pursued not only with determination, but also be expedited and accelerated. For this, the bureaucracy, the executing arm of the government's decisions and policies, needs to be streamlined and stabilised. Since day one, the Government has endeavoured to infuse fresh enthusiasm and drive into the more or less demoralised bureaucracy and bureaucrats by coming up with a host of initiatives, the promotion of top officials on no other basis but purely merit and competency being just one. Likewise, while the recommendations by a commission to look into the administration are being implemented, the Government is exploring other avenues to boost the bureaucracy's performance.

As an added aid to boost development works, the Government is leaving no opportunities untouched in expediting the process devolving decision making power to the local bodies so that the people can truly identify themselves with the development initiatives being launched for their benefit.

Expectations are indeed high among the people over the Nepali Congress-led Government's ability to bring about all-round development in the country so that their hopes for better amenities will be speedily fulfilled. At the same time, correcting those anomalies that surfaced during the politically unstable period so that these will be things of the past.

The Nepali Congress is the party in which the people have placed their hopes, expectations, faith and trust to lead the nation into the new millennium.

The Nepali Congress, throughout its chequered and memorable history, has always been a party that did all it could to fulfil people's expectations. The coming years will also see the Nepali Congress living up to its democratic socialist ideals.

As one of the founders of the Nepali Congress Party, I have a long cherished dream to change the face of Nepal. Within this three year' period, I wish to turn it into the gem of South Asia, where incomes of the people go up considerably, where more and more jobs are created and education is energised.

I am hopeful that I will be instrumental in changing the face of the country, a major objective of the Nepali Congress party since its inception. ♦

## 24 The way ahead for Bosnia and Herzegovina

As the world leaves behind the tenth anniversary of the fall of the Berlin wall, we in Bosnia and Herzegovina are celebrating the tenth anniversary of the first democratic elections that officially ended communism. In November 1989 the one-party system in Bosnia and Herzegovina was replaced with three one-party nationalisms. Instead of transition to one democracy we ended in three ethnocracies. The newly established concept of governance by three ethnic parties led the country into ten years of nationalism and fear, corruption and misery.

Four years of war resulted in more than 5 per cent of population killed and more than half the population displaced or expelled from their homes. After ten years of running the country, after receiving US\$5 billion in donations for reconstruction from the international community, and four years after signing the Dayton Peace Accord, the government composed of ethnic parties is declaring an optimistic goal: to reach two thirds of the 1990 gross domestic product by the year 2002.

Problems of corruption, crime, unsuccessful privatisation and economic transition, people still living outside their homes, the dissolution of society state and crises of morale, are just some examples of the questions which are being avoided by nationalists. Their answers to any problem are always the same: fear, segregation and nationalism.

The Bosnian conflict was not the clash of civilisations or ethnical groups but the struggle between two contending concepts of governing people who come from

*Zlatko Lagumdžija, President of the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina and a Member of Parliament, discusses the future for his country*

*From war...*





different ethnical, cultural or religious groups. Those two concepts can be seen as a way of seeing 'others'.

The first concept treats others as a strength, the second as a weakness of the community. The first one sees others as an opportunity, the second as a threat to the community. The first is represented by social democracy, multi-ethnicity and the concept of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a state with a civil open society. The second is represented by ethnocracy, nationalism and separatism.

As part of the former, the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia Herzegovina (SDP), three years ago won 5 per cent of the votes, one year ago it got 15 per cent of votes, and now the SDP is running to strengthen that rising curve in next year's elections. That is why we fight against the concept of governance which still uses the old communist principle: 'the system is good; it is people that should be changed'. We believe quite the opposite. People are good, but we need to change the system. Cults of state, nation and false myths should be replaced by ideas of the state, freedom and justice. That is the basic difference between the current concept of government and what we call the third way for Bosnia and Herzegovina.

What is our third way after communism and nationalism and what kind of leadership is able to mark out that way?

Today, we can say that the third way for Bosnia and Herzegovina contains amongst other things the following properties:

- reconciliation, repatriation and reintegration of the country as a multi-ethnic civil society;
- the building of anti-corruption mechanisms as a precondition for any kind of progress;
- the reconstruction of state institutions that must be more active, democratic and legitimate along with an adequate judiciary;
- economic reconstruction based on attracting foreign investment;
- the primacy of the market in economy interpreted with economic common sense, but not as a political dogma or a new religion;
- an active public sector which corrects market distortions;
- sustainable development in the global economy;
- public expenditure focused on marginalised and socially vulnerable parts of society;
- investment in education and creativity;
- the construction of an overall social welfare system;
- and promoting European Union standards in all aspects of social and economic activities.

In order for the country to take that path, a leadership is needed, completely different from the regrettably usual state of affairs of leaders being followed only by helpless followers for religious or ethnic reasons.

We do not need a quasi-feudal and bureaucratic leadership that relies on the concept of local Croatian ancient 'bans', Bosniac old style 'beyes' and Serbian medieval 'dukes', but on teams gathered into an integral network of creative individuals and efficient organisations that share a common vision and come from all segments of society including various ethnic and religious groups.

The leadership of the third way for Bosnia and Herzegovina requires creative thinking from each team member, and leaders whose entire intellectual strength is directed to building a country where people will be able to say: "I care and work for Bosnia and Herzegovina, because I know that it cares and works for me".

People of Bosnia and Herzegovina are going through five years of 'shrunken' time since the end of the war.

In 1996 people realised that massive killing and war was over. In 1997 ruling parties were still producing the fear of 'others' as a major driving force in society. In 1998 people were losing hope for the future and feeling helpless and resigned.



*... to reconstruction*

This year can be treated as a year of mass disillusionment that nationalism can deliver anything but corruption of political leaders and society in general.

This is the reason why next year should be seen as a year of switching the paradigm in which social democratic forces of a multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina are leading a change in the current concept of governing the country from nationalistic to civil society premises.

In this respect, one of the key issues today is the need for reform of the election system, since the existing interim election law just maintains and stimulates further ethnic divisions. It is clear to the people that there is a will for change and it is also clear that nationalists oppose that change.

Therefore, the creation of permanent election law under the supervision of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe, OSCE, according to the principles of European civil society is a primary political issue. It determines not only how long it will take for the nationalists to leave the political scene, but also

the level of success of the efforts of the international community. One recent proposal made by the OSCE, which should represent the international community's standpoint, unfortunately offers another chance for ruling nationalists. We must hope it will be changed.

In some months from now I expect that Milosevic in Yugoslavia and Tujman in Croatia will no longer be in power. General elections in less than a year from now in Bosnia and Herzegovina will mark the fall of nationalism and the rise of social democracy.

One of the major questions is what should be the role of Bosnians on one side and the role of international community on the other? Or what is the role of Bosnian social democrats and what is the role of those social democratic parties which are ready to participate in a 'local' issue such as Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The reason for not fully implementing the Peace Accord in four years may be found in a simple fact that the international community was leading the process and even doing things while local forces were only following the process or even hindering it.

There is no solution for the people of Bosnia until we switch the roles. Local forces have to lead the process and to do the things on the ground. The international community's role can be efficient and effective only as it supports the evolution of a local political culture capable of creating and initiating its own future.

The same thing applies to social democrats. The SDP of Bosnia and Herzegovina has to grow stronger in order to become the leading political party after general elections in 2000 and to lead its own country on a new concept of governing. Our objective is to become a real part of a united Europe, because we do not want to return to 19th century and to the rule of the idea of isolated national states.

That is a condition of peace and stability in the region, as well as in Europe as a whole. Moreover, Europe is our destiny. We cannot escape from it even if that idea has entered some minds.

Those who are interested only for their nation and for their territory, those who think only in categories of fast short-term gains, those whose political goals are based only on daily manifested political attitudes, will have no chance of influencing future directions and forms of a united Europe, nor of surviving as part of a developed and civilised world. This applies to Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as to anyone else in the modern world.

I will close with a contemporary Italian poet who offers us a theme for Bosnians as well as for the global social democratic outlook: "We are all angels with one wing. We can fly only by embracing each other." ♦

# ABOUT THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

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The Socialist International is the worldwide organisation of socialist, social democratic and labour parties. It is the oldest and largest international political association and now brings together 130 parties and organisations from all continents. The Socialist International, whose origins go back to the early international organisations of the labour movement of the last century, has existed in its present form since 1951 when it was re-established at the Frankfurt Congress.

The International provides its members with a forum for political action, policy discussion, dialogue and exchange. Its statements and decisions advise member organisations and the international community of consensus views within the global family of socialist, social democratic and labour parties and organisations.

The late Willy Brandt, former Chancellor of Germany, was President of the Socialist International from 1976 to 1992.

Pierre Mauroy, former Prime Minister of France, was elected President in 1992 and re-elected by the International's XX Congress in 1996. Luis Ayala (Chile), was elected Secretary General by the Stockholm Congress in 1989, and re-elected by the Congress in 1992 and in 1996.

The Congress, which meets every three years, and the Council (including all member parties and organisations), which meets twice a year, are the supreme decision-making bodies of the Socialist International. Meetings of the presidium and party leaders are also held from time to time, as well as special conferences on particular topics and issues.

Committees and study groups have been established for work on Africa; Asia and the Pacific; Central and Eastern Europe; Economic Policy, Development and the Environment; Human Rights; Latin America and the Caribbean; Local Authorities; the Mediterranean; the Middle East; Peace, Security and Disarmament; and Finance and Administration. These committees and study groups have specific programmes of work and meet regularly. The Socialist International also frequently sends missions and delegations to various countries or regions.

The Socialist International, as a non-governmental organisation, has consultative status (Category I) with the United Nations, and works internationally with many other organisations.

**Full member parties**

Social Democratic Party, PSD, Albania  
 Socialist Forces Front, FFS, Algeria  
 Popular Socialist Party, PSP, Argentina  
 People's Electoral Movement, MEP, Aruba  
 Australian Labour Party, ALP  
 Social Democratic Party of Austria, SPÖ  
 Barbados Labour Party  
 Socialist Party, PS, Belgium  
 Socialist Party, SP, Belgium  
 Revolutionary Left Movement, MIR-New Majority, Bolivia  
 Democratic Labour Party, PDT, Brazil  
 Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, BSDP  
 Party for Democracy and Progress, PDP, Burkina Faso  
 New Democratic Party, NDP/NPD, Canada  
 African Party of Cape Verde's Independence, PAICV  
 Party for Democracy, PPD, Chile  
 Social Democratic Radical Party, PRSD, Chile  
 Socialist Party of Chile, PS  
 National Liberation Party, PLN, Costa Rica  
 Movement for a New Antilles, MAN, Curaçao  
 EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus  
 Czech Social Democratic Party, CSSD  
 Social Democratic Party, Denmark  
 Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, Dominican Republic  
 Democratic Left Party, PID, Ecuador  
 National Democratic Party, NDP, Egypt  
 Mõõdukad, Estonia  
 Finnish Social Democratic Party, SDP  
 Socialist Party, PS, France  
 Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD  
 The Labour Party, Great Britain  
 Panhellenic Socialist Movement, PASOK, Greece  
 Party of the National Congress of Democratic Movements, KONAKOM, Haiti  
 Revolutionary Progressive Nationalist Party of Haiti, PANPRA  
 Hungarian Socialist Party, MSzP  
 Social Democratic Party, Iceland  
 The Labour Party, Ireland  
 Israel Labour Party  
 MERETZ, Israel  
 Democrats of the Left, DS, Italy  
 Italian Democratic Socialists, SDI  
 Ivory Coast Popular Front, FPI  
 People's National Party, PNP, Jamaica  
 Social Democratic Party, SDP, Japan  
 Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party, LSDSP  
 Progressive Socialist Party, PSP, Lebanon  
 Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, LSDP  
 Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party, LSAP/POSL  
 Democratic Action Party, DAP, Malaysia  
 Malta Labour Party  
 Mauritius Labour Party  
 Party of Democratic Revolution, PRD, Mexico  
 Mongolian Social Democratic Party, MSDP  
 Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP, Morocco  
 Labour Party, PvdA, Netherlands  
 New Zealand Labour Party, NZLP  
 Sandinista National Liberation Front, FSLN, Nicaragua  
 Social Democratic and Labour Party, SDLP, Northern Ireland  
 Norwegian Labour Party, DNA  
 Revolutionary Febrerista Party, PRF, Paraguay  
 Democratic Left Alliance, Poland  
 Union of Labour, UP, Poland  
 Socialist Party, PS, Portugal  
 Puerto Rican Independence Party, PIP  
 San Marino Socialist Party, PSS  
 Socialist Party, PS, Senegal  
 Party of the Democratic Left, SDL, Slovak Republic  
 Social Democratic Party of Slovakia, SDSS  
 United List of Social Democrats of Slovenia, ZL  
 Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE  
 Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP  
 Social Democratic Party of Switzerland  
 Constitutional Democratic Assembly, RCD, Tunisia  
 Republican People's Party, CHP, Turkey  
 Democratic Socialists of America, DSA, USA  
 Social Democrats USA, SDUSA  
 Democratic Action, AD, Venezuela

**Consultative parties**

Radical Civic Union, UCR, Argentina  
 Social Democratic Front, SDF, Cameroon  
 Liberal Party of Colombia, PLC  
 Dominica Labour Party  
 Convergence for Social Democracy, CPDS, Equatorial Guinea  
 Fiji Labour Party  
 Gabonese Party for Progress, PGP  
 SIUMUT, Greenland  
 Working People's Alliance, WPA, Guyana  
 African Party for Solidarity and Justice, ADEMA/PASJ, Mali  
 Mauritius Militant Movement, MMM  
 Institutional Revolutionary Party, PRI, Mexico  
 Frelimo Party, Mozambique  
 Nepali Congress Party  
 Party for Democracy and Socialism of Niger, PNDS  
 Pakistan People's Party, PPP  
 Democratic Revolutionary Party, PRD, Panama  
 Peruvian Aprista Party, PAP  
 Philippines Democratic Socialist Party, PDSP  
 Democratic Party of Romania, PD  
 Romanian Social Democratic Party, PSDR  
 St. Kitts-Nevis Labour Party  
 St. Lucia Labour Party, SLP  
 Unity Labour Party, St. Vincent & the Grenadines  
 Popular Unity Movement, MUP, Tunisia

**Observer parties**

Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, MPLA  
 ARF Armenian Socialist Party  
 Social Democratic Party of Azerbaijan, SDPA  
 Social Democratic Party of Bosnia and Herzegovina, SDP BiH  
 Botswana National Front, BNF  
 Patriotic Front for Progress, FPP, Central African Republic  
 M-19 Democratic Alliance, Colombia  
 Democratic Party, PD, El Salvador  
 Citizen's Union of Georgia, CUG  
 Organisation of the People in Struggle, OPL, Haiti  
 Hungarian Social Democratic Party, MSzDP  
 Janata Dal, India  
 Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan, PDKI, Iran  
 Social Democratic Union of Macedonia, SDUM, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia  
 Social Democratic Party of Moldova  
 Social Democratic Party of Montenegro, SDPM  
 Fatah, Territories under Palestinian Authority, Palestine

**Fraternal organisations**

International Falcon Movement/Socialist Educational International, IFM/SEI  
 International Union of Socialist Youth, IUSY  
 Socialist International Women, SIW

**Associated organisations**

International Federation of the Socialist and Democratic Press, IFSDP  
 International League of Religious Socialists  
 International Union of Socialist Democratic Teachers, IUSDT  
 Jewish Labour Bund, JLB  
 International Confederation of Labour Sports, CSIT  
 Parliamentary Group of the Party of European Socialists  
 Party of European Socialists, PES  
 World Labour Zionist Movement, WLZM

## XXI Congress of the International in Paris



*SI President Pierre Mauroy will open the discussions in Paris*

Pascal Lebrun

The XXI Congress of the Socialist International in Paris will meet from Monday 8 to Wednesday 10 November 1999, hosted by the Socialist Party of France, PS. The gathering will bring together about a thousand representatives from some 140 countries under the theme 'for a more humane society, for a world more fair and just'.

This Congress will reflect the strength of social democracy today and put into perspective its achievements, while also addressing its proposals and vision for the future, in what is the first theme to be discussed, 'Democratic socialism in the next century'. The commitment to continue to build on a common and shared agenda in the face of a world in profound transformation will be made

evident in the decisions and declarations to be adopted in Paris in this unique event of the world's social democratic family.

The Congress will also debate other areas of concern for the International, such as the search for peace in different regions facing conflict, and the struggle for democracy in places around the world where it is under threat, focusing in particular on the role of solidarity.

The Congress will open on Monday 8 November when delegates will be addressed by François Hollande, First Secretary of the Socialist Party of France, on behalf of the host party, and Pierre Mauroy, President of the Socialist International.

Felipe González will take the floor under the first main

theme, presenting the report of the Global Progress Commission, established at the XX Congress in New York in 1996, which he chairs.

Keynote speakers on the first main theme will include heads of government and leaders of SI member parties and as a result of the discussions, that the Congress will issue the 'Declaration of Paris'.

On Tuesday 9 November, delegates will address the theme 'The path of peace and solidarity' and leading figures from the social democratic movement will share their experiences on this issue.

Following this discussion, the Congress will turn to organisational matters, the report of the Secretary General on the activities of the International in the inter-Congress period, decisions of the applications for membership and the election of the officials of the International.

On Wednesday 10 November, the Congress will close with a discussion and adoption of the General Congress Resolution, which will reflect the commitment and prospects of our International on the world today.

## Council in Buenos Aires



Latifa Perry

The Council met on 25-26 June in Buenos Aires to discuss the main theme 'Shaping change', hosted by the SI Argentinian member parties, the Popular Socialist Party, PSP, and the Radical Civic Union, UCR. More than 350 delegates came together representing almost 100 parties to participate in the discussions.

Fernando de la Rúa, presidential candidate for the Alliance for Work, Education and Justice, of Argentina, and Head of the Government of the City of Buenos Aires, led the opening of the meeting. He declared that the challenge of the next century was to eradicate global inequity. Poverty, he said, remained "a sad reality that imposes a practical and moral change based on solidarity". Highlighting the geographical significance of the gathering, de la Rúa expressed the pride of his fellow social democrats in Argentina that the Council was meeting in Buenos Aires and

declared: "We are Latin Americans committed to a democratic project inspired by the values of freedom, justice, equality and solidarity".

Guillermo Estévez Boero and Leopoldo Moreau welcomed the delegates on behalf of the PSP and the UCR respectively.

SI President Pierre Mauroy paid tribute to Raúl Alfonsín, former President of Argentina and a leader of the UCR, who was unable to take part in the meeting and wished him a speedy recovery. Latin America, Mauroy said, was in the midst of interesting times with presidential elections bringing hope for the consolidation of social democracy not only in Argentina, but also in Chile, Uruguay and the Dominican Republic, whose presidential candidates, Ricardo Lagos, Tabaré Vazquez and Rafael Michelini, and Hipólito Mejía, also participated in the meeting. Clearly, he continued, the

challenges facing social democrats were global, concluding that "it is more than ever our responsibility to keep up the fight for democracy, human rights, social justice and peace. This is our historic vocation, keeping faith with ourselves, with our history, and with those who have placed their trust in us and who still trust us today to support them in their struggle against poverty and oppression".

Felipe González, Chair of the Global Progress Commission and an SI Vice-President, spoke of the role of the Socialist International, which was now truly international in its composition, in the new stage of the information economy which had altered relations of production, employment, economic relations and also cultural and communications guidelines at such great speed. With the financial system "working like an international

financial casino without any regulatory framework", politicians, González asserted, had to be up to the challenge of moving from localised politics to global politics, optimising the advantages and minimising the risks, since, he stated "the internationalisation of politics has not taken place". The Socialist International could really be, he maintained, a means of global progress and an instrument of global change, with a new commitment and a new strategy on the way to act.

Massimo D'Alema, Prime Minister of Italy, Democrats of the Left, DS, reiterated the importance of the theme of the

meeting: "Shaping change, governing change in the world, has become a categorical imperative for all of us", he said, as the speed of such processes, "with their opportunities and risks, have reduced the distance between order and disorder, between bloody conflict and civil co-existence". New rules and new instruments were needed to rebuild and adapt international institutions to today's world, as much in the field of politics as that of economics and security, D'Alema added.

Chilean presidential candidate of the *Concertación*, Ricardo Lagos, noted that while

solidarity, equality and freedom remained core values for the social democratic movement, at the present time it was also concerned with stability, economic growth, efficiency and macro economic balance: "there exists a tension in different parts of the world, between, on one hand, the advances of the market economy and, on the other, a persistent social deadlock". Latin American democratic socialists clearly shared the views of their European counterparts, he declared, that a process of social inclusion was required with simultaneous material and social progress.

Göran Persson, Prime Minister of Sweden, Social Democratic Party, SAP, reflecting on the nature of globalisation, stated: "We in the Socialist International are the only political force that has understood that equality and development are not contradictions. Instead they promote each other. Economic prosperity cannot be sustainable unless it is shared by everyone. Everyone cannot gain unless there is development".

Costas Simitis, Prime Minister of Greece, PASOK, asserted that harnessing the forces of globalisation meant setting out new strategies based on promoting good governance; building a new economic, financial and political system of global governance; generating sustainable economic and social development, with equitable distribution of wealth, resources and information; and, forging a new cultural synthesis.

Ibrahim Boubacar Keita, Prime Minister of Mali, ADEMA-PASJ, highlighted the viewpoint of the African continent in this increasingly interrelated world. The Global Progress Commission, of which

Fernando  
de la Rúa  
addresses the  
Council



Latifa Perry



he is a member, had done much to reflect the reality of the various regions, Keita argued, and Africa was now anxious that the International take on problems collectively and offer collective solutions. Africa, he stated, only represented a small proportion of world trade, but its desire "to stand on its own feet" should be encouraged by the international community and by social democrats worldwide in particular.

The 'Consensus of Buenos Aires' resulted from the in-depth discussions of the Council, stating that as the pace of change in the world continued to accelerate 'the challenge is nothing less than to link material advance to social progress in a new consensus which will ensure that political considerations will take priority over purely economic ones. While the International welcomes a market economy it rejects a market society'.

It continued: 'For the forces of change to be shaped to the benefit of all the world's citizens the processes and institutions of democracy must be strengthened at the local, national and international levels. Democratic governance has to be promoted where it does not yet exist and human rights must be enforced where they are not yet respected'. To wage the fight against world poverty a joint effort was required from political parties, professional associations, trade unions, private enterprise and governments and non-governmental organisations 'on the basis of common interests and a shared resolve'.

Declaring, 'we need a worldwide social consensus that leads towards concrete agreements for social change in addition to economic stability', the Buenos Aires Consensus pinpointed investment in

education, reform of health care, investment in infrastructure; modernisation of the machinery of the state; citizens' security; greater protection for the environment as key areas.

At the same time, the Council noted, international financial institutions required reshaping, so that 'the world's financial markets cannot be allowed to continue to put the stability of nations at risk for want of prudent regulation'. Moreover the weight of foreign debt bearing on relatively less developed countries had to be alleviated in order to produce the conditions needed for social progress in all regions of the world.

With the continuing danger to world peace of the 'ugly forces of ethnic tensions and aggressive nationalism', the Consensus declared it incumbent on the SI to contribute to the strengthening of world peace by emphasising its commitment to the leading role of the United Nations.

It concluded that: 'In an era of unprecedented interdependence our vision of a democratic world society based on liberty, justice and equality provides the framework in which people can shape the rapidly changing world in which we live for the lasting benefit of all'.

A number of resolutions and declarations were adopted on the region, including one encouraging dialogue between the Republic of Argentina and the United Kingdom to settle all outstanding issues relating to the Falkland/Malvinas islands within the framework of the United Nations; expressing concern at the deterioration of the political climate in Haiti, the Council condemned the acts of violence there and applauded the efforts of the Provisional Electoral Council and SI

member parties; a declaration was adopted on Mexico in support of the set of electoral reforms currently being debated; in a resolution on Paraguay the Council declared its solidarity with the people there and encouraged all the democratic political forces to build a real government of national unity; in its resolution on Puerto Rico the Council expressed its complete support for Senator Rubén Berrios Martínez, President of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, PIP, and a Co-Chair of the Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, who has been leading a peaceful campaign of civil disobedience on land occupied by the United States Navy on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques; concerned by the direction taken by the political process in Venezuela, the Council called on the government to respect human rights and the free play of politics, tolerance and respect for political dissent and freedom of opinion and expression.

The Council also heard a contribution from the Prime Minister of Albania, Pandeli Majko, of the Socialist Party, who spoke movingly about the situation of his country during the crisis in Kosovo.

Secretary General Luis Ayala gave a report to the Council which included an account of the activities in the inter-Council period and outlined the forthcoming initiatives of the International. It was clear, he stated, that "our agenda has grown... we have above all a global message with principles and values which are constantly reaffirmed in the action and initiatives of our International".

## Asia-Pacific Committee in Kuala Lumpur

Members of the Asia-Pacific Committee met in Kuala Lumpur in June 1999 to examine the issues of concern in the region. The meeting, hosted by the Malaysian member party, Democratic Action Party, DAP, was chaired by Lim Kit Siang, leader of the DAP.

At the centre of the Committee's discussions were the developments for democratic reforms, human rights and the strengthening of the social democratic alternative in the Asia-Pacific region, under the heading 'Asia and the Pacific: priorities and perspectives for social democracy'. Participants also had the opportunity to report on their national situations.

Lim welcomed delegates and conveyed the regards of Lim Guan Eng, DAP Deputy General Secretary, who was then detained in Kajang Prison. Expressing his hopes that the next century would be one for social democracy in Asia and the Pacific, Lim declared: "The greatest challenge for social democracy in the new millennium is to establish principles of justice, freedom, democracy and good governance as the primary political force in the region, not only in national affairs but also in international affairs". Malaysian people, he continued, were looking forward to far-reaching changes in the next elections, and the unprecedented cooperation of opposition parties would be working to break "the mould of the ruling coalition's political hegemony".

Luis Ayala, Secretary General, paid tribute to the commitment of social democrats in Asia and the Pacific and was confident that the Committee would continue

to be an important tool in the work of the International by setting priorities: "We are particularly proud that we are a global, universal organisation... the values of social democracy are not only, as they used to be in the past, a political response to a particular reality in the world, but they have come to be the response for people all over the world who struggle for democracy, freedom, human rights, fairness and opportunity".

Following the discussions, the Declaration of Kuala Lumpur was issued which recognised that the hopes and expectations of the region were based on the establishment and strengthening of democracy, the defence of human rights, justice and freedom. It also acknowledged the urgent need to address the issue of globalisation, limiting its negative aspects and improving its positive effects, as it stated: "The world must not be divided up into globalisation winners and losers in a lasting world order", as the poorest sectors of Asian societies, who benefited least from the so-called 'boom' years, were suffering most from the 'bust'. The Asian economic crisis, it went on, had highlighted the need to address the inequities of the international financial system and it had also finally exposed the extreme vulnerability of economies subjected to cronyism, corruption and nepotism. 'The immediate challenge for social democracy in the Asia-Pacific region', the Committee declared, 'is the empowerment of social democratic forces in the region to collectively become the primary political force in regional affairs and in international relations'. It called on social democrats in the

region to work together in ending the remaining vestiges of authoritarianism and dictatorships in that part of the world.

The Committee reaffirmed its commitment to pursuing social democratic ideals with the full participation of women in the social, cultural, economic and political spheres.

Supporting the process of democratisation which had led to the establishment of democracy in South Korea, Taiwan, Mongolia, the Philippines, Nepal and many other countries in the Asia-Pacific region, the Committee lent support to the increasing demand and struggle towards democratisation in Malaysia, Indonesia and Burma, as well as the initiatives of Filipino social democrats to preserve, protect and further the democratic gains in that country.

The Committee called for peaceful negotiations and settlement of disputes, highlighting the cases of India and Pakistan over their borders in Kashmir, the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and China over the Spratly islands and of North and South Korea. Adding that the need for the development and establishment of new common security policies in the region was clear.

Turning to specific national situations, the Asia-Pacific Committee stated its concern about the political situation in Malaysia, as manifested by among others, the flawed implementation of the separation of powers of the Legislative, the Executive and the Judiciary, and condemned the promulgation of all draconian laws such as the Internal Security Act, referring to the case of Lim Guan Eng.



Latifa Perry

The Committee expressed its alarm following comments of the Prime Minister that the forthcoming general elections would be the "dirtiest" in the history of the country. The Committee called on the Malaysian government to ensure that the forthcoming general elections were clean, fair and democratic, with international observers allowed.

The Committee was equally concerned by the continuing lack of progress in the democratisation process in Bhutan; and by the expulsion of large numbers of its citizens and legally settled inhabitants from its territory. The Committee, therefore, urged the King and the Government of Bhutan to view this situation as a serious humanitarian problem for which the international community felt legitimate concern; and that appropriate steps be initiated to allow the evicted families to return to their respective homes.

On Burma, the Asia-Pacific Committee urged all SI member

parties to fully recognise and staunchly support the Committee Representing the People's Parliament (CRPP), formed by the absolute majority of the elected members of parliament through free and fair elections in 1990, in which the National League for Democracy (NLD) led by Nobel laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi had won a landslide victory. It strongly urged the junta to hand over power to the NLD and the representatives elected by the people of Burma who had "the validity and legitimacy to govern the country". Strongly condemning the sweeping and continuous human rights violations committed by the military government, the Declaration supported the UN Human Rights Commission resolutions and demanded the cessation of those violations. Furthermore, it demanded an end to the genocidal war being waged against the non-Burman ethnic peoples especially in the Karen, Karenni, Shan and Chin

states. The Committee called on the ASEAN member countries to put strong pressure on the military junta to hold substantial political dialogue with the NLD and the non-Burman ethnic nationalities in order to resolve the long-standing conflicts in the country and reach acceptable and peaceful solutions to the suffering of the people of Burma.

On Indonesia and East Timor, the Committee reaffirmed the international community's concern for the right of the East Timorese people to self-determination and urged the Indonesian authorities to respect human rights and the outcome of the referendum.

Reports of national situations were heard on Malaysia in the pre-election period, Bhutan, Burma, Nepal, Australia and the Philippines. (The Prime Minister of Nepal, Krishna Prasad Bhattarai, writes on the current situation in his country on pages 20-23.)



## Global Progress Commission seminar in Washington D.C.

On 20-21 July, a seminar of the Global Progress Commission was held at Georgetown University, Washington D.C.

Participants gathered from the United States, including members of the administration and academics, leading figures from international financial institutions and political and other personalities from Latin America and Europe.

The Chair of the Commission, Felipe González, opened the seminar, the last in a cycle of round table debates of the Global Progress Commission. The task was to find, González stated, a paradigm of sustainability of this new model of the economy, of information born of the technological revolution, and of the globalisation of the financial system. Sustainable responses had to be found to the three areas for debate of the seminar - the economic and financial dimension, the political and security aspect and the cultural impact of globalisation. New answers, González added, had to be looked for, as those based on the values of industrial society would not provide lasting solutions in this new age.

Enrique Iglesias, President of the Inter-American Development Bank, gave an introduction to the first area for discussion. The quality of

change in the economic and financial world had been "surprising and violent" with globalisation, he stated, and while the benefits of access to wider and wider markets were clear, the risks of this access being "exclusive", where few countries enjoyed the opportunities were equally apparent. For countries to deal with the unpredictability of global development, they had to prepare on the internal, regional and international level, as many economies in Latin America had done.

Vito Tanzi, Director of Fiscal Affairs, International Monetary Fund, asserted that while there was more capital movement on a net basis at the end of the last century, two-way short term investments were relatively new and the dilemma was how to cope with this type of movement. In terms of reorganising the international financial system, Tanzi advocated more transparency in policies and the way decisions are made, and applying standards and codes of good practice in the fiscal and financial worlds.

Uri Dadush, Director for Development Prospects, World Bank, described how the thinking of his institution had evolved and changed in the last few years of financial turmoil.

The advantages of integration through trade were still valid, he stated. For example, Asia remained the fastest growing region. Foreign direct investment continued to demonstrate long-term benefits, including efficiency, transfer of resources and resilience in the face of crisis. However, there were serious doubts about the ability of financial capital to support the process of long-term development. He proposed that financial flows were inherently volatile and developing countries would suffer.

Offering some considerations on the debate that had ensued, González said that clearly responsibility had to be taken when interdependence became unbalanced, as in a time of crisis. Political responsibilities meant giving coherent responses in concrete action to better citizens' lives: "to modernise the physical capital of the country and the human capital".

Bill Richardson, US Secretary of Energy, outlined some political and security aspects for debate. The greatest danger in the globalised world in terms of security were, he stated, the threat of nuclear proliferation and that of weapons of mass destruction, international terrorism, and ethnic conflict

with "nations falling apart", as well as the security implications of failing to deal with the environmental threat.

In terms of the political framework of the security aspects of globalisation, he declared himself a strong believer in the United Nations and advocated making it more inclusive and effective by expanding the membership of the Security Council. In relation to the role of the regional organisations, he put the question of whether they needed new directions. Nevertheless, Richardson concluded, the positive developments in terms of democratisation, trade and energy resources on the American continent were encouraging and gave great hope in the political dimension.

Adam Przeworski, Professor of the Department of Politics, New York University, stressed the importance of "who runs global policy, who controls global markets and how". He acknowledged that these were difficult questions to answer and doubted that control could be achieved over global markets without some kind of "central authority" as voluntary multilateral cooperation did not seem to offer a solution to the problem. Until the international community could resolve the dilemmas of whether global markets could be controlled and of how peace in general could be maintained, he argued, certain countries would be allowed to dominate.

Felipe González turned to the discussion on cultural identity and globalisation, "one of the great problems of our age". The Cold War notion of the world order and its "equilibrium of terror" had disappeared with the fall of the Berlin Wall, adding to the homogenising

threat of globalisation. The problem of cultural identity, González observed, was one of the keys to coexistence in peace in the 21st century and should be approached with the same ethic of sustainability and respect for diversity. Mere tolerance was no longer enough: "We have to try to promote the understanding that we form part of a diverse and plural world which represents human richness that we can and must share".

Rodrigo Borja, former President of Ecuador, spoke of the effects of globalisation in a world where a perverse dynamic of internationalisation led to increasing internal fragmentation in nations and where human beings were losing their cultural identity reference points.

Claudio Grossman, Dean of the Washington College of Law, American University, and Vice-President of the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights, considered human rights issues on the continent. He noted a particular cultural evolution in relation to poverty, as collective, community action

and participation, that is the "rights of the group", were diminishing.

Drawing the seminar to a close, Felipe González addressed some further points for consideration as part of the open and ongoing debate. The distinguishing characteristic of this revolution, he proposed, was the vertiginous nature of change accompanied by the "excessively unilateral communications system" which had no interest in dialogue with others.

In terms of the international institutions, González asserted that if they did not exist we would certainly need to build them, but questioned whether the world now would be in a position to do so.

Democracy's fragility, he added, was due to "the absence of civic commitment". Moreover, he said as he ended his remarks, there could be no democracy without the market and economic freedom, but history showed all to well that the market could thrive without democracy.





## Africa Committee in Maputo

Maputo, Mozambique, was the venue for the Africa Committee on 3-4 September, hosted by Frelimo, and chaired by Ousmane Tanor Dieng, Chair of the Committee and Minister of State, Socialist Party, Senegal. The meeting centred on two main themes: 'Advancing the social democratic agenda in Africa' and 'Contributing to the resolution of conflicts in the region'.

Opening the meeting, SI Secretary General Luis Ayala drew inspiration from the positive developments in Mozambique and reaffirmed the commitment of the International to continuing its efforts to reinforce democracy in the region and to voicing more and more strongly the real concerns of Africa through its growing presence on the continent.

Ousmane Tanor Dieng reflected on the challenges of globalisation facing the African

continent: "The direction in which the present globalisation process is heading demonstrates that an unfettered market can have perverse effects for the general well-being of nations and humankind in general", he asserted. The Committee had to examine political, economic, social, cultural, regional and local issues in order to fully address the concerns of Africans today, he said.

President Joaquim Chissano welcomed the delegates, stating that the Committee's discussions on peace, democracy, development and globalisation were themes of enormous relevance and of current importance to the lives of African citizens. Mozambique, the President continued, had succeeded in moving forward from difficult periods in its history, and, ahead of the second multiparty elections on 3-4 December of

this year, democracy was a truly irreversible process in his country. (President Chissano writes on pages 8-10 of this issue.)

Manuel Tomé, General Secretary of Frelimo, introduced the first main theme, outlining the key areas of concern when considering the furthering of social democracy in Africa: the history of the continent; the constitution of nation states; the role of parties in power and those in opposition; and, the freedom of expression and of the press.

As a result of its discussions the Committee issued the 'Maputo Declaration' which addressed the principal concerns for Africa for democracy, peace, development and globalisation. The Declaration took into account the importance of many factors, including that of democracy for socio-economic and cultural

development, of strategies for good governance, and of the need for tolerance, freedom of association, information, expression of all citizens and of civil society as a whole, as well as the acceptance of the principle of democratic alternation of power, and for dialogue and tolerance. The Committee reaffirmed its commitment to collective solidarity and encouraged 'the member parties of the Socialist International, both in Africa and elsewhere in the world, to adopt policies aimed at alleviating the problems of their peoples so that they may develop their potential in a peaceful environment and in which institutions work properly'.

The Declaration expressed its deep concern at the situation of armed conflicts taking place on the African continent and lent its solidarity to 'all the peoples of Africa who are currently denied the opportunity to live in peace', adding that 'the international community must assume its responsibility to promote and safeguard a culture of peace'. The Committee appealed to all its members to promote concrete actions and proposals to further integration in the region and undertook to continue its initiatives to prevent conflicts, to support its members suffering the consequences and to send missions aimed at contributing to their peaceful resolution.

The Committee closely examined the constraints that hinder development in Africa, noting that 'globalisation is an irreversible and unavoidable process which we must all be prepared for... African governments need to acquire the skills to keep up with the pace of development and the advent of globalisation'. Due to

the widespread competition between multinationals, it was felt that Africa had remained on the sidelines of development. Therefore, the Committee made a number of recommendations which included creating conditions for agreements between governments and influential social groups, promoting quality services for healthcare and education to prevent AIDS and so protect the human resources of the countries in the region. In terms of economic stimulus, internal and external capital investments should be promoted, and policies combatting poverty and destitution should be prioritised. Furthermore, 'African countries should make efforts to equip and utilise regional and sub-regional economic, social and cultural organisations with a view to ensuring their more active and dynamic integration', as well as nations working together to achieve the cancellation of foreign debt.

The Committee also heard reports on specific national situations, including Angola, Cape Verde, Gabon, Malawi, South Africa and Kenya. Having received a report on events in Angola, the Committee adopted a resolution which considered that Jonas Savimbi, by his behaviour, as was recognised by both the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) and the South African Development Council (SADC), had ceased to be a valid interlocutor in finding a solution to the conflict in Angola. The Committee expressed its solidarity with the Angolan people and 'with their efforts to strengthen the democratic authority of the State through the establishment of peace and

the indispensable political and diplomatic support'. The resolution declared the Committee's support for and solidarity with the Government of Angola in its efforts to affirm its authority in the whole territory and called on all the member parties of the Socialist International to extend the humanitarian support which might be requested by the Angolan government.

The Committee adopted resolutions in continued support for Alpha Condé, Secretary General of the Assembly of the People of Guinea, RPG, which once again called for his release, so establishing a climate of cooperation which was indispensable in order to redress the economic situation of the country.

The Committee also agreed unanimously to the holding, in 2000, of a Socialist International Conference for Peace in Africa.

*President  
Chissano*



## Committee on Local Authorities in Cartaxo

The Committee on Local Authorities met on 10-11 September in Cartaxo, hosted by the Socialist Party, PS, of Portugal. The meeting was chaired by Philippe Busquin, then Chair of the Committee who took up the post of European Commissioner for Research later that month.

The Portuguese Prime Minister, António Guterres, addressed the participants, stressing that at all levels there existed a 'distinctive socialist way of exercising power' which was seen in the impact on citizens in their daily lives, consequently there was an added importance to promoting social democratic policies and vision at the local level.

Delegates gathered from many regions and the urgent situation of a number of cities in crisis was highlighted. Reporting on the aftermath of the earthquake in Turkey, Sefa

Sirmen of the SI-member Republican People's Party, CHP, who is the Mayor of Izmit, the town principally affected by the disaster, and Sule Bucak, Deputy General Secretary of the Republican People's Party, CHP, thanked the international community for the solidarity it had shown and outlined the practical concerns currently facing the town and the country. In response to this firsthand information, the Committee issued a statement on the situation in Turkey and on cooperation between municipalities, calling for decentralised cooperation initiatives to help local authorities in crisis as a result of such disasters. The Committee emphasised that humanitarian aid could be accompanied by technical and material support in the rebuilding of basic infrastructures, such as the

provision of water, health and hygiene control, systems for sewerage and refuse and the construction of housing: 'Such cooperation efforts should seek to work in conjunction with action undertaken by NGOs and by the governments themselves', the statement made clear.

Speaking on the situation of cities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Ivan Vojnovic, of the Social Democratic League of Vojvodina from the city administration of Novi Sad, described the difficulties for democratic opposition at a local level in Serbia. Nikola Dajkovic, Deputy Mayor of Podgorica, of the Social Democratic Party of Montenegro, a member party of the International, said that international isolation and national repression made local democratic government extremely difficult in his country, where, nevertheless,





**António  
Guterres  
addressing the  
Committee**



Latifa Perry

the majority of communes were led by social democratic opposition. Conny Fredriksson, European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity, outlined the Forum's assessment of the situation in the region and called for twinning projects to be started up again. The Committee issued a statement on the Balkans, calling for 'cities throughout the world to show their solidarity by giving help in the reconstruction and democratisation of the Balkans, particularly by setting up partnerships with local authorities to work for peace, democracy, social justice and the respect of human rights'. The issue of the economic interests of the region was also addressed and the Committee stated the urgent need to take the relevant measures to allow traffic to flow once again on the river Danube.

Aminata Mbenge Ndiaye, Minister for Family, Social Security and National Solidarity and Mayor of Louga, Socialist Party, Senegal, presented the case of Africa where many nations remained affected by

conflict and where the practical measures of the international community could be invaluable at a local level.

Zahran Marouf, Mayor of Qualqiliya, Fatah, reported on how the general problems of the Middle East region were reflected locally in terms of infrastructure and provision of services in his border town.

Benito Urrea, Secretary for Municipal Affairs, Democratic Action, AD, gave an overview of the importance of local authorities for the consolidation of democracy in Venezuela. In a statement, the Committee expressed its concern for the effects of the governability crisis on the autonomous and democratic nature of municipalities in Venezuela and reaffirmed its call that the strengthening and legitimacy of local authorities be respected.

A report was heard on the latest developments in East Timor by José Lamego, International Secretary, PS, Portugal. The Committee strongly condemned the terror

and violence inflicted in East Timor, deeming the disregard of the will of the people for independence as absolutely unacceptable. The Committee emphasised once again its support for self-government and local democracy and called for the holding of democratic elections of local authorities there as soon as possible.

Turning to ways of organising the Committee to address the new tasks ahead, four initiatives, as outlined at the Second World Conference of Mayors of the International in Fez, were considered. Firstly, the preparation of a Charter of socialist local authorities. Secondly, putting into place institutional mechanisms at all levels for decentralised cooperation. To this end holding a seminar on the issue was proposed. Thirdly, the creation of a network of communication among SI mayors. Finally, support for a Global Charter of local autonomy and for the creation of a single local authorities organisation.

A summary of the proposals will be included in the draft general resolution of the XXI Congress of the International. The Committee also agreed to hold meetings in 2000 in Rosario, Argentina, at the end of March, and in Budapest, Hungary at the end of September. A seminar on decentralised cooperation in Dakar will also be held in June 2000.

## Warsaw meeting of SICEE

A meeting of the Committee for Central and Eastern Europe, SICEE, was held in Warsaw on 17-18 September where representatives of parties from the region and beyond gathered to discuss the perspectives for peace and stability in South Eastern Europe, to assess the situation in Russia and to review the national situations of countries in Central and Eastern Europe.

A minute's silence was held in memory of Yannis Kranidiotis, Deputy Foreign Minister of Greece, who tragically died days before. The Committee paid tribute to his tireless work for Greece, the countries in Central and Eastern Europe and within the International.

Hosted by the Democratic Left Alliance, SLD, and the Union of Labour, UP, the meeting was opened by the Secretary General Luis Ayala who remembered the long history of relations with Poland and the International's member parties there through a period

of rapidly changing events. The gathering afforded the opportunity, he said, to consider not only the immediate concerns in the region but also "to charter the course" for what social democracy could do in the times ahead, particularly in that part of the world.

Introducing the debate on the situation in the Balkans after events in Kosovo, Co-Chair of the Committee, Piero Fassino, Minister of Foreign Trade, Democrats of the Left, DS, Italy, emphasised that the meeting formed part of the ongoing discussions of the Committee to arrive at a "stable, effective and lasting solution", and he referred to previous SICEE meetings held in Budapest, Prague, Moscow, Bratislava, Sarajevo, Geneva, Bucharest and Rome. The political stabilisation of Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was now the key responsibility for the international community, he noted.

SICEE Co-Chair, László

Kovács, leader of the Hungarian Socialist Party, MSzP, emphasised the urgency of the continuing humanitarian catastrophe. In the long-term, he argued, while parties in government could certainly contribute to the first stages of the Stability Pact aimed at strengthening security in the region, social democratic parties in opposition should also take their share of responsibility with bilateral initiatives inside the region: "The International has to help democratic parties with our own experiences of peaceful transition", he declared.

Contributions on the aftermath of the Kosovo crisis, were heard from the countries directly affected and the neighbouring countries with concrete experience of the crisis and its after effects, including Albania, FRY Macedonia, Romania, Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia.

The exchanges of the Committee resulted in the 'Warsaw Declaration' which



underlined the extraordinary importance of the fall of the Berlin Wall, 'when the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe freed themselves from the oppressive Communist regimes' and reaffirmed 'the commitment of the Socialist International and its parties to support in each country of the region the realisation of democratic politics, of the social market economy and of human rights for all individuals, communities and peoples'.

Turning to relations between the European Union and the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and the Baltic countries, SICEE highlighted the progress made in these countries and reaffirmed its belief that the enlargement of the European Union had a strategic role in ensuring the security, stability and prosperity of the whole of Europe, signalling its satisfaction at the progress of the EU's current enlargement negotiations and making clear its hope for a strengthening of the relations between the EU and the other countries of Central and Eastern Europe which had expressed their will to join the EU.

With regard to the events in Russia, following reports from guests from the country, the Declaration expressed concern at the political instability, institutional uncertainty and corruption there and the Committee reaffirmed its belief that securing truly democratic institutions in Russia today, in part through the EU Action Plan, remained an essential priority.

The Declaration addressed the situation in the Balkans in the aftermath of the Kosovo crisis and reaffirmed the belief that stability and security were only possible there if all ethnic and religious groups were respected. In order to ensure stability in the region the Committee took note

of the role of the United Nations, OSCE and KFOR and restated its belief that the integration of the Balkans into the European Union was essential. The Declaration emphasised the urgent need to bring about a real democracy in Serbia, by supporting the democratic forces of the political and civil opposition and assisting them in overcoming their divisions. Consequently SI member parties were called on 'to provide practical political assistance to all democratic forces, to organise economic and political links between local communities and to assist in the construction of an effective civil society and of a free media able to contribute to the building of a true democracy'. Proposals were made to send a fact-finding mission to FRY and to sponsor training courses for young politicians.

The Committee then received reports on national situations. Mirjana Feric-Vac, Social Democratic Party, SDP, Croatia, described the situation in the run up to elections there and the prospects for social democrats to make advances, having already gained significant regional government experience.

Nano Ruzin, Social Democratic Union of Macedonia, SDUM, informed the Committee on the situation in his country with presidential elections due at the end of October.

Leszek Miller reported on the establishment of the Democratic Left Alliance, which the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, SdRP, had played an active part in developing, and which will hold its first Congress in December. Marek Pol, Union of Labour, UP, reiterated the clear alternatives and options

presented by the opposition parties currently in Poland.

László Kovács reported on the concentration of power and the curtailment of the role of parliament since the rightwing parties won elections in 1998 in Hungary. The X Anniversary Congress in October of his party would be, he asserted, an opportunity to consider their role in the transition of their country, but also the chance to elaborate a new constitution for a modern European party.

Representatives of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, BSDP, and of the European Left reported on the situation in Bulgaria before the local elections due in mid-October and on the cooperation agreement signed by social democratic forces there.

Valiantisin Askirka, Belarusian Social Democratic Party (Narodnaya Hramada), BSDP, gave a detailed account of events in Belarus and called for international solidarity.

Participants representing the Socialist Party of Albania, PSA, and the Social Democratic Party, SDP, reviewed the many advances that the social democratic coalition government had made in Albania.

Mario Nalpatian, ARF Armenian Socialist Party, spoke of the recent elections in his country and of the developments and work ahead for the government.

The Committee also adopted a resolution on the Caucasus which recognised the positive changes towards the consolidation of democracy in the South Caucasian republics but also outlined proposals, to be presented to the XXI Congress, for furthering democracy and resolving ethnic conflicts in the region.



## SICLAC in Bogotá

The Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, SICLAC, met in Santafé de Bogotá, hosted by the Liberal Party of Colombia, PLC, on 4-5 October, with close to thirty parties and organisations participating.

The meeting focused on 'The path to peace and solidarity' as the main theme and the Committee continued its discussions on the priorities for the social democratic agenda in the region.

Luis Guillermo Velez Trujillo, PLC leader, welcomed delegates and reflected on the challenges for social democrats in his country historically. In terms of the current situation in Colombia, he expressed his party's concerns for the destabilisation and delegitimisation of the State, asserting that "the restoration of that fragmented order" required the support of friendly

countries, particularly those with governments led by SI member parties.

Luis Ayala, Secretary General of the International, expressed his satisfaction at the holding of a meeting of the SI in Colombia for the first time. It provided, he stated, an opportunity to reflect on the hopes and expectations for peace and a better future for all Colombians. The member parties in Latin America had contributed greatly to the development of the universality of the organisation and the gathering in Bogotá would further "enrich the identity of democratic socialism".

Joaquín Almunia, Secretary General of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE, reiterated the concern felt by the international community in the face of the suffering of the Colombian people. Everybody, he underlined, should work to

finding real and progressive solutions to such a complex and painful problem, as it was solidarity that distinguished the social democratic search for peace.

Anselmo Sule, Co-Chair of the Committee, of the Social Democratic Radical Party, PRSD, Chile, reasserted the Committee's commitment to the Colombian people and to making globalisation into a real instrument of development, peace and progress in Latin America.

Maria Emma Mejía, Director of the Institute of Liberal Thought, PLC, Colombia, presented an introduction on the main theme from the Colombian perspective, placing the conflict in its historic context. The path forward to peace, she proposed, needed to count on the cross-party support for negotiation and dialogue, and advances had

been made in this direction. She declared that international participation and cooperation could be a potential way to look for new solutions.

Hatuey de Camps, President of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, Dominican Republic, reported on some possible developments towards such international cooperation.

Horacio Serpa Uribe, former President of the PLC, emphasised that it was also necessary to open up political spaces within the democratic process and allow all forces to have a voice.

Piedad Córdoba, President of the Human Rights Committee of the Senate, PLC, who was kidnapped in June of this year by a paramilitary group, shared her experiences and warned of the rigours of war against the most vulnerable sections of society.

As a result of the detailed discussions and contributions, the Committee adopted a resolution on peace in Colombia which addressed the urgent concerns for the country, expressing SICLAC's solidarity to the people of Colombia with their democratic struggle in search of reconciliation.

'Without peace no country has a future. Without peace the objectives of democracy and social justice demanded by the peoples of the world cannot be achieved', it stated.

The resolution also applauded the proposal, initiated by different sectors of the community, to work towards emphasising the human aspect of the armed conflict as part of the peace process. The Committee shared the principle that the people of Colombia had a sovereign right, without any kind of foreign intervention "to organise and direct the process which will lead to

understanding and agreement". SICLAC agreed to propose to the SI XXI Congress that a Permanent Commission of the International be established to follow developments in Colombia and to further cooperation in pursuit of a negotiated settlement.

Fernando Martín, Vice-President of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, PIP, in the absence of Rubén Berríos, PIP President and Co-Chair of the Committee, outlined the situation in Puerto Rico. Berríos, he reported, was continuing the campaign of civil disobedience on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques against the bombing and military training of the US Navy there. The Committee adopted a resolution expressing its solidarity and support for 'his action and leadership in this cause, which is that of all the people of Puerto Rico'. The resolution reiterated its call for the immediate cessation of all military manoeuvres there.

The Committee also expressed its alarm and deep concern for the situation of the rule of law in Peru following a report by former President, Alan García. It lent its full support to the Aprista Party, a member of the International, in its struggle for the defence of democracy and social justice, and it denounced the systematic persecution of political leaders, the harassment of opposition and presidential candidates and the coercion of the independent mass media. SICLAC called on the regime of Alberto Fujimori to respect the popular will, through the holding of free elections, and to cease all hostile acts towards the democratic opposition and the enforcement of

unconstitutional laws intended to prevent García from exercising his political and civil rights.

In a further declaration, the Committee repudiated the unilateral decision of the Fujimori Government to withdraw Peru from the jurisdiction of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights.

Turning to Mexico, the Committee issued a declaration which recognised that the armed conflict in the region of Chiapas had been through many phases and the country was now at a point where re-establishing a climate of dialogue and negotiation in the search for just solutions was indispensable. The Committee urged all parties to fulfil the previous agreements and demanded full respect of human rights in the region, calling for an exhaustive investigation into the violation of human rights there.

Following a presentation by Timoteo Zambrano, Secretary General of Democratic Action, AD, the Committee issued a declaration on Venezuela which welcomed the fact that tensions between the Congress of the Republic of Venezuela, the Supreme Court of Justice and the National Constitutional Assembly had been resolved respecting the rule of law. Reaffirming the need for political consensus and agreement to maintain stability and the strengthening of democracy, SICLAC called on the political institutions in Venezuela to avoid such crises of governability in the future, which threaten freedom there and put the democratic system in danger.



**Jenny Little**, for 13 years international secretary of the British Labour Party, died on 20 July. Born in 1947 in Cairo where her father was a British diplomat, she took her first job in the civil service before moving in 1972 to Labour Party headquarters, then in Transport House in Westminster.

The 1973 coup against the Chilean President Salvador Allende by General Augusto Pinochet was a defining moment in her political thinking: she was among the many who ensured then and in subsequent years that Chilean refugees were well received in Britain and that the acts of the dictatorship received their due condemnation. She was appointed international secretary in 1974 and was responsible for briefing senior party officers about foreign matters.

She often attended Socialist International gatherings and on her 40th birthday the then SI President Willy Brandt attended a party in her honour.

In 1987 she left the party headquarters and later went

to work for Gwyneth Dunwoody, member of parliament and a former Vice-President of Socialist International Women. In that position she helped in the commemoration of Bernt Carlsson who died in the Pan Am disaster over Lockerbie in December 1988 and whom she had known well during his time as SI secretary general.

She went back to British government service at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office conference centre at Wilton Park near Brighton.

Commenting on her death, Gwyneth Dunwoody said: "Jenny spent much of her life fighting the battles of others with vigour and commitment."



**Lane Kirkland**, 77, President Emeritus of the American Federation of Labour/Congress of Industrial Organisations, AFL/CIO, died on 14 August. He had guided the fortunes of the organisation from 1979 to 1995.

His first career was at sea in the Pacific and aboard the vessels which were bringing US supplies to Europe during the Second World War. Thereafter he sought entry into the State Department, having completed a course at the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, Washington D.C. In post-war politics he became a speech writer for Adlai Stevenson as the Senator attempted to win the US presidency. There he



was spotted by the then AFL/CIO president George Meany as a man of his own political persuasions and was taken on as his assistant.

When Meany retired, Kirkland was elected unanimously as his successor.

During his term as president he obtained some notable successes in a US labour movement which could not at the time boast many. For instance, he brought back the United Auto Workers and the Teamsters and the Mine Workers into the AFL/CIO. Nevertheless he concentrated to a large extent on foreign affairs and was instrumental in channelling financial support to the Polish Solidarity union federation.

In view of his closeness to the Poles, President Clinton offered him the ambassadorship in Warsaw. He did not take up this offer and was defeated in his bid for a new term at the AFL/CIO in 1992.

John J. Sweeney, current President of the organisation said, "Lane Kirkland was a man of courage who stood for the rights of working people around the globe."



**Yannis Kranidiotis**, Deputy Foreign Minister of Greece with special responsibility for European and Cypriot affairs, was killed in an aircraft accident on September 15 while flying over Romania to a meeting of Balkan foreign ministers in Bucharest. Severe turbulence during which the

aircraft fell from 23,000 to 4,000 in a few minutes caused the death of a total of six people on board, including Kranidiotis' only son Nikos, 23.

Kranidiotis, 51, born a British citizen in Cyprus, was the son of a distinguished intellectual who served as the right-hand man of Archbishop Makarios, a leader of the Cypriot struggle against British colonial rule and the first president of an independent Cyprus. The Kranidiotis house in Cyprus was the venue for secret talks between the archbishop and the British authorities in the last days of colonial rule.

After serving in the national guard of Cyprus he accompanied his father Nikos to Athens where he had been appointed ambassador of Cyprus. Yannis studied law at Athens University before going

on to Sussex University for a doctorate and later to Harvard.

Having been one of the early members of EDEK, the SI member party in Cyprus, he moved permanently to Athens in 1976 where he joined PASOK, the Greek member party of the International.

In recent years he helped frame Cyprus' successful bid to be accepted as a future member of the European Union.

He was rare in that he was as much at home in the politics of his native island, where his death was regarded as a national loss, as in those of Greece.

Costas Simitis, Prime Minister of Greece, commented that his passing "creates a great void which is difficult to fill".

He was a frequent participant in the International's activities.



Donald Stamp/Associated Press AP

**Mike Moore**, the former Prime Minister of New Zealand and former leader of the Labour Party, NZLP, was appointed Director-General of the World Trade Organisation, taking up the post on 1 September.

Moore, the first non-European to hold the position, made expanding trading

opportunities for the world's poorest countries a top priority for his three-year term. He will be overseeing the new round of world trade negotiations which is due to start in Seattle in November.

Commenting on the challenges for the global trading system in the new millennium, Moore said: "While the nation state remains the core unit of global economic, social and political organisation, a defining feature of our time is that no country is viable in isolation, no matter how large it is.

Cooperation is not a choice, it is indispensable to survive".



**Elio Di Rupo** was elected President of the Belgian Socialist Party, PS, on 9 October. For the first time in the party's

history the election was carried out by a poll of all members. Di Rupo received 28,208 or 71.4 per cent of the 39,510 valid votes cast.

Born at Morlanwelz in 1951, Di Rupo holds a science doctorate from the State University at Mons and after a period of research became a lecturer in the University of Leeds in England. He has taught at the University of Mons-Hainault since 1991.

He became a councillor at Mons in 1982 and seven years later was elected to the European Parliament and entered the Belgian Senate in 1991, then was elected as a Deputy in 1995. In 1999 Di Rupo became Minister-President of the government of Wallonia, which comprises much of the southern and eastern region of Belgium.

◆  
**People**  
◆

◆  
**People**  
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**Enrique Barón** is the new leader of the Parliamentary Group of the Party of European Socialists and **Christine Verger** its Secretary General.

**Altan Öymen** is the new Chair of the Republican People's Party, CHP, Turkey, **Tarhan Erdem** is the General Secretary, and **Sule Bucak** is Deputy General Secretary and is responsible for international affairs.

**Colette Avital**, a former ambassador, is the new international secretary of the Israel Labour Party.

◆  
**Amalia García Medina** is the National President of the Democratic Revolutionary Party, PRD, Mexico, and **Jesús Zambrano Grijalva** is the General Secretary. **Juan José García Ochoa** is the International Secretary.

◆  
The Democratic Revolutionary Party, PRD, Panama, at its VI Congress, elected **Balbina Herrera** President and **Martín Torrijos Espino** as Secretary General.

◆  
The new International Secretary of the Czech Social Democratic Party, CSSD, is **Vladimír Müller**.

◆  
**Jorge Antonio Meléndez** is the President of the Democratic Party, PD, El Salvador.

◆  
**Lars Stjernkvist** is the new General Secretary of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP, and **Urban Ahlin** its Deputy General Secretary.

◆  
The Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, LSDP, has a new international secretary, **Vidmantas Verbickas**.

**From the  
archive**

Much has been written about 'share-pot'. 'Share-pot' is that remarkable Jamaican and Caribbean institution in which the poor create their own social security system. The family whose breadwinner has no job literally shares the pot of the family whose breadwinner is temporarily less fortunate. Many have speculated as to whether this accounts for the absence of revolutionary violence in those societies of the English speaking Caribbean that are so distorted by maldistribution of wealth and massive unemployment. However, the example of the landless St Catherine cane cutter supporting the St Thomas small farmer in his manufactured strike is a classic example of a class attitude which leads to 'share-pot' in a tenement yard and to unquestioning support for a strike from which one cannot benefit but which another group feels to be in its own interests. And here I must make it clear that this was not a consequence of union discipline. We were not witnessing the studied intellectual response to the *equations* of group action where one is thinking of tomorrow as well as today. Very often the unions concerned were trying manfully to get a resumption of work during this annual exercise in St Catherine. What we were watching was a response in today's arena of action to yesterday's shared experience. The landless St Catherine cane cutter was expressing his own unarticulated instinctive class solidarity in the face of a system that he deemed to be hostile.

From *A voice at the Workplace*, by Michael Manley, André Deutsch, 1975.





**Publisher and Editor  
Marlène Haas**

# **WOMEN & POLITICS**

**Journal of  
Socialist International Women**

**Bureau meeting, Buenos Aires,  
Argentina, 27 - 28 June 1999**

**Implementing a gender perspective in  
public policies**



*from left to right:  
María del Carmen Viñas,  
Aminata Mbengue Ndiaye,  
Audrey McLaughlin,  
Marlène Haas, Clorinda  
Yelicic, Natacha Molina*

The Bureau meeting of Socialist International Women was held in Buenos Aires on 27 and 28 June 1999 and hosted by the women's organisations of the Popular Socialist Party, PSP, and the Radical Civic Union, UCR. SIW President, Audrey McLaughlin, stressed in her welcoming speech that implementing gender policies is one way of ensuring that women's voices are heard. 'Around the world it has been socialist, social democratic and labour governments that have implemented these policies', she continued, 'sometimes imperfectly, but far more than governments of any other ideology'. She noted that the objective is not to elect more women in general, but socialist women who truly believe in equality.

The first key-note speaker on the theme, Clorinda Yelicic, MP for the PSP, stressed the importance of implementing a gender perspective in public policies. She called on SIW member organisations to encourage their governments to create structures on a ministerial level for the preparation, application and follow-up of the gender dimension in public policies. To combat the social exclusion of women in society multidimensional action and integrated strategies are needed.

Aminata Mbengue Ndiaye, SIW Vice-President and Minister for the Family,

Social Action and National Solidarity in Senegal, gave an overview of the measures taken by the Senegalese government to enhance the position of women. (Her speech is printed in this issue.)

Lissy Gröner, SIW Vice-President and Member of the European Parliament for the German Social Democratic Party, SPD, focused on the understanding and significance of Gender Mainstreaming Policies in the European Union. She explained that 'Gender Mainstreaming is a central instrument for promoting equal opportunities in society. It must supplement traditional policies to assign women a more equal position to men as part of a dual approach. It cannot replace or make a specific policy which is aimed at achieving gender equality redundant: they are complimentary, forming a 'twin track' strategy to achieve gender equality'. The Women's Rights Committee of the European Parliament supports legislation and programmes aimed at promoting equality and maintains an ongoing dialogue with representatives of the 15 national parliaments as well as international bodies and representatives of NGO's. Lissy concluded her speech by saying that the European Socialist Women want 'half the sky, half the earth and half the power'.

The last key-note speaker, Natacha Molina, Deputy director of the National Service for Women (SERNAM) in Chile, stated that today's challenge is to carry out a radical transformation in the thinking behind discrimination, subordination, political exclusion, cultural devaluation and violence. There is a binding relationship between opportunity, equality and democracy and there is no democracy without women. The National Service for Women (SERNAM) was created during the dictatorship by the Women's Movement. Since democracy was restored in Chile 8 years ago, SERNAM of which the director is a woman minister, has obtained a legal mandate from the government together with economic autonomy. A plan of Equal Opportunities has been incorporated into the government's programme of the 'Concertación'. The creation of interministerial committees has contributed to the implementation and assessment of the various programmes. She concluded by saying that in Latin America and elsewhere in the world the struggle for equality between men and women has always been spearheaded by socialists and feminists.

The speeches were followed by a lively debate with the speakers in which many women participated.

The following day Graciela Fernández Meijide, Candidate for Governor of the Province of Buenos Aires for the Alianza, and Fernando de la Rúa, Presidential Candidate for the Alianza, addressed the Bureau meeting.

Finally, a resolution on 'Implementing a gender perspective in public policies' was adopted.

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*Clorinda Yelicic*



**RESOLUTION**

In the Bureau Meeting the integration of equal opportunities between women and men and the implementation of a gender perspective (mainstreaming) adopted by the Platform for Action in Beijing in 1995 were considered.

Therefore, this Bureau Meeting :

- *concludes* that the incorporation of a gender perspective into public policy promotes equality, thus reduces the causes and effects of discrimination;
- *urges* to this end that a gender perspective be incorporated into the design and the implementation of public policies, which, beginning with equality of opportunities, moves towards fairer outcomes between women and men;
- *considers* that public action is an inescapable tool to achieve the goal of human development which includes an ever-increasing equality between the sexes with the aim of modifying the hierarchical nature of their relationship;
- *believes* that it is necessary to acknowledge and respect gender issues, and that these should be included in all plans, programmes and projects, while acknowledging economic, cultural and territorial diversity;
- *considers* that in order to achieve these objectives it is a necessary precondition to enhance the contribution made by women, increasing their number and guaranteeing their effective presence in decision-making positions, implementing specific measures of affirmative action;
- *welcomes* the plans for equality and the steps towards positive action which have been taken in many countries in the course of the last decade;
- *considers* that these plans for equality and the measures for positive action and statistics broken down according to gender constitute an essential instrument for the achievement of greater equality between the sexes and, as such, should be implemented in those places where they have yet to be established;
- *considers* that 'mainstreaming' is another step forward and an additional approach to policies of positive action and is currently an instrument not only towards promoting equality but also towards making the female vision of life a fundamental part of governance. In order to achieve this, a closer cooperation and coordination between different sectors and new political players, including NGOs, is necessary;
- *underlines* that governments must create an internal structure responsible for the follow-up and appraisal of the gender dimension in public policies at national and local levels. This structure must be implemented in each government service or cross-ministerial level.
- *points out* that if specific policies in favour of women are important for strengthening gender equality, it is also necessary to take into account the fact that women's approaches and experiences are vehicles favourable to the transformation of the whole society, therefore providing possibilities for the development of both genders;
- *urges* all member parties of the Socialist International to adopt these proposals, strengthening their commitment to a future of solidarity incorporating greater equality and fairness between the sexes.

## **The implementation of a gender perspective in public policies in Senegal**

**Aminata Mbengue Ndiaye**

It is my intention to tell you something of the efforts made by the State of Senegal for the advancement of women and to combat the discrimination which hinders both their participation in the management of development and their full enjoyment of their rights and capacities within the family and in society.

Even as it has moved from a merely demographic to a more global and integrated view of the relation of population and development, the State of Senegal has always made clear its desire to protect women and to promote their interests.

Certainly its view and its treatment of the women's cause has changed a great deal. This can be seen over the years in the shift from a social conception of women's participation in development, based on their role in reproduction and in the management of family life, to a conception more clearly based on their contribution as producers.

In 1975 the international community took a position in favour of strategies based on the idea of "Women's Integration in Development," which stressed the economic role played by women and the need to increase their financial independence. This period saw the development in particular of programmes oriented towards income-generating activities and the reduction in the burden of household work.

This approach, dominant for a decade, gave way from 1985 onwards to that of "Gender and Development." This new perspective was based on the idea that policies for economic and social advancement, if they were to be effective and sustainable, had to take into account the existence of unequal social relationships between women and men, the actors in and beneficiaries of these policies.

The International Conference on Population and Development held in Cairo in September 1994, the Fifth African Regional Conference on Women, held at Dakar in 1994, and the World Conference on Women held in Beijing in September 1995, all lent encouragement to this new vision.

For the State, this was an opportunity for a clear and resolute reaffirmation of its desire to promote the equality of the sexes in every field of economic and social life, so as to make the advancement of women a real vector of development at the dawn of the 21st century.

### **1. THE PLACE OF SENEGALESE WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT**

#### ***Demographic situation***

On the basis of the General Census of Population and Housing of 1988, the population of Senegal is estimated to be 8.3 million. Women represent 52 per cent of the total population, and 75 per cent of the rural population.

Taken as a whole, this female population is very young, 58 per cent being less than 20 years of age, with 50 per cent of women marrying before the age of 17, and the cumulative rate of fertility being 5.7 children per woman of childbearing age.

#### ***Legal situation***

Senegal is a State under the rule of law, whose Constitution guarantees legal equality to all its citizens. It has signed and ratified nearly all the relevant international Conventions, and in particular the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women in 1985 and the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1990.

Senegal thus offers an environment favourable to the recognition of the rights of the person. Yet women still suffer from various forms of discrimination which

deprive them of their full social status and hinder their participation in the management of development.

#### ***Political situation and access to decision-making***

Senegal is a secular and democratic republic whose Constitution guarantees to all its citizens the right to regularly and freely choose those who are to preside over its destiny, through elections in which all political parties may seek the votes of the citizens.

The analysis of women's situation makes it clear, if it were necessary, the low level of women's participation in decision-making at every level. They are poorly represented in decision-making bodies in government, in political life, in trade unions etc.

Government: 5 women out of 33, i.e. 15.11 per cent;  
 National Assembly: 19 women out of 140, i.e. 13.57 per cent;  
 Municipal Councils: 909 women out of 4,358, i.e. 20.85 per cent;  
 Rural Councils: 2,484 women out of 9,092, i.e. 27.32 per cent, including 2 women Presidents of Rural Councils out of 320;  
 Regional Councils: 61 women out of 470, i.e. 13 per cent, including 1 woman President out of 10;  
 Party structures: 14.40 per cent;  
 Trade union structures: 21.06 per cent;  
 Broadcasting Council: 20 per cent;  
 Economic and Social Council: 18 women out of 78, including 2 members of the Executive, i.e. 6.12 per cent;  
 Elections Commission: 11.11 per cent;  
 Judiciary: 13.22 per cent (the Cour de Cassation and its chambers are presided over by women, as is the Tribunal Hors Classe of Dakar, while the Cour d'Appel has 3 women presiding judges, while there is one woman advocate-general).

It should be noted that the last local elections showed a distinct breakthrough by women, especially on the regional, municipal and local councils.

#### ***Economic situation***

In the economic field, women remain confined to small-scale activities, the result of their lack of access to resources (land, inputs, technology, training, credit etc.).

One has to recognise that they still encounter socio-cultural barriers to their economic advancement, despite the existence of a class of women entrepreneurs who play a key role in the development of the country.

#### ***Social situation***

##### ***Formal education***

The overall rate of registration for elementary education in 1995/6 was 60 per cent, that for girls being 55 per cent and for boys 64 per cent. The last two years have seen encouraging improvements, in particular in the case of girls, who have benefited from the plan to combat the under-representation of girls adopted by the Government and launched in 1993.

In intermediate and higher education, it should be noted that access rates for girls are low, but gradually rising.

At present, 1 per cent of young women have access to higher education as against 4 per cent of young men. The level of women's representation in university decision-making bodies is low. Women's progress in their academic careers is slow, as a result of the many constraints inherent in their status and in their roles as wives and mothers.

**Literacy**

The Basic Education programme is conceived of as an instrument for individual emancipation. With the multiplication of agencies active in the field, the rate of illiteracy among women has fallen from 82 per cent in 1993 to 78 per cent in 1995, but it remains higher than the national average (70 per cent), with the rate for men being 63 per cent.

**Health**

A glance at the statistics shows a clear improvement in the health of the population, the result of the health policy adopted and of the programmes initiated under it. Mortality rates are falling, life expectancy is increasing (53 years). Yet the situation of women is still a cause for concern. Many women die in childbirth. The health and Demography Survey of 1992-93 shows a rate of 510 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births, with highs of as much as 830 per 100,000. These high rates are the result of various factors, related on the one hand to socio-cultural behaviours and on the other to the poor availability of health-care.

Only 12 per cent use family planning, and the close spacing of births affects women's productivity.

To ensure the conditions of sustainable development in Senegal, greater advantage must be taken of the potential represented by its women. This entails making progress in four main areas. At the juridical level, greater equality; at the political level, a higher degree of representation; at the social level, greater responsibility for decisions in the family and community; and at the economic level, an increase in women's managerial and entrepreneurial capacities.

The aim of the Second National Action Plan for Women, developed in 1996 in accordance with the recommendations of the Beijing Conference, is the attainment of these goals.

**2. PRESENTATION OF THE SECOND NATIONAL ACTION PLAN FOR WOMEN**

The Second National Action Plan for Senegalese Women (1997-2001) is a medium-term plan for the advancement of women.

Its main intention is to embody a global and consensual strategy providing coordinated and effective guidance for the planning and implementation of future actions in favour of the advancement of women.

The National Action Plan for Senegalese Women was the outcome of the joint work by all partners in development, the whole process of its elaboration being governed by a participatory and decentralised approach.

In each area of work, a permanent process of consultation between centre and the grass-roots ensured that the concerns of all actors were taken into account and that lessons were learned from past experiences and current initiatives so as to develop a future orientation that would assist in creating the conditions for the effective participation of Senegalese women in the development of the country.

Technical ministries and their decentralised services, NGOs, voluntary-sector organisations, community organisations and international partners were all directly involved in the elaboration of the plan.

On the basis of the 12 critical areas of concern adopted at Beijing, the Senegalese Government decided on the elaboration of a Second National Action Plan for Senegalese Women, whose purpose would be to accelerate the achievement of the objectives of the Nairobi Strategic Perspectives for the reinforcement of women's power at all levels and the elimination of all forms of discrimination against them.

This Second National Action Plan places the emphasis on the one hand on the emancipation of women, an essential precondition for the establishment of the

sexual equality required by sustainable development, and on the other, on a global and multi-dimensional approach to the issues, which entails, in each of the fields considered, the identification and analysis of the relationships between socio-cultural, economic, juridical factors and the status of girls and women in family and society.

The new Action Plan also takes account of the strategic global orientations defined by Senegal's 9th Orientation Plan for Economic and Social Development, covering the period 1996-2001.

It covers 5 fields considered to represent the overarching priorities for ensuring sustainable development through the full participation of women and men in the achievement of Senegal's development goals. These are economic development and the fight against poverty; education and training; reproductive health; fundamental rights; and the institutional mechanisms for the advancement of women and for financing their activities.

### **3. PRESENTATION OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF VARIOUS SECTORAL PROGRAMMES**

The National Action Plan for Women assumes that women's lack of economic power and the feminisation of poverty are major obstacles to their self-development and to development in general. The strategies developed in this field, based on the consistent reinforcement of women's organisational and entrepreneurial capacities and on the promotion of new opportunities for investment and credit for women, have led to the establishment of:

- several integrated programmes for the socio-economic advancement of women and for the elimination of poverty, initiated by the government, NGOs and voluntary organisations and supported by external fund-providing partners;
- a programme to provide women with equipment so as to reduce their burden of labour. Hitherto supported by external fund-providers, the programme is now entirely financed from the Senegalese government's own resources.
- a programme of support for micro-credit financed by the government's own resources, as well as the impending establishment of an agency for the advancement of women and for financing their activities, for which feasibility studies are currently being carried out;
- a social investment fund currently being planned with the World Bank which will also provide support to women in the context of the fight against poverty;
- the existence of a decentralised system of finance made up of mutual organisations, savings and loan institutions intended to increase women's access to financial resources. By the end of 1998, this system included 320 organisations. Savings amounted to 9.7 bn FCFA and loans 14 bn FCFA.
- a programme for the establishment of community centres for socio-economic development (the so-called cases-foyers).

In conclusion, we can say that the issues are posed today less in terms of the integration of women in the development process than in terms of improving their socio-economic status. The advancement of women's status necessarily depends on increasing their capacities and their opportunities for activity.

The government of Senegal has placed the advancement of women at the heart of its fundamental preoccupations, and at the centre of its strategies for development.

The ultimate goal pursued by my country is to meet the challenge of sustainable development with women who are the agents of positive change, in this following the recommendation of His Excellency president Abdou Diouf, for whom, and here I quote his own words, "Without women, there can be no development."

*Aminata Mbengue Ndiaye, SIW  
Vice-President and Minister for  
the Family, Social Action and  
National Solidarity in Senegal*

## **The Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe: a challenge for women?**

**Audrey McLaughlin and Marlène Haas**

A delegation of Socialist International Women consisting of the SIW President and Secretary General and Vice-President Pia Locatelli from Italy visited Sarajevo, Bosnia & Herzegovina, on 9 - 11 September 1999. The purpose of the visit was twofold: to participate in a training course for women from social democratic parties and NGO's in Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo and to attend a panel discussion on the inclusion of women in the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe.

The training course was organised by the Network for Gender Issues in Central and Eastern Europe (founded by the European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity) in co-operation with the Mission of the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) in Bosnia & Herzegovina (BiH) and focused on dealing with communication, presentation and working with various media. It was apparent that those attending found the information and exercises very useful.

### ***The Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe***

On 29-30 July 1999 the Stability Pact for South Eastern Europe was signed in Sarajevo in the presence of American President Bill Clinton and many European Leaders. The Stability Pact had been proposed by the European Union and agreed by a special Conference of Foreign Ministers from 28 countries which took place in Cologne, Germany on 10 June 1999.

The main goals of the Stability Pact are to pave the way for the reconstruction of Kosovo after the war and to obtain a closer integration into European and transatlantic institutions for the countries in the region, which are Albania, Bosnia & Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Greece, Hungary, Romania and Slovenia.

Prior to the summit in Sarajevo women in civil society and politics from the countries which are signatories to the Stability Pact presented an appeal to the participants of the Stability Pact, pointing out the lack of consideration of the role of women in the development and implementation of the pact. They demanded:

- that women be equal partners in political decision making at all levels in development and implementation of the Stability Pact and that all components of the Stability Pact include the gender aspect;
- that national governments be held responsible for the implementation of CEDAW and other international instruments they have signed, which guarantee equality between men and women and the respect of women's economic, political, social and personal human rights;
- active promotion of the gradual political empowerment of women through the electoral laws in all the countries of this region;
- a shared strategy for the development of democratisation and human rights, including minority rights, civil society building, protection and return of refugees and displaced persons, the rights of the child, especially the right to an education. This should be in the spirit of mutual respect and tolerance in accordance with European Standards and social rights which enable men and



women to combine their professional and private lives.

The appeal had clearly made an impact and as part of a follow-up process a discussion panel had been organised with Former Ambassador Robert Barry, Head of the OSCE Mission in BiH, Mevlida Kunosic-Vlajic, President of the Women's Forum of the Social Democratic Party in BiH and Elisabeth Rasmussen, Head of Democratisation of the OSCE Mission in BiH. The moderator was Mary Ann Rukavina, programme manager of the OSCE Mission in BiH.

Robert Barry explained that many elements related to the mechanics of the Stability Pact were not yet in place. Three working tables are, however, to be established: Table One on Democracy, Human Rights and the return of refugees, Table Two on Economic reconstruction and Table Three on Security, including military arms control, organised crime and judicial reform. He further noted that the first meeting of Table One will take place in Hungary and that he would like to see a task force on women's issues to be put in place. In addition to ensuring the participation of women, he mentioned the importance of including non-governmental organisations in the implementation process.

One of the responses to the presentation on the Stability Pact was that information needed to be more widely distributed in the region. This was the first opportunity for most of the participants to learn about what was happening. The debate helped to clarify many issues and to voice strategies for co-operation amongst the women from the region.

The participants from Kosovo and Montenegro spoke of the tremendous challenges for women wanting to participate in the political process both within the parties and in general society. There was some debate as to whether it was better for women to form an NGO rather than a women's section of the Party. Generally, this was not seen as the best option but the discussion did reflect the difficulties that women are having generally within the social democratic parties to which they belong.

The political system in Serbia was seen as critical by Serbian participants. They also saw the lack of access to media, which made it extremely difficult to convey any alternative message, as critical. As one woman said, in Serbia, women and women's organisations suffered both from the war and the regime, but despite this some women's organisations even continued to meet during the bombing.

It is clear that the Stability Pact could be a challenge for women to build networks, educate women and ensure social and economic justice but for that to happen women must get direct access to all the working tables where decisions are made and policies drafted.

*Audrey McLaughlin is the  
President of Socialist  
International Women and  
Marlene Haas is  
SIW Secretary General*

## Socialist women in the news



Martine Haas

### ARGENTINA

Alicia Tate

Legislative secretary for the Radical Civic Union, UCR, an Argentinean member party of the Socialist International, was elected Member of Parliament for the region of Santa Fé.

### AUSTRIA

Maria Jonas

Member of the Board of Trustees of the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), representing the Government of Austria, and former General Secretary of Socialist International Women, was elected Chair of the Vienna NGO Committee on the Status of Women.



### NICARAGUA

Margarita Zapata

Candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the Socialist International Women for the region of Central America. She was elected Deputy general secretary of the Women's Commission of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, FSLN, in Nicaragua, and Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

### PARAGUAY

Josefina Duarte de Benítez Codas

Member of the National Executive Committee of the Revolutionary Freberista Party, PRF, in Paraguay and candidate for the Vice-Presidency of the Socialist International Women for the region of Latin America-Central, was nominated member of the cross party advisory group for electoral reform in Paraguay.



Voting for  
change in  
Argentina

## Angola

### UN returns

In mid-October the Security Council voted to open a small United Nations office in Angola in a first step toward re-establishing its presence there. A 30-person team will go to Angola for six months "to liaise with the political, military, police and other civilian authorities" with the hope of restoring peace to the country, it stated in a resolution.

The Security Council had closed its peacekeeping mission in February, two months after fighting resumed, shattering a 1994 UN-brokered peace accord, which called for the rebels to hand over territory they controlled and to form a joint government with officials in Luanda.

The resolution particularly called on UNITA, to ensure the safety of the new UN personnel and allow them to move freely.

## Argentina

### De la Rúa wins

Fernando de la Rúa, the presidential candidate of the Alianza coalition, which includes both Argentine SI member parties the Popular Socialist Party, PSP, and the Radical Civic Union, UCR, won a decisive victory in the general elections held on 24 October.

The electoral board reported that 80 per cent of the 24 million registered voters had cast ballots and, with 97 per cent of the votes counted, de la Rúa, UCR leader, had won 48.4 per cent of the votes. He had a margin of more than 10 per



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Roberto Candia/Associated Press AP

cent over his main rival Eduardo Duhalde, the candidate of the Peronist Partido Justicialista, PJ. The balance of the votes was split among eight other candidates.

De la Rúa, formerly Head of the Government of the city of Buenos Aires, declared "From now, we start a new road. The people have given us the authority to carry out our programme". The president-elect has promised to pursue economic policies that do not neglect the poor.

The election put an end to the large-scale bribery which has plagued Argentina during the ten-year rule of President Carlos Saul Menem, PJ leader. Menem hands over the sash of office to de la Rúa on 10 December. Menem, who fought hard to change the constitution in order to be able to seek a third consecutive term in office, has promised he will stand in the presidential elections of 2003.

De la Rúa, in a speech to party supporters, appealed for national unity: "I will be a President for all Argentines", he declared.

## Austria

### SPÖ maintains lead

The Austrian Social Democratic Party, SPÖ, led by Chancellor Victor Klima continued as the country's most powerful political grouping after voting in 3 October elections.

The SPÖ won 33.4 per cent of the votes, as against the 38 per cent it secured in the previous election. Gains were made by the extreme right Freedom Party, led by Jörg Haider, which pushed its vote up from almost 22 per cent to 27.2 per cent. The conservative People's Party went into third place, falling from 28.3 to 26.9 per cent.

Klima ruled out any coalition between his party and Haider's, and he labelled the latter's comments "unacceptable".

## Belarus

### More authoritarianism

The public prosecutor of the Belarus capital Minsk has charged Mikalai Statkevich, Chair of the Belarusian Social Democratic Party (Narodnaya Hramada), with "violating public order" after he had participated in a demonstration against the policy of President Alexander Lukashenko of promoting union between Belarus and Russia. Statkevich was placed under arrest.

The party called for SI solidarity commenting "the regime is eliminating one by one its prominent political opponents." It uses "brutal force in the oppression of basic political and civic rights and freedoms."

At the end of September, leading opposition newspaper *Naviny* closed following a court order to pay a large fine to the minister of security for an article he claimed had injured his reputation.

## Belgium

### New government

The Socialists form part of the new government coalition in Belgium. Among the Socialists in the cabinet are Johan van de Lanotte with the portfolio of budget and social economy and Laurette Onkelinx with that of employment. The coalition will also rule in the regional governments of Flanders and Wallonia. For the first time in 41 years the Christian Democrats are not represented in a Belgian government.

The Socialist Party has a new leader, Elio Di Rupo (see 'People' on page 47) following Philippe Busquin's appointment as European Commissioner for Research.

## Bosnia and Herzegovina

### UN apologises

During a visit to Sarajevo on 11 October, Kofi Annan, the United Nations Secretary-General, expressed his apologies for some actions and omissions in the country, during "one of the most difficult and painful" chapters in the history of the United Nations. He added: "No one laments more than we the opportunities for achieving peace and justice that were missed".

## Botswana

### BNF gains ground

The Botswana National Front, BNF, the SI member party in Botswana, became the principal opposition party after elections held on 23 October. It won six seats in the 40-seat National Assembly, coming second to the Botswana Democratic Party of President Festus Mogae which won 33 seats, a gain of six. The remaining seat went to the Botswana Congress Party.

The Botswana Democratic Party has ruled since Botswana, then known as Bechuanaland, became independent of the UK in 1966.

## Burma

### Violence condemned

Aung San Suu Kyi, the Nobel Peace Prize winner and leader of the opposition to the military dictatorship in Burma, condemned the action of exiles who seized the Burmese embassy in the Thai capital Bangkok at the beginning of October.

Underlining her non-violent principles, she declared: "While we understand the aspirations and frustrations of students and other democracy activists who have been forced to leave Burma by the repressive measures of the military regime, we categorically condemn the seizure of the embassy and the taking of hostages."

## Canada

### National Convention

The New Democratic Party, NDP-NPD, the SI member party in Canada, held its National Convention in late August in Ottawa, Ontario.

Alexa McDonough, NDP-NPD leader and a Vice-President of the International, addressing the Convention, said: "We want to reduce the gap between rich and poor. We want to eliminate child poverty. But to achieve our aims, our party must meet economic change with change. We must offer practical solutions to build a more humane society: solutions which keep true to our values of solidarity and cooperation, equality and justice".

SI Secretary General Luis Ayala was a guest speaker at the Convention.

## Central African Republic

### Peaceful vote

President Felix-Ange Patasse, the incumbent head of state, won 51.6 per cent of the votes and another term in office in the elections held on 19 September, reported the UN Mission in the Central African Republic, MINURCA, citing the official results from Bangui's Constitutional Court. Abel Goumba, President of SI-member the Patriotic Front for Progress, FPP, received 6 per cent of the vote.

The ballot had been twice delayed due to bureaucratic problems, but, in a statement, MINURCA said the population had "welcomed the results with calm and serenity". The poll was witnessed by a UN peace-keeping force of 1,300.

Voting in the  
Central African  
Republic



Clement Maye/Associated Press AP

## Denmark

### Euro debate

The annual Congress of the ruling Danish Social Democratic Party meeting on 12 September, called for a debate on the adoption of the single European currency in Denmark. Prime Minister Poul Nyrup Rasmussen said the issue would be fully considered and decided upon at the next party Congress due to be held in the autumn of 2000.

## East Timor

### "Think of the future"

Xanana Gusmão, the East Timorese independence leader, called on his people to look forward to their life of freedom and not dwell on the appalling

violence that followed the August vote for independence.

Speaking at the beginning of October, he said: "Of course we wished that everybody would have acted to avoid the bloodshed. But now we must not think of the past but of the future... We do not fear this future". He made it clear that East Timor faced many difficult tasks in the "year of re-emergence" ahead.

He announced plans for the establishment of a provisional government which would work alongside the UN presence in the recently liberated territory.

He also called for urgent international assistance for his country ravaged by the occupation and by the systematic damage and looting carried out by the retreating Indonesian forces.

## Egypt

### Mubarak confirmed

President Hosni Mubarak, leader of the National Democratic Party, NDP, the Egyptian member party of the Socialist International, won a fourth six-year term as head of state in a referendum held on 26 September, securing nearly 94 per cent of the vote, with a turnout of 84 per cent.

During his acceptance speech to parliament on 5 October, President Mubarak stated that he intended to "inject new blood" into political life and named Atef Obeid, a former Minister of Public Enterprise, as the new Prime Minister.

## Finland

### European presidency

"Our experience in joining has been positive", stated Paavo Lipponen, the Finnish Prime Minister and leader of the country's Social Democratic Party, SDP, as Finland assumed the presidency of the European Union for the second half of 1999. (Paavo Lipponen writes on pages 4-7.)

The premier added, "We have come to a point when a debate must be opened on the nature of the Union. What is Europe? What should it be for the citizen?"

Lipponen argued for equality among the members of the Union. "Decisions must be taken around a common table, not outside", he emphasised.

## France

### Long-term plans

Lionel Jospin, the French Prime Minister, speaking in Strasbourg to a meeting of the parliamentarians of the ruling Socialist Party, PS, announced a series of reforms that would be introduced in the period to 2002.

Tackling the question of sudden layoffs of workers by large companies which have been the subject of much public criticism, Jospin pledged to combat them by imposing higher social security charges on those firms found guilty of the practice. "Abuses exist, they must be faced up to", he declared.



Lionel Jospin,  
Strasbourg

Vincent A. Kessler/Popperfoto/Reuters

At the same time the French premier announced that a list of 50 large urban projects would be announced by the end of the year and that there would be new regulations on town planning and transport.

## Germany

### Congress plans

The Social Democratic Party, SPD, is preparing for its Congress to be held from 7 to 9 December. The 45-member executive committee of the party has drafted a motion which states that "the wealthy should make their contribution to securing the future of our society". Party officials have suggested that the state could in future raise government expenditure on training and research.

Franz Münterfering, the party's acting General Secretary, announced that a committee formed with participants from the Greens, the junior member of the ruling coalition led by the SPD, would be considering the question of training and research and submit a report shortly.

## Great Britain

### European initiative

"If we believe our destiny is with Europe, then let us leave behind the muddling through, the hesitation, the half-heartedness which has characterised British relations with Europe for 40 years," said Tony Blair, the British Prime Minister, addressing the annual meeting of the Labour Party at Bournemouth on 28 September.

The British leader promised that he would attack and destroy the vested interests which, he said, were stultifying the economy and holding back the development of a meritocracy.

Blair reshuffled his cabinet in October appointing Peter Mandelson to the Northern Ireland Office and giving Geoff Hoon, former Minister for Europe, the Defence portfolio vacated by George Robertson on his appointment to the position of NATO Secretary-General. Mo Mowlam, the former Northern Ireland Secretary, becomes Minister in charge of the Cabinet Office.

## Greece

### Official visit to Turkey

George Papandreou, Foreign Minister of the Greek government headed by Costas Simitis's PASOK party, a member of the Socialist International, met Ismail Cem, his Turkish counterpart, twice in September. Papandreou is the first top Greek official to visit Turkey since the recent improvement in relations.

The fact that both countries were hit by earthquakes and came to each other's aid has opened the possibility of progress on questions such as Cyprus and the Aegean which have for long kept them apart.

Speaking in Ankara, Papandreou said: "Greece will support to the last Turkey's candidature to the European Union".

*George Papandreou, Dean of Istanbul University, Kemal Alemdaroglu, and Ismail Cem*



Murad Sezer/Associated Press AP

## Haiti

### Elections next year

The Provisional Electoral Council announced in Port-au-Prince on 29 September that the first round of elections to the legislature, preliminarily scheduled for December 1999, would take place on 19 March and would coincide with municipal and local elections.

## Hungary

### X Anniversary Congress

The Hungarian Socialist Party, MSzP, a member party of the International, held its tenth anniversary Congress on 8-9 October in Budapest.

Party members gathered to assess the activities of the MSzP in the past ten years,

particularly its role in the democratic transition of the country, and to set the way forward with a programme for the future under a renewed leadership which will include more women and young people.

## Israel

### Prime Minister's pledge

In a ceremony in October marking the four years since Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated, Prime Minister Ehud Barak, leader of SI-member the Israel Labour Party, pledged to follow Rabin's path towards peace. Government leaders joined members of the family, the military, the judiciary and representatives of the parliamentary opposition for the annual ceremony.

### Safe passage

On 23 October, the first of two safe passages was opened between the West Bank and Gaza, so allowing Palestinians freer travel under conditions administered by Israel.

The 44-kilometre route for buses, taxis and private vehicles fulfills a promise made in the Oslo accords and is part of the agreement signed recently at Charm El Cheikh by the Israeli and Palestinian governments.

## Malaysia

### Human rights violated

Lim Guan Eng, Deputy General Secretary of the Democratic Action Party, DAP, the SI member party in Malaysia, was released from prison on 27 August after serving a year's detention for "sedition" against the government led by Prime Minister Mathir Mohamad. He had previously been imprisoned in 1987 for being "a threat to national security".

He commented after his release, "Today I walk out of Kajang Prison with my head unbowed, spirit unbroken and faith unshaken. Just as it was a dozen years ago, prison walls cannot extinguish the fires of truth, justice and righteousness from burning in our hearts and minds. Neither can prison walls frighten us and kill our spirit to fight for justice until the rule of law, not the rule of tyranny, is established in Malaysia."

Lim Kit Siang, the leader of the DAP, said that over the past 40 years since Malaysia obtained its independence from Britain the country had gone backward and not forward in terms of justice, freedom and democracy.

Subsequent protests were mounted against the lack of justice in the country. On September 19, 10,000 demonstrators occupied the national mosque on the anniversary of the imprisonment of Anwar Ibrahim, the former deputy premier who is serving a six-year prison sentence for "abuse of power".

## Mexico

### Presidential choices

The Party of the Democratic Revolution, PRD, the Party of National Action, PAN, and six minor parties concluded talks on appointing a common candidate for the presidential elections due on 2 July next year without agreement.

In the northern state of Coahuila the governing Institutional Revolutionary Party, PRI, won a landslide victory on 26 September gaining more than 59 per cent of the vote.

## Morocco

### Education top priority

The government of Abderrahmane Yousoufi led by the Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP, the Moroccan member party of the Socialist International, has launched an education charter and King Mohammed V said that it will shortly be submitted for discussion in parliament.

Among its provisions are the assurance that all Moroccan children will be educated until they reach the minimum age for working; that education will be adapted to the needs of individuals and society; that science, culture and creativity will be fostered; and, that benchmarks will be set for the quality of education of all types. Those involved in education will be encouraged to raise standards and efficiency from universities and the private sector to those

providing goods and services to the education sector. "Parents and teachers", the charter says, "must be conscious of the fact that education is not just the responsibility of schools and that in the first instance it must be that of the family unit as a factor for the primary education of the child and his or her preparation for a successful programme of study."

## Pakistan

### Military coup

General Pervez Musharraf, seized power in Pakistan on 15 October, announcing that he was targetting corruption in the country and martial law was installed. Pakistan has been under martial law for 25 years of its 52 years as an independent country.

A list of politicians was issued by the central bank which ordered the immediate freezing of their funds.

A meeting of Commonwealth foreign ministers in London announced the suspension of the country from Commonwealth activities.



PS success  
in Portugal

Armando Franca/Associated Press AP



## Territories under Palestinian Authority

### Hope for a State

After a meeting with US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, Yasser Arafat, President of the Palestinian Authority and leader of SI-member Fatah, said on 23 September that he trusted that Palestinians would formally declare their statehood in September 2000.

## Portugal

### Election success

The Portuguese Socialist Party, PS, secured 44 per cent of the vote in the general elections held on 10 October, up on its result in the 1995 election. The victory marked the largest share of the vote ever received by the Socialists and their sixth electoral success since Portugal returned to democracy in 1974.

The Party had 115 deputies elected in the 230-seat Assembly of the Republic. The conservative Social Democratic

Party won 81 seats, the Communists 17, the right-wing People's Party 15 and the Left Block 2 seats.

Prime Minister António Guterres said that the people wanted the Socialist Party to be mindful of the opposition's views but that they also wanted the opposition to understand their desire for stability and for a socialist government for a further four years.

## Puerto Rico

### Prisoners' fate

Rubén Berrios, leader of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, PIP, a member party of the SI, condemned as "insulting" the decision to impose strict conditions on the release of 11 Puerto Ricans being freed from jail in the United States. The men were given a conditional amnesty after they had completed up to 19 years of stiff prison sentences for offences connected with their campaign to sever the island's connection with the United States.

## South Africa

### Priorities for government

Thabo Mbeki, who succeeded Nelson Mandela as President of South Africa in June, has made economic growth a priority in the first months of his presidency, setting up an International Investment Council to encourage new business ventures. He has also resisted calls from trade unions in the public sector for greater wage rises.

During a visit to New York in September to address the General Assembly of the United Nations the new president addressed a gathering of politicians and business leaders with business analysts pointing to the fact that cautious policies had allowed South Africa to avoid much of the instability which has affected other developing countries.

## South Korea

### Prisoners freed

President Kim Dae-Jung of South Korea decreed that 3,000 prisoners should be freed in August as part of the celebrations of the 54th anniversary of independence from Japan and the first year of his presidency. Those freed included 56 political prisoners, seven of whom had been spies for North Korea.

Kim has promised to end the conflict with North Korea "at whatever price".

## Spain

### **Socialists' opportunity**

The first shots in the campaign for next year's general elections in Spain have been fired with Joaquín Almunia, the candidate for the premiership for the SI-member Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE, calling on 13 September for the Party to learn from its mistakes and take advantage of those being committed by the conservative government of José María Aznar. "The wind is blowing in favour of the PSOE", he declared at a party gathering at Galapagar, near Madrid. (See 'Profile', page 15)

Spanish socialists greatly improved their position in the important province of Catalonia in the elections held on 17 October. The vote of the Catalan Socialist Party, PSC, pushed the number of votes it won from the 802,252 it had gained in 1995 to 1,132,755 and its number of seats in the regional parliament from 34 to 52.

The ruling coalition headed by Jordi Pujol, of the nationalist *Convergència i Unió*, lost the majority it had enjoyed and will now depend on the votes of the conservative Popular Party, PP.

Pasqual Maragall, leader of the PSC, said, "It has been a victory for change. We who proposed change won more seats than those who defended continuity."

## Sweden



### **Balancing the budget**

Göran Persson, the Swedish Prime Minister and leader of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, speaking on 30 September at the British Labour Party conference, declared: "Five years ago, we took office after three years of right-wing government. The public debt had doubled, our public finances were in worse shape than those of any other OECD country. Deficits were over 10 per cent of the Gross Domestic Product - meaning that 25 per cent of every public outlay was financed by bonds. Democracy was dependent on money borrowed from the capital markets.

It took us four years to re-balance the budget. It was the toughest budget strengthening programme by any country at the time. No one could be exempted from carrying the burdens of earlier mismanagement.

Now we can close the file on this sad episode in Swedish history. It is not social democracy to place the public sector in debt."

## Switzerland

### **Social democrats in the lead**

Despite large gains made by the right-wing People's Party in the 24 October elections, the Social Democratic Party, the SI member party in Switzerland, remained the largest party with a quarter of the seats in the 200-seat lower house of the federal parliament in Berne.

The People's Party explained its success on its decision to demand greater controls on immigration and its criticism of government moves to forge a closer relationship with the European Union.

## Turkey

### **Hopes for EU membership**

The foreign ministers of the European Union, the majority of whose governments are led by member parties of the Socialist International, met on 5 September in the Finnish town of Saariselka and approved moves to bring Turkey nearer to membership of the EU. From now on Turkey will be regarded as a 'candidate' for membership of the Union.

Göran  
Persson

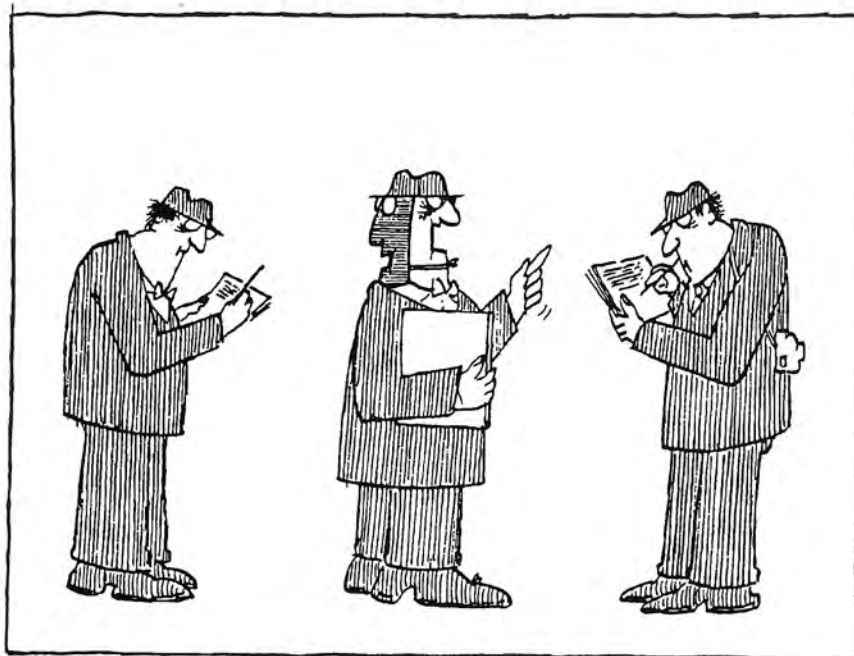
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**"Tobacco is unique as a mass consumer product. It kills almost half its regular users. Its use starts among the young, often well under 18, who underestimate the long-term health effects and overestimate their ability to quit when they want."**

Gro Harlem Brundtland, Director of the World Health Organisation

**"We don't claim to be peacemakers, but simply war doctors"**

Philippe Biberson, President of Médecins sans Frontières, after the organisation was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize



Arbetarbladet

**"If I eat genetically modified maize and I don't like it, that doesn't bother me - except if they tell me that in five years I myself will undergo modification."**

Alain Ducasse, leading French chef

**"The bottom line is money"**

Elizabeth Dole explaining her decision to halt her campaign to win the US presidency.

BREAD, PEACE, FREEDOM INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (CFTU)

# 50 years of trade union struggle

1949

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