



Issue 1/1993

The Journal of the
Socialist International

Socialist Affairs

AND WOMEN & POLITICS



**Cambodia:
preparing
for
elections**

2 Maritime House
Old Town
Clapham
London SW4 0JW
United Kingdom

Telephone (44 71) 627 4449
Telex 261735 SISEC G
Telefax (44 71) 720 4448
or (44 71) 498 1293
Cables INTESOCON LONDON SW4

Publisher and editor
Luis Ayala
Editorial consultant
Hugh O'Shaughnessy

WOMEN & POLITICS
Publisher and editor
Maria Jonas

Subscriptions
Socialist Affairs Subscriptions
5 Riverpark Estate
Berkhamsted
Hertfordshire HP4 1HL
United Kingdom

Telephone (44 442) 876661
Telefax (44 442) 872279

Annual subscription rates
(4 issues)
United Kingdom £12 sterling
Other countries £15

Design
Archetype Graphic Design
Colour origination
Reflex, London
Printing
Stanhope Press

PRINTED ON RECYCLED AND
ENVIRONMENTALLY FRIENDLY
PAPER

Signed articles represent the views
of the authors only, not necessarily
those of *Socialist Affairs*, the
Socialist International or Socialist
International Women

© 1993 Socialist International

All rights reserved. No part of this
publication may be reproduced, stored
in a retrieval system or transmitted in
any form, or by any means, electronic,
mechanical, photocopying, recording
or otherwise, without the prior written
permission of the copyright owner.

ISSN 0049-0946

Cover picture
SIPA PRESS/Charlie Cole

3 EDITORIAL

4 **No one can go it alone**
John Smith underlines the inevitability of global economic interdependence.

8 **Haiti's heroic struggle**
Jean-Bertrand Aristide tells of his people's resistance

10 **PROFILE**
Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, the new prime minister of Denmark

11 **Getting rid of minefields**
Gérard Fuchs considers the prospects for the forthcoming elections in Cambodia

15 **Democratic options in central and eastern Europe**
Jirí Horák discusses social democracy's role in the region

18 **PARLIAMENTARY DIARY**
Joseph Ki-Zerbo describes political life in Burkina Faso

20 **Labor's fifth victory**
Ian Henderson sets out the reasons why Australians voted Labor

23 **Election results must be respected**
Lopo do Nascimento warns of the political dangers facing Angola and much of Africa

26 **BOOKS**
Ellen Bird considers a collection of writings on German unification
Hugh O'Shaughnessy looks at two books about the Peruvian Aprista Party

28 **About the SI**

30 **SI NEWS**
• Mission to Somalia • SI election observers in Senegal
• Barcelona remembers Willy Brandt • SI Council meeting in Athens
• PEOPLE

47 WOMEN AND POLITICS

Women: a priority for world development, believes *Glenys Kinnock*,
chairperson of One World

SIW Bureau meeting in Athens - resolutions

Obituary: former SIW Vice-President Ana Margarita Gasteazoro

57 **SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK**
• Algeria • Aruba • Australia • Austria • Belgium • Bulgaria • Canada
• Central African Republic • Cyprus • Czech Republic • Denmark • Egypt • Finland
• France • Germany • Guatemala • Ireland • Israel • Italy • Jamaica • Madagascar
• Malta • Morocco • Nicaragua • Peru • Puerto Rico • Senegal • Slovak Republic

67 THE LAST WORD

WELCOME DEVELOPMENTS

The problems of great poverty existing side by side with great wealth never seemed to worry right-wing ideologues of the 1980s as they planned their free market strategies for the developing world. Wealth, according to their apologists, was expected to 'trickle down' from the affluent to the needy in an entirely natural way, much as rain falls off a roof. The needy were told to wait patiently for the trickles while, as John Smith points out in this issue, social expenditures were slashed and austerity measures applied almost regardless of the political consequences.

In country after country this discourse has proved wrong, as democratic socialists warned at the time it was being delivered that it would be. The economic extremes of Thatcherism and Reaganism are now in process of being thoroughly discredited as it is demonstrated that government acting on behalf of society as a whole has a role to play in the protection of its most vulnerable members.

The financial institutions - those within the United Nations system, like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, and those outside it - are accepting this fact and beginning to modify their policies.

The latest to do so is the Inter-American Development Bank which held its annual meeting in Hamburg at the end of March. There it announced that it would be devoting more attention than hitherto to the problems of social inequality.

These changes in strategy, long delayed as they are, must be welcomed.

NO ONE CAN GO IT ALONE

Whether we like it or not interdependence is the reality of the modern world. Matters of vital importance to our lives such as our economic prosperity and the protection of our environment all depend on international collaboration. These days no country can go it alone.

In Europe, in particular, we are ever more interdependent both economically and politically. Unfortunately today, however, we are seeing some of the negative effects of economic interdependence. The threat of recession and the reality of rising unemployment are spreading throughout the European continent. This is a trend that is profoundly worrying and dangerous because if people begin to believe that interdependence is a source of economic weakness and not strength then the clamour, however misguided, for purely 'national' solutions will grow.

The risk is most acute in eastern Europe. The collapse of communism has released a wave of nationalist feelings and ambitions both in the former USSR and elsewhere. In one sense the Russian revolution stopped history in its tracks. Totalitarian government froze over ethnic, regional and nationalist tensions which, with the thawing of the cold war, have re-emerged almost precisely as they existed before or worse, exacerbated by the experience of Soviet domination as one ethnic group was deliberately set against another.

This tide of nationalism has coincided, of course, with the collapse of the former COMECON economies. Economic dislocation has caused a severe economic slump throughout eastern Europe. Since 1989 the Bulgarian economy has shrunk by about 30 per cent, that of the Poles and Czechs by about 20 per cent. The Russian economy was reduced by about 14 per cent in the first quarter of 1992 alone.

Under such conditions it is all too easy for the pain and hardship of ordinary people to ignite the fires of extreme nationalism, persecution of minorities and civil war. I am sure we all agree that it would be ghastly if what happened to Yugoslavia were to become not a grim reminder of old European history but a foretaste of things to come.

We must now face the obvious question of whether enough is being done to aid reform and the development of democracy in eastern Europe. The answer I am afraid is almost certainly no. There is growing unease that the scale of our response to the crisis in eastern Europe is totally insufficient to secure the great democratic advance which occurred after 1989. Release of credit and debt relief measures have been disbursed very slowly and the International Monetary Fund has been given the decisive role in administering the reform process in Russia and throughout eastern Europe.

Whilst I do not dispute for one moment the legitimacy of a role for the IMF alongside the World Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, I am not alone in questioning the wisdom of their policy advice, which invariably proposes severe reductions in social expenditure and austerity measures applied almost regardless of the political consequences.

The contrast with the experience of the post-war reconstruction of western Europe is striking. Consider the sheer scale of the Marshall Plan initiative launched by President Truman in 1948. Aid from the US amounted to a staggering 70 billion US dollars at today's prices. Political leaders on both sides of the Atlantic played a crucial role in mobilising the political will for an unprecedented act of statesmanship and generosity. Above all they recognised that failure was unthinkable, and the US administration, in particular, appreciated that their own security depended on prompt and decisive assistance.

But where is the George C. Marshall of 1993? The best the West can offer are IMF

John Smith, leader of the British Labour Party and chair of the SI Committee on Economic Policy, Development and Environment, underlines the inevitability of global economic interdependence.

SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

Issue 1/1993

officials bearing privatisation plans. It would be far better, I believe, for the Group of Seven leading industrial nations to appoint a leading statesman or woman to provide the political flair, leadership and judgement that is needed to galvanise our assistance to the East.

The great upheaval in eastern Europe has massive consequences for us in the West. But we must at the same time look further afield because similar problems also bedevil the developing world. The debt crisis, now more than ten years old, is still shackling many countries in Latin America and in Africa. Both regions have endured a 'lost decade' of falling per capita incomes and severe social decline. The hesitant and delayed efforts to reschedule and write down the debt burdens of the so-called middle income countries of Latin America are, of course, welcome but long overdue. And Africa's debt burden, which is owed overwhelmingly to Western governments rather than to private banks, is still seriously neglected.

Our failure to come up with a concerted response to the debt crisis is not just a human tragedy for millions living in poverty, it has acted as a drag anchor on the world economy. For the poorest countries, prospects remain grim. There is still lack of agreement to fully implement official debt relief under the so-called Trinidad Terms, first proposed more than two years ago. This at a time when the World Bank is forecasting for the year 2000 at best minimal, and more likely negative levels of per capita income growth in Sub-Saharan Africa.

The rich countries, I believe, have a moral duty to provide a combination of debt relief and generous levels of official aid. But a commitment to aid alone is not enough. 'Trade is better than aid' is an old saying, but none the less true.

That is why it is absolutely vital to overcome the deadlock that still afflicts the current round of international trade talks. The risks to the world economy are far too great to allow brinkmanship over the GATT to degenerate into a trade war. A compromise agreement between the European Community and the United States, which will pro-

Tragedy for workers ...





... little help for industry

vide a solution to the enduring problem of agricultural protectionism, must be reached now.

A trade war would not just be disaster for the most developed economies. It would deal a fatal blow to the emerging democracies of eastern Europe and it would be a catastrophe for the debt-ridden Third World.

Trade wars and recession threaten a downward spiral into a global slump and political disintegration. That was the awful lesson of the 1930s. Europeans, I believe, have a special responsibility to prevent anything like that ever happening again.

The threat of world-wide recession is real. Britain, which was first into recession, remains seemingly stuck with no growth and rising unemployment. The United States has experienced a very slow recovery, and now Germany is drifting from low growth into recession. The economic slowdown is most acute in the European Community. Growth in the Community has fallen sharply and unemployment has risen dramatically. I cannot stress too strongly the urgency of the need for action to reverse this trend.

We must also put growth back on the agenda of the Group of Seven leading industrialised nations. We will certainly find a willing partner now, following the election of President Bill Clinton. Similarly, the Japanese, also experiencing an unusual period of sharply reduced growth, would be, I believe, receptive to a strategy for growth. They have in fact already undertaken a significant boost to public investment to stimulate their own economy. The time is ripe for the Group of Seven to consider a co-ordinated strategy for growth world-wide.

The emphasis I have placed on growth may raise concern that protection of the environment must inevitably take a lower profile, that a growing world cannot be a green world. But I have long rejected the view of some in the environmental movement that growth and conservation are incompatible. In fact I believe that sustainable growth and rising prosperity are the essential pre-conditions for effective international action to protect our environment.

It is far more likely that industrial and agricultural systems that pollute and degrade our environment will remain unchecked and unreformed whilst the threat of recession hangs over so many countries in the world today. The necessary adjustments that we must all make to reduce greenhouse gases and to curb global warming will be far easier in an economic environment of development and rising prosperity. That, of course, was the explicit understanding of last year's Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. The Summit's full title was the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development - with a significant emphasis on the 'D' for development as well as the 'E' for environment.

It was always over-ambitious to expect a single gathering of world leaders to provide solutions to the complex problems and threats to our environment today. Nevertheless the Summit was an important breakthrough and there is a real opportunity for Europe to take a leading role in setting meaningful targets both for environmental protection and for advancing development.

Above all we must avoid the situation in which disagreements between the industrialised nations and developing countries cause a new international stalemate. It would be tragic if, having so recently overcome East-West tensions, we then stumble into a bitter new North-South divide. New patterns of international co-operation must be agreed and Europe should point the way forward.

It should be possible, I believe, to construct a 'green alliance' of countries from the North and the South which are committed to practical measures to encourage sustainable development and environmental protection; an alliance willing to lead by example, rather than wait for a consensus which can only be achieved at the lowest common denominator. Once again, I hope, the election of President Clinton, and of Al Gore as his vice-president, will ensure swifter progress in following up the agreements made in Rio last June.

The end of the cold war gives us all tremendous and unprecedented opportunities; the chance, as a truly international community, to devote our economic and political resources to tackling the world's most serious underlying problems. That is the agenda which we in the Socialist International should grasp with imagination, energy and leadership.

The choices we make today will profoundly affect our future and the future of the world in the next century. It is within our grasp to close the gap between the North and the South and to arrest the slide into poverty and despair that is still the fate of many millions of our fellow human beings. We have the opportunity to respond to the great challenges of the environment. And we have the responsibility to strengthen democracy, to defend human rights and extend social justice. That is the agenda of opportunity that faces us today - opportunities we simply cannot afford to miss. ■

*Cédras' troops ...*

HAITI'S HEROIC STRUGGLE

In our country, since the coup d'état of 30 September 1991, the perpetrators of the coup have a good life, their allies have a life, while our dear Haiti can barely manage to survive. But it does survive heroically and unarmed demanding respect for the results of the elections. It survives politically and economically.

The weapons of those responsible for the coup dictate the law. The corpses of the dead pile up. More than 3,000 victims have died in less than 17 months. Blood is flowing, the press is gagged and journalists frequently disappear. More than half a million Haitians are fugitives within their own country. The tragic case of Jean Sony Philogène must be mentioned. He was murdered by the military on his hospital bed, in front of his grandmother.

This repression has caused the flight of 40,000 political refugees. The refugees are faced with a wall of death. The fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 was the herald of many changes in the countries of eastern Europe and the old Soviet Union. When will we see in Haiti the fall of the wall of death erected by those responsible for the coup? It is time for this wall too to crumble so that Haiti's sons and daughters may gather together once again. It is time for all of us to live, live well, and no longer just survive or die.

Worldwide, one third of humanity is still condemned to restrictions on its political freedom. In our country, political freedom can be regained with the assistance of the international community.

This is why we ask the SI to mobilise international solidarity and support the civil mission of the United Nations and the Organisation of American States in Haiti. As president of the Republic of Haiti I swore to respect and uphold the constitution of Haiti. Consequently I must declare that the government of Marc Bazin is illegal, and that the fraudulent elections he held on 18 January 1993 were therefore invalid.

The political solution to this crisis requires that the army be freed of Raoul Cédras and his accomplices, that it be granted an amnesty, and that it be professionalised and separated from the police; it also requires the choice of a prime minister by the president of the Republic; and necessarily, the return of the president.

*Jean-Bertrand
Aristide, president of
Haiti, tells of his people's
resistance to the present
illegal regime.*

We say from the start that economic development relies, and always will rely, entirely on people. Haiti, the very first black republic of the western hemisphere, must no longer allow itself to be eaten away by the cancer of exploitation and chronic corruption.

Our economic policies aim to set up a legal framework in which sound macro-economic policies can transform relations between the private and the public sectors, set into motion a legal process of rational administration of state property, promote integrated rural development. This latter must necessarily involve agricultural reforms and literacy drives given the present 85 per cent illiteracy rate. The illiterate are not stupid, they are the victims of history.

We must also take serious initiatives to link action at the macro- and micro-economic levels which would have a direct effect upon the daily life of the population. Such economic strategies aim to resurrect a dying economy such as ours where one per cent of the population takes 45 per cent of the national income; where the unemployment rate varies between 70 and 80 per cent of the active population; where 5.7 per cent of the population of working age is employed in industry against the 63 per cent who work on the land producing no more than a mere 27 per cent of GNP; where each month since the coup d'état 3,500 kilos of cocaine are sold on our streets; where each month since the coup d'état 2,500 trees are cut down, in a country which loses 36.6 million metric tons of soil every year.

Thanks to our efforts made during my seven-month period in office, 15 international donors were prepared to lend or give us 511 million US dollars. Furthermore, other projects totalling 300 million dollars are still in the wings, awaiting only a return to constitutional order to go ahead.

This is what we call surviving economically. The people of Haiti are struggling heroically to survive politically and economically. Given a choice between dying on their feet or living on their knees, they choose to die on their feet. ■

... are defied: 'death before slavery'



Socialist Affairs examines the career of
Denmark's new prime minister

Poul Nyrup Rasmussen, 49, leader of the Social Democratic Party of Denmark, is one of Europe's newest premiers.

After delicate inter-party negotiations in January, following the fall of the right-wing government of Poul Schlüter following an immigration case, Rasmussen put together a new coalition. Led by the Social Democrats; it includes the Centre Democrats, the Radicals and the Popular Christians and representatives from the Faroe Islands and Greenland and commands 91 of the 179 seats in the Folketing, Denmark's single-chamber parliament.

The country's new leader has come from the humblest stratum of society. His father was a labourer and his mother a cleaner in Esbjerg, the unpretentious port town built in the last century to handle exports of Danish farm products to the English market.

He took an economics degree at Copenhagen University in 1971 after which he worked for fifteen years in the Landsorganisation i Danmark, the Danish trade union confederation, first as an economist, later as chief economist.

His public career took off in the mid 1980s. In 1986 he was made managing director of the state pension fund, and a year later deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party. He took his place in the Folketing in 1988 for the constituency of Herning in Jutland.

He took the leadership of the party only in April last year in succession to Svend Auken.

He is known for his relaxed, friendly lifestyle. He is a guitarist, has a passion for Elvis Presley and is known to have put his own poem to music. Politiken, the Copenhagen liberal daily newspaper, went as far as to suggest that, willing to listen to people in high positions and low, he was too nice a man for the premiership.

In accepting the premiership Rasmussen had to accept the budget figures left by the outgoing government and it is generally thought that



**POUL NYRUP
RASMUSSEN**

Social Democratic policy will be much more in evidence next year than this.

His term in office will certainly test him, embracing as it will a second referendum to be held on 18 May on Denmark's ratification of the Treaty of Maastricht, which the electorate rejected last year. He calls it, 'Denmark's most important foreign policy decision since World War Two'. He supports the exemptions from the treaty provisions that Denmark obtained in the economic, monetary and defence fields. Though he is critical of those European leaders who he says are pushing the European integration process too energetically he is fighting to get popular approval for Maastricht. He has no doubt that another rejection of the treaty would be very bad for his country, not least because of the pressure that would be put on the currency.

He realises however that the popularity of the Community could be greater. 'It is clear that the gap between individuals, ordinary people, on the one hand and the decision-making systems on the other has deepened', he remarks.

Niels Helvig Petersen, the Radical foreign minister appointed by Rasmussen, is a supporter of the treaty in a party which is not enthusiastic about it. Present indications are that more Danes favour the treaty than oppose it.

The Danish prime minister is due to preside over the Community summit to be held in Copenhagen in June, at the end of Denmark's six-month presidency of the EC. By then he wants to have done his bit for economic growth in the Community. 'I hope that we will have done all we could to solve certain problems so that the Belgian presidency that succeeds us can put the finishing touches, and that by the end of the year one will be able to say, 'There. Maastricht is ratified'. Stagnation in Europe is a disaster for ordinary people', he says.

*Gérard Fuchs,
international secretary of
the French Socialist Party,
considers the prospects for
the forthcoming elections in
Cambodia.*

GETTING RID OF MINEFIELDS

The electoral campaign in Cambodia leading up to the general elections scheduled for 23 - 27 May has just opened. It is clear that it will be plagued with difficulties in a country which has enjoyed only 17 years of real independence and peace since 1431.

Twenty parties are contesting the poll, though the PKD, the party of the Khmer Rouge, is not. Mines have to be lifted throughout the country. Thirty-five thousand war wounded have to be taken care of, and much of the physical infrastructure, damaged by decades of war, has to be totally rebuilt. With banditry on the increase security of people and property is a major concern. Malaria is at hand and there is drug trafficking.

Somewhere between eight and 12 million people live in a country of 181,00 square kilometres whose neighbours are 68 million Vietnamese, 55 million Thais and four million Laotians. Buddhist in their majority, the population is ethnically homogeneous. There is a Chinese minority which is largely assimilated and a Vietnamese one which is the object of concern. The countryside produces rice and latex in large quantities and there is a fishing and forestry industry. Tourism used to be encouraging.

Sihanouk and his palace



Cambodia has for more than a millennium been in constant rivalry with the kingdom of Siam, now Thailand. The powerful empire of Angkor, founded in the sixth century AD, rose to its high point during the reign of Jayavarman VII between 1181 and 1218. Angkor, however, was conquered by the Siamese at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The great temples of Angkor were for centuries buried under a thick cloak of vegetation. The nominal rulers had little option but to come under French protection from 1853.

In 1953 Norodom Sihanouk, the king of Cambodia since 1941, in a consummate display of diplomacy achieved his country's independence without blood being shed. At the time when the Geneva accords of 1954 were putting an end to Vietnam's war with France, his skills enabled his kingdom to escape the partition that overtook the other states of Indochina.

Sihanouk abdicated from the throne in 1955 in favour of his father, he himself becoming prime minister. He did not ascend the throne again, however, after his father King Suramarit died in 1960. As national leader he modernised the country and made his presence felt on the international stage. At the Bandung summit he joined Tito, Nasser and Nehru in founding the Non-Aligned Movement. During his visit to Pnom Penh in 1966, General de Gaulle congratulated him on his achievement in keeping his country out of the second Indochinese war which, with the massive arrival of US troops, was ravaging Vietnam at that time.

The object of persistent US hostility, he was deposed and exiled in March 1970. The 17 years of peace over which he presided have been succeeded by years of civil war and four successive governments.

The principal author of the prince's downfall, the junta headed by the pro-US Marshal Lon Nol, came up against the implacable hostility of the Cambodian people, which he was unable to vanquish despite US aid and the dispatch of Vietnamese troops. The Khmer Rouge, communist extremists and very Maoist, went into alliance with the prince, now in exile in Peking. With recourse to much North Vietnamese aid until 1973, they assured their mastery over all opposition, physically eliminating intellectuals, Muslims, ex-servicemen and others who opposed them.

On 17 April 1975, 13 days before the fall of Saigon, the Cambodian capital Pnom Penh fell to the Khmer Rouge and, as was the case with all other cities, was emptied of its citizens who were sent to improvised state farms. An iron curtain came down after the end of the fighting, with regional leaders being removed. Prince Norodom Sihanouk, having returned as nominal head of state, resigned on 6 April 1976. He was then a prisoner in his own capital, his life being spared only at the urgent instance of the Chinese. The new masters were increasingly provocative to Vietnam which was arming a number of dissidents - including the young Captain Hun Sen - who had escaped from the concentration camp that the country had been turned into.

At the end of December 1978 Vietnamese forces and communist Khmers who had quit the ranks of the Khmer Rouge invaded Cambodia and the genocidal regime in power collapsed in a few weeks. Since 7 January 1979 the capital has been in the hands of the new authorities largely put in place by Hanoi; Hen Samrin is head of state, Hun Sen, at first foreign minister, later became prime minister, Chea Sim became president of the National Assembly and in effect leader of the Revolutionary Popular Party of Kampuchea (PPRK).

Evacuated from Pnom Penh in a Chinese aircraft, Prince Norodom Sihanouk mobilised against the new pro-Vietnamese authorities. He denounced them at the UN, where the PKD or Khmer Rouge occupied Cambodia's seat from 1980 to 1990. In 1982 the former king, under pressure from ASEAN, among others, accepted the presidency of the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. This government included the New Liberation Front of the Khmer People (FNLPK) under Samdesh Son Sann, the former prime minister who was on the sidelines during the events of 1970-75 and who enjoyed the support of the Cambodian diaspora in the US. It also included the United Front for an Independent, Neutral, Peaceful and Co-operative Cambodia (FUNC-INPEC) a pro-Sihanouk grouping led since 1983 by Prince Norodom Ranarid'h, the eldest son of Prince Sihanouk. The keystone of this coalition is the Khmer Rouge, solidly entrenched in their mountainous regions on the border with Thailand and supplied with arms and logistics by Peking via Bangkok. The very anti-communist Thailand achieved an end to its own civil war through negotiations with the People's Republic of China in which Peking abandoned the Thai insurgents in exchange for a lifeline connecting it to its Cambodian allies.

Vietnam's forceful help on the ground, in the form of great offensives in the dry season - especially in 1984-85 - against the bases of the resistance near the frontier areas

**Street scene in Battambang**

with Thailand, did not allow either Hanoi or Pnom Penh to overcome international hostility to their point of view, Prince Sihanouk's diplomatic powers losing none of their effectiveness. Innumerable summit meetings ended with the abortive Paris conference of 1989.

On 26 September 1989 Vietnam decided officially to evacuate its forces from Cambodia, a fact which did not stop the Khmer Rouge claiming Vietnamese forces were present in camouflage. Finally the international Paris conference on Cambodia achieved a cease-fire on 23 June 1991. On 23 October of the same year an agreement, signed by the three resistance factions, the Pnom Penh authorities, the UN and eight guaranteeing powers, put Cambodia under the aegis of the UN for a limited period.

The Paris agreement calls for free elections throughout Cambodia to choose by proportional representation a constituent assembly of 120 members which within three months of being elected will have agreed and adopted a new constitution. The assembly will then become a Legislative Assembly and form a new Cambodian government.

Lists of candidates will be presented by political parties, any group of 5,000 or more registered voters being able to form a party. During a transitional period a Supreme National Council (CNS) will be the source of sovereignty and authority in the country, occupying Cambodia's seat at the UN. The CNS delegates to the UN all powers needed to ensure the application of the agreement. Drawn from 32 countries, 22,000 personnel are at hand under the authority of Yasushi Akashi, a senior Japanese official at the UN, named special representative of the UN secretary-general. During the transitional period each faction will administer its zone, with 70 per cent of the troops being demobilised; the 370,000 refugees in Thailand will be repatriated to the region of their choice.

The international community has kept its promises: a UN Provisional Authority in Cambodia is in place acting for the 18 months to the end of August this year. Voter registration has gone ahead with 4.7 million being enrolled and refugees being repatriated - though the Khmer Rouge zones remain shut off.

The political and military arrangements meanwhile present problems because of the deliberate obstruction of the PKD. The CNS, composed of Prince Sihanouk and 12

members, is functioning spasmodically. He himself, having returned to his country after 13 years absence amid great popular rejoicing, is gravely ill and for some months past has needed treatment in Peking. After a certain initial euphoria with both the UN and the Pnom Penh authorities he has stood apart from them, keeping himself for the task of forming a government of national unity after the election.

In February he interrupted his treatment in China for three weeks to be able to greet President François Mitterrand in Pnom Penh on 11 and 12 of that month. He went back to Peking with the obvious intention of keeping clear of the elections and maintaining his credibility. The demobilisation plan has been overshadowed by the unwillingness of the Khmer Rouge to lay down their arms on the pretext that Vietnamese mercenaries were still about. Only the weaker organisations - the former FNLPK (now the Buddhist Party) and the FUNCINPEC - have demobilised. The neutral environment of the future elections has thereby been relatively nullified. There have been armed clashes between the soldiers of Pol Pot of the Khmer Rouge and those of Hun Sen.

At the same time sharp practice by the Thais is everywhere visible in the Cambodian economy, with massive shipments of precious stones and timber yielding substantial funds to the PKD.

A certain disenchantment is becoming manifest with the UN authority which is accused of encouraging corruption and favouring the Vietnamese presence and whose electoral aims are not to the liking of everyone, especially after the political convulsions that the Khmers have suffered over the past twenty years.

Meanwhile the UN Security Council has passed resolution after resolution urging tolerance and expressing concern at the growing number of acts of violence. It has reminded the parties in Cambodia, as the French president did on 11 February, that they should respect the Paris agreements.

Despite the multiplicity of parties and the refusal of the PKD to take part, forecasts suggest that the Cambodian People's Party - the former PPRK, which declared itself non-communist in October 1991 - and the FUNCINPEC will do well.

The international community cannot but hope that the enormous investment by the UN will end by yielding a formula that will allow the country to move forward as it must. Prince Norodom Sihanouk is still best placed to represent that national will and impose a settlement on the two leaders of opposing forces, Prime Minister Hun Sen and his son Prince Norodom Ranaridd'h. ■

Jirí Horák, of the Czech Social Democratic Party, discusses social democracy's role in the region.

DEMOCRATIC OPTIONS IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

Communism has collapsed entirely in the former Soviet Union and eastern and central Europe. A great debate is taking place as to who deserves credit for this achievement. Some may argue that this victory over communism was a result of Reagan's military might. Others may counter that the beginnings of the communist decline reach back to Truman's policy of containment or to Jimmy Carter's human rights policies. There are still others who believe that the communist system collapsed from within.

It does not matter at this moment who is right. What is important is that those who are now celebrating the defeat of communism and the triumph of democracy in Russia and in eastern and central Europe are in danger of understanding the region today as poorly as they understood the pre-1989 communist world.

The establishment of democracy in the countries of eastern and central Europe differs from a similar process in Greece, Spain or Portugal in the 1970s. No country in eastern and central Europe - with one exception - has ever had a genuine democratic system. And even that one exception, the former Czechoslovakia which was a flourishing democracy during the inter-war period, encountered such serious problems after the revolutionary events of 1989 that it failed to prevent its own disintegration.

Even if the changes taking place in the entire region have been the result of the people's clear desire for democracy, I suspect that many of the people have only a hazy notion of what democracy really is. A new political elite is only in the process of formation and democracy has not yet overcome its teething troubles.

Compared to the situation before 1989, however, there is reason to be satisfied. Far-reaching changes in the right direction have taken place. Except for the former Yugoslavia whose tragic fortune cannot be dealt with here - suffice it to state that, a messy situation in the past, the Yugoslav problem is an even greater headache today - every country in the region has shown some progress for the better. Everywhere one can find a kind of political pluralism, free elections, efforts to establish a state of legality and a more or less successful process of transformation to a market economy.

The countries of eastern and central Europe, however, differ one from another as far as their specific development is concerned. Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic are doing better than the rest. Until recently, Hungary was a success story. Almost half of the foreign investment in eastern and central Europe went to this country. On the other hand, other countries, like Slovakia, seem bound to get worse before they get better.

Nevertheless, even the relatively successful countries have encountered many often quite unexpected problems and are facing potential hazards.

There are anti-democratic trends endangering the young democracies: on the one hand, the former communist parties which to some extent try to turn the clock back; on the other hand, we are witnessing increased activities of the most extreme right-wing groups and parties.

As a rule, the former communist parties have renamed themselves, adopted new programmes or political manifestos and removed their former leaders. In general they have got rid of their *nomenclatura*, but have kept their former mentality and habits. Consequently the cosmetic changes are no guarantee of the heralded democratisation.

The most genuine steps in the direction of democratic socialism have been taken by the Hungarian Socialist Party and the Party of the Democratic Left in Slovakia. With



The road to the West

Popperfoto

the exception of Romania, where the former communists of the National Salvation Front are still in full power, and of Bulgaria, these successor parties are relatively weak, unable to influence parliamentary processes.

There is always a danger that insensitive social and economic policies by right-wing governments might lead to social tension in some of these countries. This in turn would lead to increased votes for the former communist parties. However, there is no danger of a communist comeback. In the past, communism was installed in most countries of the region with the direct help of the Soviet army and the situation is quite different today.

Further decline or growth of the communist parties depends to a large extent on the ability of social democrats to put forward the correct policies in their respective countries.

Probably a more serious danger for democracy in this area is right-wing extremism. In terms of parliamentary seats, its rise may be observed all over Europe, not excluding the eastern part. The extreme right-wing parties are very weak, but, in times of serious political or economic problems or social tension their populist, xenophobic and demagogic agitation might attract many voters, and such a development cannot be totally excluded.

If right-wing extremism were limited to a number of fringe groups on the periphery of the political spectrum, I would not take the problem seriously. But in some countries there are both open and secret contacts between right-wing extremist groups and some factions of the government parties. When the leader of a nationalist wing of the governing Democratic Forum in Hungary, summons the people to rise against a con-

Thomas Masaryk

spiracy of Jews, communists, liberals, journalists and western companies, one should start thinking: did we not hear similar words before?

One should also take note of factors which unfavourably affect democracy. In all the countries of eastern and central Europe, political culture is at an abysmally low level. Another disturbing factor is the existence of authoritarian features in many of these countries. A public opinion poll suggesting that a majority of respondents would not mind a 'strong arm' government is disturbing.

I believe that the political, economic, and cultural devastation caused by the communist regimes has been far outdistanced by moral devastation - the way in which people behave, think and interact with one another. Reversing the political and economic devastation is a manageable and relatively short-term task. Democratic constitutional and political institutions already exist and economic transformation may be achieved sooner than many of its critics

expect. But it will take at least a generation to repair moral devastation.

All the countries of eastern and central Europe want to 'join Europe'. Of course, geographically and historically they are part of Europe. They are looking to supranational institutions with hope and, in their present predicaments, believe in the integrated continent as a life-line. However, I see a paradox. Mutual co-operation among these countries is very inadequate. Their representatives, when meeting with one another, often behave more like village boasters than statesmen. Their willingness to listen to one another is limited. Their ability to delegate common interests to supranational bodies in order to facilitate the exchange of goods, ideas and people appears to be limited to proclamatory gestures, followed up by only very small concrete steps.

That is shown by the very modest results of the 'Visegrad Four' - Hungary, Poland and the Czech and Slovak Republics. The issues of trade and other forms of mutual cooperation, of building up the elements of integration and a general atmosphere of cooperation in central Europe, have been discussed only in a perfunctory and declaratory way. In fact, not much concrete work has been done.

It looks as if these countries are shying away from any real cooperation amongst themselves, following the failure and disintegration of COMECON, as if each country were looking on its own for ways to establish its own relationship with the West. It is as if there were just one life-jacket for the fastest swimmer to reach the Western shores. I wonder how such misplaced notions can help the process of European integration.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that a functioning democracy requires a delicate balance between the left- and the right-hand sides of a democratic political spectrum. At present I do not see such a balance in eastern and central Europe. The right clearly predominates.

It is the task of the social democratic parties to build themselves into a viable alternative to the existing governments. The social democrats in eastern and central Europe must succeed in ending their internal bickering. They must come out strongly in favour of democratic institutions, a social market economy, social security, fair income distribution and support for strong trade and independent trade unions.

A real prerequisite for the stability and functioning of an emerging system in eastern and central Europe is a successful social and economic transformation. In this context, I can say with pride that it was the first president of Czechoslovakia, Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, who stated more than 70 years ago that a true democracy must be not only a political, but also an economic and social democracy. I believe this is still true today. ■

BURKINA FASO: DEMOCRACY WITH FIVE CHAIRS

**Joseph
Ki-Zerbo**

The silence surrounding the return to democracy here in Ougadougou, capital of Burkina Faso, would suggest that everything is going normally. The international press seems mainly concerned by the dramatic events in other African countries such as Zaire, Togo, Liberia and Angola. Burkina Faso does indeed give the impression of normality. A constitution was adopted by referendum on 2 June 1991, presidential elections were held on 2 December 1991, and legislative elections on 24 May 1992.

But Burkina Faso is currently in its fourth Republic since it gained independence from France as Upper Volta in 1960. We have already lived through three attempts at democracy, each shorter than the last - 1960 to 1966, 1970 to 1974, and finally 1978 to 1980. None of the three coups which put an end to these periods of democratic rule was bloody, but a military intervention in 1982 did mark the beginning of a bloody 'revolution'.

We owe the name of the lower house of the present legislature, the Assembly of People's Deputies, to this 'revolution', the present leaders of Burkina Faso all being products of its final days and the sudden conversion of marxists and radicals to democracy. The drift away from 'revolution' was brought by the east wind of perestroika, the west wind of political change, and by a local, southern wind, in this case the fierce determination of democrats and socialists. For ten years they had suffered attempts on their lives, summary executions, kidnappings and disappearances, torture, arbitrary and large-scale dismissals, bush trials and confiscation of their possessions.

This recent history is still heavy in people's memories. The opposition to President Blaise Compaoré called for a National Conference to promote reconciliation, consensus on a new constitution and on the electoral process. Such conferences had been taking place in other African countries such as Benin, Mali, Congo and Togo. But the government here rejected the idea.

In the absence of a National Conference, which might have helped to solve the fundamental political problem in Burkina Faso, the work of the Burkina Faso Constitutional Commission which the government did set up ranged democrats against the supporters of the former

'revolution'. The proposed draft constitution allowed for both the election and the appointment of deputies. Only 'anti-imperialist' parties were to be allowed to take part in elections. The present constitution has turned out to be a shameful trade-off between the supporters of liberalisation and the supporters of the former single-party system.

A second, non-elected chamber, the House of Representatives, can intervene in the running of the Assembly of People's Deputies. Article 50 of the constitution says, 'the president may, after consultation with the prime minister and with the president of the Chamber of Representatives, dissolve the Assembly of People's Deputies'.

Among the many aims that democrats failed to achieve, in addition to a National Conference, were fair conditions regulating the presidential elections. The opposition parties had made the holding of a National Conference a condition of their participation in this election. In the absence of a National Conference, the opposition candidates declared a boycott. The incumbent president, Blaise Compaoré, was therefore the sole candidate in the presidential poll and was elected with 25 per cent of the vote, following an US-style campaign. The success of the boycott was a hollow victory for the opposition.

The holding of the legislative elections several months after the presidential vote was a serious handicap for the democrats of Burkina Faso who had campaigned to have the local and legislative elections before the presidential ones. The opposition parties faced the ruling Democratic Popular Organisation/Labour Movement, ODP/MT, at a clear disadvantage. They also faced serious irregularities - massive elimination from electoral registers of the names of dissidents, large last-minute registrations of new electors, voting by underage teenagers and multiple voting, aided by the fact that the indelible ink used at the polling stations turned out to be less than indelible. There was, in addition, the pressure and intimidation exerted on party officials.

Add to this the huge financial resources available to the government, and the difficulties linked to illiteracy, with between 15 and 30 ballot papers, depending on the constituency. It is easy to understand the failure of the opposition parties in a country where those who are illiterate can distinguish ballot papers only by their



colour or by various symbols such as elephants, lions, trees, scorpions and tools.

The opposition parties took part in such flawed elections because they wanted to make democracy work. The same was also true of their decision to take up their seats in parliament.

The ODP/MT won 78 of the 107 parliamentary seats. Added to these were six seats won by smaller member parties of Blaise Compaoré's majority. The National Convention of Progressive Patriots/Social Democratic Party, CNPP/PSD, to which I belong, came second, with 13 deputies. Next came the African Democratic Assembly, RDA, with five seats, followed by the Alliance for Democracy and Federalism, ADF, with four seats, and the Assembly of Independent Socialists, RSI, with one seat. This imbalance in parliament constitutes a disincentive to democratic debate; a vote can bring a swift end to any debate at any time.

The first session of the Assembly of People's Deputies, devoted to procedural questions, was remarkable for its moderation. The ruling party tactically adopted a low profile following its overwhelming victory. The number of deputies needed to create a parliamentary group was lowered to four, enabling the creation of four groups within the Assembly. In addition, the opposition, as is customary within the French parliamentary system which is used as a frame of reference, was invited to take part in running the business of the Assembly and its committees.

As a consequence the CNPP/PSD controls the first vice-presidency of the Assembly and the presidency of the Social Affairs Committee.

The problem of deciding between clear opposition and compromise with the government is splitting many of Burkina Faso's parties. Different factions within the parties combine to woo a government which already dominates the legislature and the judiciary and which intends to return to a *de facto* single-party system within an ostensibly multi-party régime. The current political stakes are therefore high. The social democrats are on sound ideological ground, standing as they do between the debacle of communism and the intolerable human costs of liberalisation without justice or freedom.

The opposition group which I lead in the

Joseph Ki-Zerbo is leader of the Progressive Front of Upper Volta, FPV, and a leader of the parliamentary opposition in Burkina Faso.

Assembly has often taken its own line in clear declarations which go against government policy, for example, on the question of the fighting in Liberia, where opinion had it that our country was politically and militarily implicated. The group has also vigorously opposed public holidays commemorating the anniversaries of bloody coups d'état.

But it was during the budget sessions of the Assembly in October, November and December of last year that our group expressed its opposition most clearly. For procedural reasons, following the refusal to open a general debate after the report of the Finance Committee, our group was obliged to set out in a paper all our grievances against a budget which we saw as neither a budget for development nor a just or social budget. Our vote against the budget was perceived as a confirmation of our status as an opposition force. That role tends to be fulfilled here by a dynamic and sometimes combative non-governmental press, as well as by the human rights movement, and even by some trade unions, despite the fact that the latter are harried by repression and by the progressive impoverishment which exhausts the energies of the workers.

Nevertheless, here as everywhere else, parliament remains a major element of democracy, an unparalleled forum for essential communication, the framework of all freedoms. The task which faces us is onerous. We must identify and present ourselves as a party of constructive opposition, credible inside and outside the country.

At the moment, the office of our parliamentary group contains only five chairs, so that when we meet together with the deputy of the RSI party which is our ally, nine of our parliamentary colleagues are forced to remain standing. We have no secretary at the moment, although the budget provides for us to employ one - but then there would be the problem of finding a typewriter...

This impecuniousness reflects very well the reality of a poverty-stricken country. But given the prosperity of those African political parties which are in power, our situation should be a cause of concern to social democratic colleagues in the North.

LABOR'S FIFTH VICTORY

On 13 March, the Labor government was returned to office at a general election in Australia - the fifth successive federal election victory for Labor and the first for Prime Minister Paul Keating, who has led the party since December 1991.

The 1993 election victory had a number of significant aspects. It was achieved despite a record level of unemployment. Official figures released during the campaign period had the number of unemployed at over a million, and the rate at 11 per cent.

Recent economic growth has been modest by Australian experience of the mid-1980s, at about 2.5 per cent per annum. This period of growth follows a recession of relatively serious depth and length. In recent years, too, an awareness had taken root in the community that Australia had an unacceptably high foreign debt, and persistently worrying balance of payments deficits.

Unemployment and recession had been expected to give the opposition a significant edge in the election campaign, with most commentators forecasting a win for the conservative coalition led by former economics professor Dr John Hewson. There was a feeling that voters would throw out the Labor government which had been in office since 1983, blaming it for the recession. The opposition's policies were widely regarded as harsh, but potentially appealing to those voters seeking solutions to the recession and the high level of unemployment.

The opposition campaigned on a platform of radical labour market deregulation, widespread and substantial cuts in government spending, the dismantling of major social safety net programmes, and, most importantly, the introduction of a comprehensive consumption tax, covering most goods and services. The goods and services tax was to pay for the abolition of a number of other taxes, in the name of increased economic efficiency; the cuts to government spending would pay for income tax cuts.

This policy package was the most right-wing ever proposed by the Australian conservative parties, either from opposition or from government. It was reminiscent of the policies of Thatcher and Reagan in the 1980s. A Hewson government would have begun from the premise that there was no legitimate place for the public sector in a modern economy and community.

The parameters of the campaign were set in November 1991, when the opposi-

*Ian Henderson,
international secretary and
assistant national secretary
of the Australian Labor
Party, sets out the reasons
which persuaded Australian
voters to prolong Labor's
record term in office.*

Keating victorious



Industry safer with Labor

tion launched its radical policy programme, under the title 'Fightback!'. The government launched its response to 'Fightback!' - the 'One Nation' economic statement - in February 1992. For the ensuing 12 months - with a Budget, an extensive and intensive programme of local campaigning, and new policies for the campaign - the government and the Labor Party set out to demonstrate as thoroughly as possible the stark contrast between Labor and opposition policy alternatives. The aim was to highlight the severe threat posed by Hewson's policies to the social, industrial and economic progress made during Labor's ten-year period of office. Despite the difficulties associated with the recession, the government was able to point to a wide variety of achievements which would be at risk or dismantled under a Hewson government.

Two of these will serve to illustrate the contrast between Labor and the conservative alternative. In 1984, the government introduced a comprehensive, universal health insurance scheme, 'Medicare', which provides basic health care for all Australians, paid for through a combination of general government revenue and a special income-related tax levy.

The opposition threatened to fundamentally change Medicare, reducing it to only a welfare measure, reintroducing incentives for non-welfare beneficiaries to insure with private health funds, and effectively encouraging doctors to charge unregulated fees. The Labor government of Paul Keating, in contrast, promised to further develop Medicare during its coming term of office.

Medicare is a popular, equitable and efficient foundation for Australia's health care system. It represents many of the strengths of Labor's initiatives - an appropriate role for the public sector, fairness and efficiency in public policy.

For ten years, one of the cornerstones of Labor's economic and social policies has been its Accord with the trade union movement - an agreement negotiated periodically, focused on wages policy, but covering other aspects of the social wage. Most importantly, in recent years wages policy has been aimed at putting a floor under the wages of the lowest paid workers, and promoting wage increases based on improvements in productivity and efficiency in industry.

The Hewson policies would have removed the protections currently available to workers under arbitrated awards for incomes and working conditions, and would effectively have cut trade unions out of representing workers, forcing each employee to accept an individual contract with an employer as the normal means of determining his or her wages and conditions.

Such an arrangement would have undone the gains of the past ten years in forging a cooperative working environment in industry, with the benefits of substantially reduced industrial disputes and a shared commitment to workplace reform for increased productivity and efficiency.

By contrast, during the election campaign, the government and the Australian Congress of Trade Unions, ACTU, published a new Accord, with a commitment to increased

employment, a confirmation that wage increases would be determined by productivity-based workplace bargaining, and a wages safety net for lower paid employees.

22 Labor sought to expose the threat to Australian life and institutions posed by the opposition - threats, for example, to social cooperation and fairness. Labor also announced new policies in several areas including the arts, health, care of the aged, tourism, and proposals for further progress towards an Australian republic by the year 2001. Most importantly, the Keating government reconfirmed with new policies its commitment to promoting new investment, employment growth and increased trade with the Asian region. It was - and is - these policies which the government believes are essential to dealing with the nation's current difficult circumstances.

The centrepiece of the opposition policies was the proposed new tax on consumption - a tax on most goods and services, many of which are not currently taxed at all (including some foods, clothing, such basic services as home maintenance and hair-dressing, and the provision of electricity and water).

Such a tax would have severely cut consumption, taking a large slice out of national spending and therefore growth; to a considerable extent, it would simply have substituted one tax on labour or value-added (GST) for another (payroll tax); it would have set off a new inflationary spiral at a time when government policy, with the support of the trade union movement, had seen inflation cut to a three-decade low; and it would have added to business costs, especially for small businesses.

Moreover, it would not have created a single new job, when employment growth was universally regarded as the first national priority.

The government - and the Labor Party in a sustained locally-based campaign with the active support of the trade union movement - convinced the electorate that at a time of economic difficulty the opposition had no credible answers to the problems facing Australia.

Contrary to the expectations of most observers, there was a net swing and a net gain of seats for Labor in the House of Representatives. Perhaps even more surprisingly, the nation's economic difficulties did not lead to a flight to minor parties, of either right or left. The propensity of alienated voters to flirt with 'independents' or minor-party 'left' candidates which occurred at the 1990 election was not repeated in 1993. Voters expressed a clear view that they wanted the country's problems dealt with by a stable government, seriously determined to accept responsibility for providing sound solutions, rather than simply promoting superficial slogans or wishful thinking.

For Australian democracy this was almost as important as the return of a Labor government based on mainstream Australian values.

Clearly, the government's agenda for the next three years will be focused on increasing employment, on continuing the process of economic and industrial reform to provide for higher living standards in the future, and the implementation of Labor social measures announced in the election campaign. Economic policy will be directed to increasing investment, to job growth, to boosting exports, and to a more efficient micro-economic environment. In social policy, the campaign commitments to improve Medicare, to increase the number of child-care places, and to provide financial support for women with dependent children will be important. So too will the government's determination to establish a place for Australia in the region and the world as a fair and efficient trading nation, and to begin the process of establishing Australia as an independent republic.

In other words, the government will continue to build on the achievements of the past ten years of Labor in office. And it will do so in a fundamentally labour way - in cooperation with the trade union movement, with appropriate roles for both public and private sectors, and pursuing policies with fair outcomes. ■

Lopo do Nascimento,
*a member of the Political
Bureau of the Popular
Movement for the
Liberation of Angola,
MPLA, and a former prime
minister, warns of the
political dangers facing
much of Africa.*

ELECTION RESULTS MUST BE RESPECTED

In Africa we now have a new word: 'Somalisation'. This represents the destruction of human life, the destruction of infrastructures, the destruction of the state. It is this that UNITA, the party which lost the elections in Angola, told the United Nations it was going to do to the country. Before this, Angola was an example of cooperation between the Soviet Union, the United States, the United Nations and the international community to settle an armed conflict.

The fundamental question now asked by some African governments, including the South African government, is this: 'Are free elections really the way to resolve armed conflicts in Africa?' This is dangerous, and the danger is not limited to Angola. There are very close links between the situation in Angola and the situation in South Africa, between the situation in Angola and the situation in Mozambique. And what will happen if the losers in Mozambique refuse to accept the results of the elections? What will happen in South Africa if the army does not accept the election results?

The danger is in the whole of southern Africa. Not solving the Angolan situation would set a very bad precedent which we in Angola can see affecting Africa generally. The first danger is this: what the people who have the strength but do not accept the result of the elections will do. This may already be observed in several African countries: Zaire, Togo and more. The second danger in Africa is what I call 'Maize and democracy'. I recall that during the electoral campaign last year I asked a village chief if he would take part in the campaign. It was September, the month when the fields are made ready for sowing, and he answered: 'But I eat maize, not democracy'.

This means that if the international community does not help those countries attempting change, if they continue helping countries where the governments are badly run, and those where the governments abuse human rights, they do not help countries following the path of democracy, and people will be disappointed. We in Africa are witnessing the application of market economy principles without solidarity, the application of ultra-liberalism, and it is mainly the peasants who will be placed in a difficult situation, and who will say: 'Democracy is not going to solve my problems'.

Analyses of the Angolan situation must be based upon four main principles: the first is that there can be no military solutions to the conflict. In Angola, you might win battles, but you can never win the war. The second principle is that the negotiations which are being set up must take more into account than the military situation in the area. They must also take into account the interests of all the parties, the interests of civil society and not only the results of the military confrontation, because in so doing, one takes into account only the interests of armed people, and not those of the whole population. The third principle is that only an efficient democratisation of society - and by this we mean not only having ten or twenty political parties, but also effective control by civil society - can help to solve the problems which we are experiencing. And the last principle is that our party considers a return to the pre-election situation totally unacceptable. This would mean a return to a one-party state.

After 30 years of war - 14 years of war of independence and 16 years of civil war - we achieved a peace agreement, signed in Portugal on 31 May 1991. This agreement had four important elements: a cease-fire, which was signed; demobilisation of all the armies, be it the government army or the UNITA army, under the supervision of the United Nations; the creation of a new army of 50,000 men, backed by the western nations; and the carrying out of elections. These four tasks were to be accomplished

in eighteen months. We can now say that we left very little time to carry them out. At the time, we had suggested three years for the demobilisation, the forming of an army, the setting up of a government to oversee the whole situation, and to disarm not only the army, but also people's minds. But the elections in the United States were taking place in November 1992 and some people wanted to see Mr. Bush's re-election preceded by Mr. Savimbi's election in Angola. For this reason, the international community was forced to accept a reduction in the amount of time granted to carry out these tasks. Under the terms of the demobilisation, 170,000 men were to be demobilised. The government released 75 per cent of its men, UNITA only 15 per cent. The new army, which was to comprise 50,000 men, finally comprised only 16,000: 12,000 men from the government, and 4,000 from UNITA. The elections were carried out with the help of United Nations observers, as well as SI observers. Eighteen parties took part in the elections, and deputies from twelve parties were elected. The MPLA, the party which had been in power, won the elections with 53 per cent of the vote, and UNITA, the second most supported party, got 34 per cent of the vote.



Dos Santos campaigns ...

After the elections, a government of national unity was formed, with seven parties. The main party invited the other six, including UNITA, to form a government with it. Given that the tasks faced by Angola were not ones which could be resolved by one party, a government of national unity seemed acceptable.

One week after the elections, UNITA, the second party, refused to accept the results of the elections which the United Nations, as well as all of the observers, had considered free and fair. They rejected the result. They recalled their soldiers from the joint armed forces, took to the bush, and began militarily to take over the whole country. During the months of October, November and December, they occupied nearly 60 per cent of the country. They carried out what I have called 'Somalisation', started to destroy the infrastructure, to shoot officers of other parties, to blow up bridges to prevent people from travelling between one town and another. The government found itself in a very precarious situation without an army, having demobilised its own. It had started to form a new one, but an army is not simply a gathering of men; you need a driving force, a leadership, and more and more people were beginning to ask the government: 'What are you doing if you are not capable even of defending people who have nothing to do with either side?' The government's only strength was the police, which was incapable of fighting soldiers. The United Nations made a first attempt to re-start dialogue. A meeting took place under the auspices of the UN on 27 November, with both sides taking part, together with the UN and the observers. A cease-fire was agreed upon as a first step, to be followed by discussions.

Under international pressure, both sides gathered in Addis Ababa in January, under the auspices of the United Nations. Some positive conclusions were reached in this meeting, in particular the reiteration of support for the Portugal Agreements, the reconfirmation of the validity of the election result, and the reaffirmation that UNITA would send its deputies and its chosen members of government to take up their place in the National Assembly and government. Some of the agreements concerned the future role of the police. This meeting was to have been followed by further talks on 10 February, in Addis Ababa, leading to the signing of the cease-fire. Unfortunately, UNITA refused to attend these new talks set up by the United Nations. They put forward logistical reasons for not attending, but we know that they planned on taking another town in order to appear to be in a stronger position at the negotiating table. No military conquest, however, can ever be said to strengthen a party's position. On the contrary it weakens it, because it is always the people who pay.

The post-electoral conflict has the support of foreign countries, notably Zaire; and when I say Zaire, I am not talking about the government, but about the troops loyal to President Mobutu, which are taking part in the fighting alongside UNITA troops. They are also taking part in the mining of diamonds from a mine occupied by UNITA

P. Aventurier/Frank Spooner



...to get things moving

and these diamonds are being used to pay for the war.

The South Africans are also involved. Since October, I personally have had discussions with the South African government in order to prevent the involvement of South African bodies in the Angolan conflict. The answer which we have consistently received has been that the South African government is not officially involved in the situation, only South African organisations and individuals. But a very straightforward question presents itself; organisations might be able to provide tee-shirts and propaganda, but aeroplanes, ammunition and military equipment are things which no private organisation could provide. The problem is that there are two branches to the South African intelligence service: one branch is the direction of internal affairs, whose task was to destabilise the ANC, to create Inkatha, and to destabilise all of the democratic bodies in South Africa. This part of the intelligence service is currently under investigation, not only by the South African judiciary, but also by the United Nations. Alongside this branch is another, the

direction of external affairs, which is still operating, whose task was to destabilise Angola, Namibia and Mozambique.

The South Africans say, and this is an official statement, that elections are not an answer to problems and conflicts. They want to apply this theory, firstly in Angola, next in Mozambique, in order then to use it later in South Africa itself.

Now, what do we expect from the international community?

Firstly, not to abandon the Angolan question. In today's world, there are plenty of problems, and one might be tempted simply to abandon this one to its fate. We believe that the United Nations and other political organisations must keep abreast of the situation in Angola.

Secondly, the international community must reaffirm, as we have done, that there can be no military solution to this conflict. All of the parties must sit together around a table and talk about their differences, and how to solve the problems.

Thirdly, the validity of the agreements signed in Portugal must be reaffirmed, as well as the validity of the elections and of the institutions born of those elections.

Fourthly, we must put pressure upon the countries with the capacity to act on UNITA, mainly South Africa, Zaire, Morocco, the Ivory Coast. These are the countries which are able to put pressure on UNITA, to stop the war, to solve political problems in a political way.

Within Angola, it is up to us. We are attempting to avoid the 'Somalisation' of the country, and are carrying out discussions with members of UNITA. Seventy deputies were elected from UNITA to the Assembly, and several of them are ready to return to the Assembly at the beginning of the next session. Fifteen UNITA generals left the joint armed forces, but seven returned, thanks to discussions which we had with them. We hope that at the international level the problems of Angola will continue to be monitored. As I have already underlined, the danger is not only in Angola, but in the whole of southern Africa.

There will be elections in Mozambique, after a conflict. There will be elections in South Africa. If the Angolan question is not solved, these questions will be left hanging and nothing will be solved. ■

Ellen Bird reviews ...

When the Wall came down

Edited by Harold James and Marla Stone

Routledge, New York, 1992, and London, 1993

ISBN 0 415 90590 7

Originally prepared for a course on recent German history at Princeton University in the United States, this collection of writings from 1989 and 1990 on German unification is already a fascinating, surprising and poignant historical document.

Among the more than seventy pieces collected are speeches and articles by politicians, journalists and intellectuals in both western and eastern Germany, other parts of Europe and around the world. As editor Harold James remarks in his introduction, it is 'an illuminating example of how analysts and politicians interpret events through a dense filter of hypotheses about the causes of events, previous experiences, and externalisation of their own pressing preoccupations'.

But its greatest impact is just as a first-hand record and reminder of developments already half forgotten by those not directly involved - a reminder of the incredulity, the shock, the rejoicing, the fear at events which had seemed unthinkable and which

just three years or so later belong firmly to history.

The book begins with Chancellor Kohl's speech to the West German parliament on 28 November 1989, when he presented, in response to the opening of the Berlin Wall and the growing political and popular crisis in the GDR, a 'ten-point programme' for German unity. Many then thought him over-optimistic in foreseeing, and in offering, speedy unity. Today's reader sees the Chancellor's over-optimism elsewhere: 'In a few weeks time,' he concluded his speech, 'we enter the final decade of this century, a century which has seen so much misery, bloodshed and suffering. There are today many promising signs that the nineties will bring more peace and freedom in Europe...'

FREEDOM AND SOLIDARITY IN A CHANGING WORLD

XIX CONGRESS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

BERLIN, 15-17 SEPTEMBER 1992



Available in English, French or Spanish

The Congress book, including the introductory speeches and resolutions of the XIX Congress, together with other essential information on the Socialist International.

£ 10 (Sterling) each

Special price for bulk orders (more than 10 copies) £ 8 each

All orders: please add 20 per cent (Europe) or 30 per cent (outside Europe) for postage and packing

Please send me

- copies English edition
- copies Edition française
- copies Edición en español

Unit price

Total price

+ 20 per cent / 30 per cent postage and packing

TOTAL

I enclose a Sterling cheque or international money order made payable to the Socialist International

Name

Address

Please return to Socialist International
Maritime House, Old Town
LONDON, SW4 0JW, United Kingdom

Here too is Willy Brandt's moving and now famous speech made earlier that month, shortly after the ending of travel restrictions for GDR citizens, to thousands of east and west Berliners outside the West Berlin City Hall. 'This is a beautiful day after a long journey', he began, in a moving evocation of the feeling of the moment.

'I would like to take this opportunity', Walter Momper, then the mayor of West Berlin, told the crowd on the same occasion, 'to announce that the government of the GDR has informed us that more border crossings will be opened in approximately one hour'. The presence of such extracts gives the book great immediacy and appeal.

Particularly striking too are some of the writings from the GDR. Martin Ahrends' 'Obituary for Life in Sleeping Beauty's Castle' is one writer's eloquent attempt to encapsulate satirically but wistfully a distinct East German lifestyle now - for better or worse - extinct.

But this is primarily an academic text. Many contributions chosen are dense and detailed and perhaps not so anecdotal as the general reader would like. The range, however, is impressive, including political speeches, newspaper articles and editorials, press and broadcast interviews, documents and declarations of the GDR organisations New Forum and Democracy Now, and even the text of the Two-plus-Four Treaty. The range of views reflected is also wide, with the words of government and opposition politicians, and extracts from the mainstream, specialist and dissident media.

Common to every piece included is a resonance for today's reader vastly different from that which it had for its original audience. Perhaps only Willy Brandt speaks directly also to the future: 'Those who come hereafter will not always find it easy to understand clearly the historical context in which we are situated... we have a lot ahead of us until the end of the division'.

Hugh O'Shaughnessy

Peru under García

by John Crabtree

London 1992, Macmillan in association with St Antony's College, Oxford
ISBN 0-333-54221-5

Peru's APRA

by Carol Graham

London and Boulder, Colorado, 1992,
Lynn Rienner
ISBN 1-55587-306-5

John Crabtree is clearly in sympathy with the strategic objective of a fairer and more modern society that Alan García espoused during his time as president of Peru. Crabtree, who formerly taught at St Antony's and at the University of São Paulo, is presently Latin American editor at Oxford Analytica and is a leading European Latin Americanist. He eschews the sort of immediate condemnation of the former Peruvian president which was heaped on him throughout the five years of his presidency by those in his own country and abroad who had an interest in keeping Peruvian society in its chronic state of backwardness.

The account he gives of García's five years in power is therefore all the more credible and telling. He tells of the poor economic and political state of Peru when in 1985 García took the country over from the ageing and ineffectual Fernando Belaúnde in the wake of a landslide victory for APRA at the polls. García set his course from his first policy speech to Congress. In it he espoused an economically heterodox position whose most

memorable element was a decision to pay no more than ten per cent of export earnings on servicing the country's large international debt. Crabtree's account recalls forcefully and clearly the economic growth and success that occurred in the first years of the García presidency.

He considers an error his decision to nationalise the banks, a measure that was resented even outside that small section of the Peruvian population able to avail themselves of the services of a bank and that served to give some ephemeral political popularity to the conservative Mario Vargas Llosa.

The author perhaps does not give enough importance to the climate of hostility against García and his economic heterodoxy which was fashioned in the industrialised countries and in particular in the UN International Monetary Fund and the UN World Bank.

In her book Carol Graham, a US scholar, takes a longer look at the party from its founding by Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre in 1924 and includes a postscript written after Alberto Fujimori's seizure of supreme power on 2 April last year.

Though her work is simple and clearly written and does contain some insights, she is clearly not as economically literate or as at home with her subject as Crabtree is.

Those who rejoiced at the fall of García and APRA and welcomed the victory of Alberto Fujimori now have the impossible task of convincing us that the unexpected victor is in any way superior to his predecessor. Whatever his faults may or may not have been, Alan García fought and won a political battle democratically and left office when his constitutional term came to an end. That is more than the present *de facto* head of state can claim.

The Socialist International

Maritime House
Old Town
Clapham
London SW4 0JW
United Kingdom

Telephone (44 71) 627 4449
Telefax (44 71) 720 4448/498 1293
Telex 261735 SISEC
Cables INTESOCN LONDON SW4

ABOUT THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

The Socialist International is the worldwide organisation of socialist, social democratic and labour parties. It is the oldest and largest international political association, currently comprising 111 parties and organisations from all continents.

The Socialist International, whose origins go back to 1864, 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 most recent congress of the Socialist International, in Berlin in September 1992, elected Pierre Mauroy, former prime minister of France, as president. Luis Ayala (Chile) was elected secretary general in June 1989, and was re-elected by the Berlin congress.

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 regularly, as well as special conferences on particular topics or issues.

Committees, councils and study groups have been established for work on peace, security and disarmament, economic policy, development and the environment, human rights, Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, Africa, the Asia-Pacific region, indigenous people, and finance and administration. These committees or study groups have specific programmes of work and meet regularly. The Socialist International also frequently sends missions or delegations to various countries or regions of the world.

The Socialist International, as a non-governmental organisation, collaborates with the United Nations, and works internationally with many other organisations.

President

Pierre Mauroy

Honorary Presidents

Gonzalo Barrios
Rodrigo Borja
Ed Broadbent
Alan García
Anita Gradin
Elazar Granot
Anker Jørgensen
Lionel Jospin
Neil Kinnock
Michael Manley
Sicco Mansholt
Eiichi Nagasue
Irène Pétry
Ramón Rubial
Leopold Senghor
Enrique Silva Cimma
Mário Soares
Guy Spitaels
Hans-Jochen Vogel

Secretary General

Luis Ayala

Vice-Presidents

Gro Harlem Brundtland
(First Vice President)
Leonel Brizola
Philippe Busquin
Ingvar Carlsson
Bettino Craxi
Abdou Diouf
Björn Engholm
Laurent Fabius
Felipe González
Carlos González Márquez
António Guterres
Erdal İnönü
Mostafa Khalil
Wim Kok
Audrey McLaughlin
Andreas Papandreuou
Jaime Paz Zamora
Carlos Andrés Pérez
Yitzhak Rabin
Poul Nyrup Rasmussen
John Smith
Mario Solórzano
Kalevi Sorsa
Makoto Tanabe
Franz Vranitzky

Ex-Officio
Willy Claes (PES)
Jean-Pierre Cot (Socialist Group,
European Parliament)
Alfred Gusenbauer
(IUSY/IFM-SEI)
Anne-Marie Lizin (SIW)
José Francisco Peña Gómez
(SICLAC)

Full member parties

Popular Socialist Party, PSP, Argentina
 People's Electoral Movement, MEP, Aruba
 Australian Labor Party, ALP
 Social Democratic Party of Austria, SPÖ
 Barbados Labour Party
 Socialist Party, PS, Belgium
 Socialist Party, SP, Belgium
 Revolutionary Left Movement, MIR, Bolivia
 Democratic Labour Party, PDT, Brazil
 Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, BSDP
 Progressive Front of Upper Volta, FPV, Burkina Faso
 New Democratic Party, NDP/NPD, Canada
 Radical Party of Chile, PR
 National Liberation Party, PLN, Costa Rica
 Movement for a New Antilles, MAN, Curaçao
 EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus
 Czech Social Democratic Party, Czech Republic
 Social Democratic Party, Denmark
 Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, Dominican Republic
 Democratic Left Party, PID, Ecuador
 National Democratic Party, NDP, Egypt
 National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, El Salvador
 Estonian Social Democratic Party, ESDP
 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
 Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala, PSD
 Revolutionary Progressive Nationalist Party of Haiti, PANPRA
 Social Democratic Party, Iceland
 The Labour Party, Ireland
 Israel Labour Party
 United Workers' Party of Israel, MAPAM
 Democratic Party of the Left, PDS, Italy
 Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI
 Italian Socialist Party, PSI
 Peoples' National Party, PNP, Jamaica
 Japan Democratic Socialist Party, DSP
 Social Democratic Party of Japan, SPDJ
 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
 Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP, Morocco
 Labour Party, PvdA, Netherlands
 New Zealand Labour Party
 Social Democratic and Labour Party, SDLP, Northern Ireland
 Norwegian Labour Party, DNA
 Revolutionary Febrerista Party, PRF, Paraguay
 Socialist Party, PS, Portugal
 Puerto Rican Independence Party, PIP
 San Marino Socialist Party, PSS
 Socialist Party of Senegal, PS
 Social Democratic Party of Slovakia, Slovak Republic
 Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE
 Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP
 Social Democratic Party of Switzerland
 Constitutional Democratic Assembly, RCD, Tunisia

Social Democratic People's Party, SHP, Turkey
 Democratic Socialists of America, DSA, USA
 Social Democrats USA, SDUSA
 Democratic Action, AD, Venezuela

Consultative parties

Social Democratic Party of Albania, PSD
 Socialist Forces Front, FFS, Algeria
 African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde, PAICV
 Party for Democracy, PPD, Chile
 Socialist Party of Chile, PS
 Liberal Party, Colombia
 Fiji Labour Party
 SIUMUT, Greenland
 Working People's Alliance, WPA, Guyana
 Party of the National Congress of Democratic
 Movements, KONAKOM, Haiti
 Ivory Coast Popular Front, FPI
 Party for National Unity, VITM, Madagascar
 Mongolian Social Democratic Party, MSDP
 Nepali Congress Party
 Pakistan People's Party, PPP
 Peruvian Aprista Party, PAP
 Philippines Democratic Socialist Party, PDSP
 Polish Socialist Party, PPS*
 Romanian Social Democratic Party, PSDR*
 St Kitts-Nevis Labour Party
 St Lucia Labour Party, SLP
 St Vincent and the Grenadines Labour Party, SVGLP
 Popular Unity Movement, MUP, Tunisia
 Party for People's Government, PGP, Uruguay
 People's Electoral Movement, MEP, Venezuela

* members of SUCEE

Observer Parties

Democratic Union of Progressive Forces, UDFP, Benin
 Movement for Democracy and Social Progress, MDPS, Benin
 Patriotic Front for Progress, FPP, Central African Republic
 M-19 Democratic Alliance, Colombia
 Hungarian Social Democratic Party, MSZDP
 Hungarian Socialist Party, MSZP
 Sandinista National Liberation Front, FSLN, Nicaragua
 Social Democratic Party of Slovenia, SDSS

Fraternal organisations

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

Associated organisations

Asia-Pacific Socialist Organisation, APSO
 Party of European Socialists, PES
 International Federation of the Socialist and
 Democratic Press, IFSDP
 International Union of Socialist Democratic Teachers, IUSDT
 Jewish Labour Bund, JLB
 Labour Sports International, CSIT
 Socialist Group, European Parliament
 Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe, SUCEE
 World Labour Zionist Movement, WLZM

SI MISSION TO SOMALIA

From February 3 to 5, a delegation of the Socialist International visited Somalia. The delegation was led by António Guterres, a vice-president of the Socialist International and leader of the Socialist Party of Portugal, PS. Its other members were Steen Christensen, general secretary of the Socialist Party of Denmark; Günther Verheugen MP, Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD; Bara Diouf MP, Socialist Party of Senegal, PS, and José Lamego MP, Socialist Party of Portugal.

The visit of the delegation was organised by the Socialist International in collaboration with the special representative of the secretary general of the United Nations in Somalia, whom the delegation met in Mogadishu. They held further meetings with representatives of the UN Transitional Assistance Force, UNITAF, and the UN Development Programme, UNDP. From the ruined capital city, they also travelled to a reception camp sheltering some 3,000 civilians - mostly women and children - jointly

run by UNICEF, the Red Cross and other development charities, and protected by US forces.

In Athens, António Guterres reported on behalf of the delegation to the SI Council (see page 35), which discussed the situation in Somalia and how best the SI might contribute to the efforts of the United Nations on the humanitarian level and to the future peaceful development of the country. The Council subsequently passed a resolution on Somalia (see page 40).

The unique political journal >>>

Recent contributors include

Pierre Mauroy, president of the Socialist International, on democratic socialism in the year 2000

Felipe González, prime minister of Spain, on international interdependency

Jean-Bertrand Aristide, president of Haiti, on his people's resistance to the illegal regime of General Cédras

Lopo do Nascimento, former prime minister of Angola, on peace and democratisation in Africa

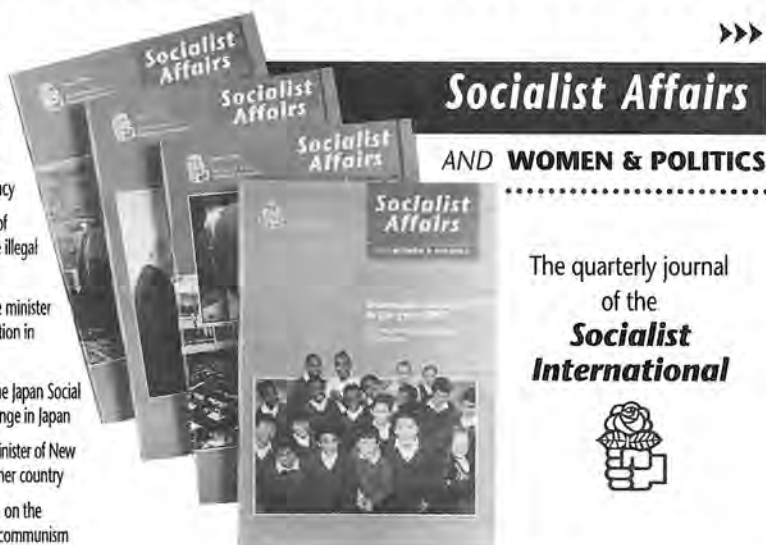
Makoto Tanabe, former leader of the Japan Social Democratic Party, on politics and change in Japan

Helen Clark, former deputy prime minister of New Zealand, on changing political life in her country

Mário Soares, president of Portugal, on the Pandora's Box opened by the end of communism

Abdou Diouf, president of Senegal, on democracy and development

plus parliamentary diaries, political profiles, book reviews



The quarterly journal
of the
**Socialist
International**



Subscription for a year's issues only £12 (UK) or £15 (other countries).
Write now for details of special rates for bulk orders.



the only publication which carries detailed reports on all the activities and statements of the world's oldest and largest international political organisation

the only publication which has regular global coverage of democratic socialist politics - plus the latest news from the 111 parties and organisations on all continents which now belong to the Socialist International

the journal which brings together as contributors distinguished politicians to write on concrete political matters

ELECTION OBSERVERS IN SENEGAL

At the invitation of the Socialist government, a delegation of the Socialist International observed the presidential elections held in Senegal on 21 February. The members of the SI delegation were Francisco Assis, Socialist Party, PS, Portugal; Brigitte Bloch, Socialist Party, PS, France; Mohamed Lakhssassi, Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP, Morocco; Hechmi Amri, Constitutional Democratic Assembly, RCD, Tunisia; François N'Guesan Bla, Ivory Coast Popular Front, FPI, and Aristides Lima, African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde, PAICV.

The presidential election was the first to be held under a new electoral code, which aimed to involve all the country's political forces in the organisation and

counting of the vote.

The SI group was in Senegal from 19 to 23 February. Before and during the election, they met a number of leading personalities from the governing Socialist Party, from the Senegalese Democratic Party, PSD; the African Party for Democracy and Socialism, AJ/PADS; and the Democratic Labour Party League, LD/MPT. They also had the opportunity to meet other groups of international observers.

On election day, some members of the delegation observed the voting in the capital city, Dakar, and the surrounding areas, while others visited polling stations in Saint-Louis, some 300 kilometres north of Dakar, as well as in other towns

en route.

The delegation witnessed a calm and largely correct voting process, despite some practical and administrative problems.

The final result, proclaimed with some delay after disagreements on the application of the new electoral code, showed a decisive victory for President Abdou Diouf, leader of the Socialist Party of Senegal and a vice-president of the Socialist International (see Socialist Notebook, page 66).

The Senegalese government has subsequently announced proposals, with all-party support, to amend the code before the legislative elections due to take place in May.

BRANDT REMEMBERED IN BARCELONA

The Party of Socialists of Catalonia, PSC-PSOE, the organisation of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE, in Catalonia, organised a ceremony to celebrate the life and work of the late Willy Brandt, former president of the Socialist International, at the Autonomous University of Barcelona on 4 March. It was chaired by Josep Maria Bricall, the rector of the University and among the speakers were Pasqual Maragall, mayor of Barcelona; Raimon Obiols, general secretary of the PSC and member of the federal executive of the PSOE; Klaus Lindenberg, chef de cabinet of Willy Brandt, and Pierre Mauroy, president of the Socialist International.

Klaus Lindenberg, Brandt's collaborator from 1976 until his death, said of his later years that 'he was able, in his thoughts and in what he said, to be always abreast of the times. What is more, until his death he was in his way of thinking much ahead

of the way of thinking of his epoch. As he got older he achieved greater intellectual youth. On a personal note, he added that 'Willy Brandt was a special person and we all owe him a debt of gratitude. He enriched our lives, however modest they were'.

Pierre Mauroy recalled the qualities of his predecessor as SI president. 'What I wish to retain of Willy Brandt is his universality', he said. 'Willy Brandt was a man who refused to accept the unacceptable.... Willy Brandt was a man who had been enriched by testing experiences, testing experiences which he always overcame and which were always the bases for new commitments.'

He spoke of Brandt's Nobel Peace Prize and of the work the former German chancellor had done in expanding the International throughout the world.

'We are proud to be his heirs. Let us be worthy of that heritage.'



SI COUNCIL IN ATHENS

The first meeting of the SI Council to be held in Greece took place on 9 - 10 February 1993 at the invitation of PASOK.

The main theme on the Council's agenda was 'Peace, democracy and economic cooperation'.

In his opening address to the Council in Athens, SI President Pierre Mauroy said: 'Let us not forget that the very idea of democracy was born here thousands of years ago. But it remains a new idea which must still today inspire and guide our work'.

He recalled a visit to Athens in

the early 1980s, when then Prime Minister Papandreou hosted a meeting of European social democratic heads of government, including Olof Palme, Mario Soares, Bettino Craxi, Kalevi Sorsa, Felipe González and Mauroy himself. He remarked on how little able they had then been to predict developments.

However, he added, 'the choices we made at that time, the choice for Europe, for firmness towards communism, certainly played an important role in subsequent events'.

Evoking these memories, the SI president stressed that 'in setting our priorities, we must look at the road we have travelled...





*Pierre
Mauroy with
Andreas
Papandreou
and Luis
Ayala*

we must fully take on our responsibility for the times to come. Responsibility for defining a more satisfactory economic system. Responsibility too for the emergence of a new balance in the world... We are now facing profound questions for social democracy in post-communist society'.

Pierre Mauroy went on to address the Council's main theme of 'Peace, democracy and economic cooperation', expressing his conviction that 'the Socialist International is the best possible framework for tackling the immense challenges of this new period'. Willy Brandt, he said, had left behind him an organisation whose universality and influence made it a point of reference for all those on the side of progress and struggling against poverty and injustice.

He spoke of the International's active work for freedom, human rights and democracy, and of the need for ever more systematic initiatives in support of the democratic electoral process worldwide; in particular, the International, he said, would seek to collaborate more closely with the United Nations in its work of assisting and observing elections.

He spoke also of the need for ideological clarity when faced with the great questions of social

justice, security and economic regulation at national and international level. Alongside the grave military conflicts, such as that in the former Yugoslavia, requiring the clearest and strongest response from democratic socialists internationally, he placed those third world countries struggling for democratisation, and the risk to stability posed by poverty and inequality, as well as the crisis of social progress being experienced by the most developed countries. 'From the Socialist International must come a global plan which builds on all the gains and successes of social democracy in order to sustain those gains and adapt them to the present historical circumstances', he said, 'and we must also seek out many frameworks for debating our ideas, with trade unions, associations, international organisations, representatives of the economic and financial world'.

The SI president made a number of suggestions for future initiatives, such as the organisation of a 'summer school', and increased activities at regional level. He also stressed the importance of the concentrated and specialised work carried out by various committees of the International.

He concluded, on a note of optimism, 'we are fighters for a

great cause, which we must pursue for the sake of humanity. Strong in the gains made throughout the last century, we must look to further victories for the next century'.

Welcoming the SI delegates to Athens, PASOK Leader Andreas Papandreou paid tribute to the International as a 'meeting point for all progressive and democratic powers', and to those SI leaders who had been good friends to the Greek people and stood by the country during the hard period of resistance against dictatorship.

Papandreou referred to 'startling developments on our planet' - the internationalisation of production and the development process, the degradation of the environment and the new forms of concentration of economic power. The greatest challenges facing the Socialist International and its member parties, he said, were to project strongly our vision for people and the world, both North and South; to distinguish our policies from those of reactionary, neo-liberal forces which had led to worldwide recession and the dramatic rise of unemployment and increase in inequality; and to give radical meaning to our ideals of peace, democracy, development, social justice and solidarity.

He also referred to the instabil-

**President
Aristide**

ity prevailing in his own region, as in many parts of the world, with the risk that the war in the former Yugoslavia might spread. Given the geopolitical situation of their country - a member state of the European Community, with historical and traditional ties with the Balkans and the Mediterranean - the Greek people were fully aware of the present risks and of the need to reach a peace agreement. Having gone through two world wars, the first of which started in the Balkans, he added, they firmly believed that peace terms must be imposed not by means of military supremacy and coercion, but through close cooperation in pursuit of economic and social development, with full respect for human rights and for the rights of all the peoples of the former Yugoslavia. He appealed to world powers to work together to restore peace in the Balkans before it was too late.

Papandreou went on to express support for the United Nations and for the development of collective responsibility and collective security systems. He stressed the need for the international community to ensure with equal stringency the implementation of all UN resolutions.

He underlined the pressing crises around the world, including developments in many republics of the former Soviet Union, and the extreme situation facing many countries of the South, where the dilemma, he said, was: 'peace or war; development or poverty; life or ecological destruction'.

He supported, in particular, regional integration efforts and the systematic ideological countering of neo-liberalism, in defence of workers' rights and social justice. The dominant factor distinguishing socialist economic policy must be concrete proposals on employment.

The leader of the host party ended by recounting an ancient Greek myth:

'When Epimetheus was distrib-



uting the gifts of the gods to all earthly creatures, he completely forgot to spare some for humans. In order to remedy this injustice, his brother Prometheus stole fire and the arts from the workshop of the gods and offered them to men, so that they could manufacture weapons to defend themselves from the strongest animals. Nevertheless, the beasts continued to kill many people, as they lived alone and scattered. So the people got together and built cities. But even then, they treated one another unjustly, lacking the necessary political art, so they continued to scatter and to perish. So Zeus, the father of the gods, fearing that the human race would become extinct, sent Hermes to bring people decency and justice with which to restore harmony to their cities and create the bonds of friendship.

'People today, like those of the ancient myth, are threatened with destruction. This time not from the beasts, but from ignorance of the political art which could peacefully settle differences in today's universal 'city'. To my mind it is obvious that we must find refuge in the old divine gifts of decency and justice.'

Pierre Mauroy welcomed to the Council meeting Jaime Paz Zamora, president of Bolivia and a vice-president of the Socialist International. President Paz spoke about the opportunities and contradictions facing social

democracy in today's world and the Socialist International under its new president. He invoked 'the profound contradiction of those peoples who are moving towards the universality of integration, but have an equally passionate and insistent impulse to live their personal identity, to live in their immediate, everyday, local world' - a contradiction whose most extreme example, he said, was to be seen in Europe, where the conflict of nationalisms in the former Yugoslavia was taking place alongside the creation of the single European market and the greater integration brought by the Treaty of Maastricht. This striking juxtaposition of universality and localism was, he said, the sign of our times, and he expected to see it lived out all over the world during the coming century.

Democracy

Under the heading of 'Securing democracy: regional priorities', the SI council focused on the situation in central and eastern Europe, in Angola, in Haiti, and in Pakistan.

Jirí Horák, Czech Social Democratic Party, introduced a discussion on current developments in central and eastern Europe. He stressed that, although economic and political transformation was happening fast all over the



**Far right:
Lopo do
Nascimento**

region, the moral and personal transformation that would have to take place in the wake of communism's collapse would take at least a generation. The region's social democrats must take a long view, therefore, in building themselves into a viable alternative to the present governments. (See Jiri Horák's article, page 15).



The council adopted a resolution on central and eastern Europe (see page 37), reaffirming the support of the International for the continuing process of democratisation and setting out priorities for assistance and cooperation. The resolution also stressed the right of nations to self-determination, whilst refusing violence or the violation of human rights in the name of that self-determination. Finally, it called for the proper implementation of disarmament agreements to prevent nuclear proliferation in the region and for the development of a defensive pan-European security system.

Lopo do Nascimento, a former prime minister of Angola and member of the leadership of the MPLA, was a special guest at the meeting and spoke on the disturbing developments in his country since the elections held in September 1992. The council adopted a resolution, presented by members of the SI delegation which observed the voting last year, expressing deep concern

over the deteriorating situation in Angola and stating that the political bodies democratically elected in 1992 were legitimate and deserved full recognition. (Lopo do Nascimento writes on page 23).

Another special guest at the meeting was President Jean-Bertrand Aristide of Haiti. The president addressed the SI council on the grave situation in his country since the coup d'état of September 1991 which ousted the democratically elected government he headed. The council was also addressed by leaders of the SI member party in Haiti, PANPRA, and the SI consultative party in the country, KON-AKOM. The resolution subsequently adopted (see page 39) gave the strongest support to all efforts being made both in Haiti and internationally for the re-establishment of democracy and the return of President Aristide. (President Aristide writes on page 8).

Senator Iqbal Haider, representing the Pakistan People's Party, a member party of the Socialist International, spoke of the abuse of the democratic and judicial process by the government of that country in recent months, of which the opposition PPP and its leader Benazir Bhutto had been victims. In its resolution on the situation in Pakistan the SI council deplored governmental abuses and failure to tackle lawlessness and crime and called for the protection of political activists and of religious and racial groups in Pakistan.

Peace

Turning to the question of 'Regional conflicts: opportunities for conciliation and dialogue', the council heard from Thorvald Stoltenberg a report on the grave situation in the former Yugoslavia, following his recent visit - the second such visit he had undertaken on behalf of the Socialist International. At the time of the SI council meeting, Stoltenberg was the foreign min-

ister of Norway. He has since been appointed co-chair of the international peace conference on the former Yugoslavia (see People, page 46). A resolution based on his report and setting out 'seven signposts on the road to peace' was adopted by the council, following a discussion (see page 41).

Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, chair of the SI Middle East Committee, reported to the council on his recent high-level talks with political leaders from the region. He stressed the unique forum for dialogue between all parties which the SI Committee could provide in the efforts to overcome the present difficulties in the regional peace process. He also called attention to other important issues which the SI Committee hoped to tackle in the future, including the situation in Afghanistan, in Iraq, in Western Sahara, and affecting the Kurdish people. The council adopted a resolution (see page 39) calling for all parties in the



Middle East to comply with resolutions of the United Nations and for the resumption of the Middle East peace negotiations, as the only solution to the problems of the region.

António Guterres, SI vice-president and leader of the SI delega-

Left:
**President
Paz
Zamora**

**Gro Harlem
Brundtland**

tion which had just returned from Somalia (see page 30), made a report to the council on that visit. The council adopted a resolution (see page 40) based on the delegation's findings, which, while recognising the enormous efforts of US and United Nations forces, of other UN agencies and of the many relief organisations involved in Somalia, and the vast improvement in the security situation there, stressed that humanitarian relief alone could not bring a solution and called for the implementation of further United Nations intervention in the form of the proposed UNOSOM II operation. (To the satisfaction of all in our International, UNOSOM II has since been set in motion).

Economic cooperation

British Labour Leader and SI Vice-President John Smith introduced the council's discussion on international economic cooperation. (John Smith writes on page 4).

Also intervening in this debate, Gro Harlem Brundtland, prime minister of Norway and first vice-president of the Socialist International, said that 'the neo-liberalist market attitudes of the 1980s stand in stark contrast to the real needs of our societies, east and west, north and south. We should now be through with the period of monetarist experiments. It should be overwhelmingly clear that we are suffering from a governance deficit. Twenty million people are out of work in Europe, an obvious sign that we have not been on the right track'. She spoke of the need for a framework to promote economic recovery and innovation as well as environmental improvements.

A resolution of the SI council (see page 38) set out the International's view on a strategy for growth and employment, on support for reforms in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, on reviving the North-South dialogue, on encouraging the environment and sustainable development, and on reforming and strengthening international financial institutions.

Other resolutions adopted by the SI council dealt with Algeria, the consolidation of peace and democracy in Central America, Cuba, Equatorial Guinea,

Mozambique, Togo, and Zaire.

The council decided on the re-establishment of a number of SI committees for the current inter-congress period, and on the establishment of several new committees (see box) as well as on the membership of the statutory SI Finance and Administration Committee, SIFAC.

It was agreed that the Council would next convene in October 1993 and that the main theme of that meeting, to which the whole of the first day's session would be devoted, would be The World Economy.

**SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL
COMMITTEES RE-ESTABLISHED OR
NEWLY-ESTABLISHED BY THE
COUNCIL IN ATHENS**

SI Committee for Africa

SI Committee for the Asia-Pacific

SI Committee for Central and Eastern Europe

SI Committee on the Economy, Development and Environment, SICEDE

SI Committee on Human Rights, SICOHR

SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, SICLAC

SI Committee for the Mediterranean

SI Middle East Committee, SIMEC

SI Peace, Security and Disarmament Council, SIPSAD

SI Working Group on Indigenous People

RESOLUTIONS

ALGERIA

The Council of the Socialist International

- expresses its serious concern at the maintenance of the state of emergency, the continued existence of detention camps, the institution of special courts, the absence of judicial guarantees which comply with international norms, as well as the use of torture;

- supports the action of democratic forces for a rapid return to the democratic process.

ANGOLA

The Socialist International expresses a deep concern over the deterioration of the political and military situation in Angola caused by the non-acceptance by UNITA of the outcome of the legislative and presidential elections held simultaneously on 29 and 30 September 1992.

The SI delegation, which observed the elections in Angola along with the National Electoral Council and the United Nations, declared that the elections could be considered free and fair, and that the results should be accepted by all.

The SI considers that the political bodies already democratically elected are legitimate and deserve international recognition.

The SI calls for an immediate ceasefire, and the full respect for the peace agreements reached in Bicesse, in order to allow the second round of the presidential electoral process to take place.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE AND DEMOCRACY IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The Council of the Socialist International declares that:

During the 90s, Central America has taken steps towards democracy and the consolidation of peace in the region and within the countries.

Stability in the region is essential in order to render possible the effective integration of the seven countries of the Central American isthmus and this integration must have strong social democratic participation.

It is important to consolidate peace and democracy in the region, particularly in El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua.

- The SI expresses its satisfaction with the proposal that the government of Guatemala, with the support of all the political parties and other social forces,

presented on 19 January this year to the Secretary General and the General Assembly of the United Nations, as well as the disposition to dialogue expressed by the Guatemala National Revolutionary Union, URNG, inviting the parties to resume the negotiations in order to put an end to the war, within a reasonable period of time.

- The Council of the SI expresses its support for the incorporation into the Guatemalan government peace commission, of two delegates of the Democratic Socialist Party, convinced that their presence will help to find ways leading to reunion and reconciliation.

Furthermore, it supports all efforts contributing to the peaceful return of the Guatemalan refugees, guaranteeing their safety and the economic situation of the returned families. It also expresses its hope for the implementation and enforcement of human rights in Guatemala.

- Expresses its satisfaction with the suspension of the armed confrontation in El Salvador from 15 December 1992 and urges the government to fully comply with the Peace Agreements, especially with regard to the changes in the armed forces, the transfer of land and the electoral process and congratulates the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, FMLN, on their incorporation into institutional political life, a fact that contributes to reinforcing the climate of goodwill which became apparent after the signing of the Peace Agreements.

Gives its support to its member party, the National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, in its actions towards the establishment in 1994 of a unified national government in El Salvador, a government of national unity, reconciliation and reconstruction.

Acknowledges the historic responsibility of the MNR to consolidate the social democratic option in El Salvador and encourages the unity of the democratic forces.

Supports all the decisions of the MNR to make the elections of 1994 an instrument that will contribute to the democratisation of the country.

The economic adjustments in Nicaragua have led to social instability and a high rate of unemployment. The Council of the SI is concerned at the attempts to return to armed confrontation in order to solve differences, and invites all political and social forces to make efforts to further dialogue and negotiation as a way to advance in the development of democracy and reconciliation.

A delegation of the Socialist International will travel to Central America in support of this resolution.

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

1. The Socialist International fully supports the process of development of democratic societies in central and eastern Europe. We reaffirm that pluralistic democracies tackling the problems of post-communist society must be protected from, and defended against, threats from all directions. In this context we see it as very important that principles of law and democratic and human rights are applied by the governments when reappraising their own past.

2. We know that the stability of these democracies will depend to a large extent on the success of their economic efforts. In this context we see as very dangerous the tendencies to apply neo-liberal economic theories in the process of economic transition without due care for the social impact of the process.

The Socialist International urgently calls on its member parties and trade unions in advanced industrial countries to directly aid the new social democratic parties and institutions in central and eastern Europe. This aid should be directed to helping them gain access to mass media and an effective press. This direct aid should be distinct from the economic aid to the governments in the region.

The governments of the countries whose economies are currently being transformed should realise that the fair distribution of income, the sharing of the social burden, the achievements of the welfare state and strong democratic trade unions are indispensable to the stability of the market economy system.

Substantial transfer of real resources, technology and investment from the western democracies is essential, as is the development of legal and democratic institutions. Without the concrete transfer of resources there is an obvious risk that economic development will be held back, with dangerous consequences for democratic development.

We consider the conversion of the military industry in these countries to be a necessity, helping to pave the way for democratic reform and social stability. This process of arms conversion must also take place in the industrialised countries, so that they do not simply expand their sale of arms to replace sales from central and eastern Europe.

There is a need for coordinated support for the reforms carried out, not only by providing financial aid but also by exchanging experiences and by

offering training opportunities for managers. Training programmes for state employees will help to avoid the possible politicisation of the state bureaucracy resulting from a partisan approach to the reform of that bureaucracy.

A major requirement for economic development of the countries of central and eastern Europe is an expansion of their trading opportunities with the outside world. Only a combination of trade and aid can successfully support the reform process. The lack of trade possibilities for these countries should be at the top of the agenda in the EC, GATT and other relevant bodies.

3. The Socialist International defends the right of nations to self-determination, laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. However the SI categorically rejects the type of nationalism which leads to hatred, discord and war.

The Socialist International reaffirms the need to combine the right to self-determination with strict respect for internationally established and recognised borders, and not to modify these except by an agreement of all nations involved, achieved without the use of force and with respect for the rights of the national and ethnic minorities. In this connection, the Socialist International supports the international recognition of new states established by the peaceful means of negotiation and ratified by a referendum, and their full and immediate integration in all international organisations.

Bearing in mind that ethnic conflict poses a growing danger to peace and stability in central and eastern Europe, the Socialist International calls for full respect for the rights of national and ethnic minorities in the spirit of international conventions on human rights.

Emphasising one's own identity and ethnic origin must under no circumstances lead to violence or the violation of fundamental and human rights.

The Socialist International should also support women's campaigns to resist the spread of new discrimination in work, health and social security. Women should have the right to self-determination in maternity.

The SI must support the political forces which defend and strengthen the rule of law and democratic freedoms. It believes that international aid must be dependent on respect for these principles by the countries concerned.

In a period when xenophobia and racism are growing in Europe, the SI calls on all its constituent organisations to outlaw incitement to racial hatred and introduce formal and informal education at all levels to encourage tolerance of minorities and refugees and opposition to racism and to xenophobia, including the denial, trivialisation or glorification of genocide.

4. The dramatic spread of nationalism through central and eastern Europe poses a risk that violent conflicts might

emerge in this part of Europe. In this context, it is particularly important to ensure the proper implementation of the disarmament agreements and to prevent the proliferation of nuclear arms.

The Socialist International calls for the development of a defensive pan-European security system to guarantee security and stability for all European nations on the basis of common principles.

CUBA

The Socialist International observes the situation in Cuba with concern.

Internally, the economy is deteriorating day by day, and the plight of the Cuban people is worsening.

Externally, the continued illegal blockade by the US is aggravating both economic and political conditions.

We appeal to the new US Administration to lift the blockade and to declare itself ready to talk to Havana.

The Socialist International, anxious to support a peaceful transition to a democratic, multi-party system in Cuba, without foreign interference, suggests to the Cuban government to free all political prisoners and initiate a dialogue with the patriotic and democratic forces.

FURTHERING REGIONAL AND GLOBAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION

A strategy for growth and employment

In a world of ever increasing international interdependence it is now essential that growth and employment be put at the forefront of the international economic agenda. To avert the risk of worldwide recession a new growth-orientated strategy, designed to secure the highest possible levels of employment, should be considered as a top priority by the Group of Seven leading industrialised countries. Key elements of such a strategy should include: coordination by the G7 of their fiscal and monetary policies (including exchange rates) to promote economic expansion and job creation, and to counteract the harmful and destabilising effects of international currency speculation; and an early agreement on the outstanding issues that have delayed the completion of the Uruguay Round of GATT, to ensure that the threat of recession is not exacerbated by the downward spiral of beggar-my-neighbour trade disputes. The European Community must for its part elaborate a programme of regeneration able to put in motion an active policy for growth and employment.

Support for the reforms in eastern Europe and the former USSR

The end of the cold war is an unprecedented opportunity to promote peace, democracy and economic prosperity. But these goals will not be realised if the reforms in eastern Europe are allowed to fail. Increased levels of aid and technical assistance, combined with easier credit terms and improved access to the markets of the major

industrialised countries are urgently needed. The G7 itself will have to assume greater political responsibility than at present to assist and ensure the success of eastern Europe's political and economic reform.

Reviving the North-South dialogue

A renewed commitment to the UN targets for financial flows to the developing countries and more generous measures of debt relief are more important than ever before to restore the economic and social progress in the developing world. Special assistance must be provided to the least developed and still 'debt distressed' nations in sub-Saharan Africa, including the early and full implementation of the Toronto Terms for official debt relief. Investment in human resources, in education and in programmes of poverty-reduction as well as in equal opportunity policies for women must become a focus of the international community's development effort.

Encouraging the environment and sustainable development

The agreements accepted by the international community at the UN Earth Summit on the environment and development must be carried forward. The industrialised countries must take the practical steps that are required to realise the targets accepted in Rio of curbing greenhouse gases and reducing global warming; and they must refrain from dumping the residues of industrial waste on the rest of the world. Developing countries, with the full support of the international community, must ensure that environmental concerns are fully integrated into their own development strategies.

Reforming and strengthening international financial institutions

To improve the predictability, equity, openness and sustainability of the international financial system, in a world of rising protectionism and monetary instability, the fiftieth anniversary of the Bretton Woods system in 1994 should be utilised to establish the conditions for exchange-rate stability and monetary cooperation between the USA, Europe and Japan, as well as adequate levels of development finance. To this end the international economic institutions should be reformed and strengthened and we invite the newly formed SI Economic Committee to develop proposals for consideration by the Socialist International.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

The Socialist International is following with concern the events which have been taking place over the past months in Equatorial Guinea and strongly condemns the numerous arrests, imprisonments and the torture of members of the democratic opposition, all of which represent serious violations of human rights.

These events constitute a new risk to peaceful co-existence in Equatorial Guinea and threaten to bring to an end any possibility of the establishment of democratic processes publicly promised to the international community by President Obiang.

The Socialist International calls on the authorities in Equatorial Guinea to immediately adopt the necessary measures to initiate a real transition process towards democracy, and publicly expresses its support for the Joint Opposition Platform (POC), the main democratic opposition body which has repeatedly expressed its willingness to talk to the regime in order to find a peaceful and democratic solution to the present situation.

The Socialist International, fully committed to the defence of freedoms, wishes to send a message of encouragement and solidarity to all democrats in Equatorial Guinea and to express its desire to contribute actively to the establishment of a peaceful and democratic future in that country.

HAITI

The Council of the Socialist International, meeting in Athens, Greece, on February 9-10, 1993,

Reaffirming the principles of freedom, justice and solidarity which inspire the Socialist International,

Acknowledging the efforts made by the international community through the United Nations and the Organisation of American States, and by the governments of democratic countries

who, acting together or individually, have consistently demanded the re-establishment of democracy in Haiti,

Conscious of the threats posed to democracies in many parts of the world, and the negative effects that would result if dictators and those who usurp power are immune to justice,

Recognising that the definitive solution of the political, social and economic problems in Haiti requires the assistance and help of the international community and the setting-up of multilateral and bilateral programmes of cooperation,

Reiterates its condemnation of the coup d'état of September 30, 1991 and the policy of repression by the de facto military government, as well as the continuing violations of human rights which have resulted in deaths, disappearances, assassinations, preventive repression, persecution, arbitrary arrests, torture, extortion, ill treatment and other forms of cruelty meted out by the de facto authorities to the Haitian people;

Give its strongest support to the efforts being made both within and outside the country, for the re-establishment of democratic institutions and for President Jean-Bertrand Aristide's return to the legitimate exercise of power, in accordance with the sovereign will of the people;

Support the sanctions which the international community has agreed against the de facto military government;

Express its concern for the fate of the thousands of Haitians who have been or are being sent back to their country after trying to escape abroad by whatever means, especially in dangerous and fragile vessels; appeal to the international community and particularly to American countries to apply the normal standards of humanitarian law to this situation; and to demand from the de facto government of Haiti that it respects human rights in general and the life and physical well-being of Haitian citizens who have been forced to return to their country;

Appeal to its member parties for their respective countries to assist, once the legitimate government is reinstated, towards the realisation of a comprehensive development plan for Haiti, of which the following essential elements should be underlined: the improvement of the administration of justice and the penitentiary system, the modernisation of civil and penal legislation, the clear separation of the police from the armed forces, the elimination of the position of section leaders, the resolution of the problem of land-ownership, the real separation of state powers and the mutual respect of their spheres of influence. The SI condemns the elections of 18 January 1993, organised in an unconstitutional manner, which have already been rejected by the UN, the OAS and vari-

ous other democratic governments. The SI also calls for the setting-up of social and economic programmes aimed at improving the deplorable living conditions of the vast majority of the population, and

Pay constant attention to the development of events in Haiti; to cooperate with the efforts being made towards the restoration of the legitimate government and to demand respect for the human rights of the Haitian people.

THE MIDDLE EAST

The negotiations between Israel and its Arab neighbours, started in November 1991 in Madrid, have reached a serious crisis. It was after a new increase of brutal terrorism by the fundamentalist Hamas and Islamic Jihad organisations in the occupied territories and also in Israel itself, that the Israeli government expelled, on 17 December 1992, 416 Palestinians accused of being leading activists of these organisations. This expulsion is contrary to international law and an infringement of human rights. For this reason, the Security Council of the United Nations, in its Resolution 799, demands that Israel revoke these expulsions.

In this situation, it is crucially important to continue the peace negotiations.

The Socialist International therefore demands the following:

1. All terrorist activities must be firmly condemned both for their own nature and because they represent a fundamental obstacle to the current peace process.
2. Israel should fulfil all the demands of Resolution 799 of the United Nations Security Council and allow the return of all the expelled Palestinians. The Israeli government's decision of 1 February 1993 is a step in the right direction, but is not sufficient.
3. All those who have participated in the negotiations are called upon to return to the negotiating table in order to pursue the negotiations based on United Nations Resolutions 242 and 338 and the Madrid Initiative.
4. The Socialist International is pleased to see that the Israeli parliament has lifted the ban on contacts with the PLO. It is now time to develop the necessary consequences in this spirit.
5. The Socialist International also welcomes the changes initiated by the Israeli government in its settlement policy in the occupied territories.
6. The United Nations, the industrialised nations, and those cooperating with developing countries, are called upon to start examining now what investment projects can be set up in the still occupied territories after the end of terrorism and the return of the expelled Palestinians, especially in the field of infrastructure.
7. The United States, and also the Europeans and the Arab States, must

use their influence on those states supporting groups in the occupied territories which are refusing to negotiate, to withdraw that support.

8. The Socialist International invites its Middle East Committee, SIMEC, to search out all the possibilities which, through meetings and through dialogue between all the parties involved in the conflict, may further the negotiations necessary for peace in the region.

9. A peace agreement must include, as well, an end to internal conflict and external intervention in Lebanon, where a member party is active, and the full restoration of that country's unity and sovereignty.

Terrorism and military force are not the answer to the problems of the region. The only solution for attaining the necessary peace and cooperation is, in the interests of all, to negotiate.

MOZAMBIQUE

In view of the new and very important phase opened in Mozambique by the peace agreements signed in Rome on 4 October, which should lead to peace in the country through disarmament, unification of the armies and new democratic elections;

Aware of the fact that the current pacification process in Mozambique takes on greater importance, given the difficult and troubling events affecting Angola;

Considering that the agreements signed in Rome by the Mozambique government and by RENAMO are very specific and detailed and that they commit the parties concerned to apply them strictly;

Emphasising that the process underway in Mozambique is of considerable significance for the whole of southern Africa and the African continent in general, and that it constitutes a testing ground for the role the UN can play in order to resolve the crisis;

Convinced that unless we can provide the United Nations with all the necessary means to act effectively we will not be able to implement the signed agreements,

The Socialist International:

Considers it imperative firstly that the terms and conditions stipulated in the agreements are faithfully applied, that the deadlines set for the different phases are fully respected; and that in order to achieve the aforementioned, the foreseen 7,000 'blue helmets' must be put at the UN's disposal to implement the disarmament process, to return the irregular troops to barracks, and to allow the integration of the combatants into the army, in compliance with the methods and deadlines set;

Emphasises the significance of the process, by sending a mission to the area, and by the commitment of the Socialist International Presidium to take initiatives to support the UN's peace plan;

Appeals to the government and the international institutions to implement the commitments made for the provision of the necessary means and funds for the implementation of the peace process, and in particular of the electoral process;

Invites its member parties to take all initiatives aimed at focusing due attention towards Mozambique, and to promote in their respective countries the development of projects of governmental and non-governmental cooperation to fully defend the process for peace, and democracy.

PAKISTAN

The Council meeting of the Socialist International expresses its grave concern over the state of human rights in Pakistan and the gross abuse of the due process of law, misuse of the legislative and executive authority on the part of the state machinery in Pakistan, particularly in the following aspects:

1. Failure of the government to protect citizens and prevent lawlessness and heinous crimes like gang rapes, kidnapping, terrorism, organised robberies; to eliminate private prisons, violence against journalists and other sectors of the public, and desecration of places of worship, and to contain ethnic and sectarian prejudices.

2. Harassment and victimisation of political dissidents by kidnapping, unlawful detentions, false implication on penal charges, torture and other coercive methods to force them into submission and change their political loyalty.

3. Abuse of due process of law by arresting political opponents on repeated trumped-up charges, and growing incidents of death, rape and torture in prisons or police lock-ups.

4. Inhuman treatment of prisoners in custody, overcrowding of jails, denial of basic amenities to prisoners and failure to ensure trials within a reasonable time.

5. Constitution of special tribunals and courts, denying selected groups of prisoners the basic requirements of due process of law and fair trial.

6. Erosion of the independence of the judiciary by victimising individual judges and interference of the Executive in the performance of judicial functions.

7. Violations of the normal legislative process in the assemblies and legislation by the Executive through ordinances, some of which are patently designed to victimise political opponents.

8. Misuse of the name of religion and persecution of minorities and other disadvantaged sectors of the population.

The SI Council calls upon the government of Pakistan to uphold human rights, to redress the present state of affairs and ensure equal enjoyment by all citizens of all fundamental rights, civil liberties, the rule of law, freedom of the press and independence in let-

ter and spirit of the judiciary as guaranteed under the constitution of Pakistan, to abolish special courts and tribunals and to stop the victimisation of political opponents and discrimination against minorities, of any gender or sector of the population, on any pretext whatsoever.

SOMALIA

The Council of the Socialist International, meeting in Athens, Greece, on 9-10 February 1993:

Stressing the universal values of peace, democracy and full respect for human rights;

Recognising the enormous effort made by UNITAF, several UN agencies and a large number of NGOs to allow effective humanitarian relief to reach a substantial part of the Somalian population, fighting starvation and disease;

Acknowledging that the security situation in Somalia is incomparably better than that prevailing before UNITAF intervention, but still far from any concept of a 'secure environment', as defined by Resolution 794 of the Security Council of the UN;

Convinced that there is no solution to the Somali problem consisting only of temporary humanitarian relief and a political agreement of any sort among the rival militia leaders, because, as the Angola situation clearly proves, no agreement will ever be respected without effective disarmament;

Noting that, beyond the food and health problems, southern and central Somalia is a largely destroyed and disrupted area, in a state that has collapsed;

Regretting the difficulties in implementing the Addis Ababa agreement signed by the different Somali factions, Resolves to:

- Express its deep belief that there is no solution to the Somali problem without the total disarmament of the rival militias still operating in the territory and across its borders (total disarmament, whatever political means are adopted to achieve it, requires a strong UN military force able to enforce peace and an effective embargo on new arms sales to Somali factions);

- Urge the Security Council of the UN to adopt a resolution for UNOSOM II, giving a mandate to the Secretary General of the United Nations for peace enforcement in the whole of the Somali territory, aiming not only at humanitarian relief but also at creating the necessary conditions for social and economic rehabilitation and giving the Somali people the power to decide the political future of their country;

- Appeal to the international community to provide the necessary military, financial and technical means for that operation to be successful, namely, taking into consideration the recent proposals of the UN Secretary General for a more effective role for the United Nations in the preservation of world peace;

- Express SI solidarity to the Somali people, in whose hands must lie the future of their country, and to all those in Somalia who work for peace and democracy, despite the pressures and threats of those whose only concern is the struggle for power;
- Follow closely the events in Somalia in the near future and participate in or adopt new initiatives aimed at supporting the Somali people in the political, economic and social reconstruction of the country.

TOGO

Considering the political crisis in Togo with the freezing of the legitimate transition institutions resulting from the national supreme conference of July-August 1991 (High Council of the Republic, HCR, prime minister and transition government);

Considering that this crisis is the result of:

- multiple attempts to destabilise these institutions by the Togo army, which did not stop at assassinations, an attack on the Primate by armed vehicles (December 1991), or the taking hostage of the HCR (October 1992), several members of which were victims of physical cruelty;
- the action of the head of state, General Eyadema, as supreme head of the armed forces, who in 18 months failed to put a stop to these seditious manoeuvres;
- the practices of the Togo People's Assembly, RPT, which among other things, used force to collect funds which had been frozen by the national conference in the banks of Togo.

Considering the general wave of strikes which was initiated on 16 November 1992 by the association of the Democratic Opposition (COD 2) as a result of grievances supported by the Togo National Council of Employers.

Considering the permanent physical insecurity in which the democrats in Togo live (attacks, assassinations, looting), which prevents any prospect of free and transparent electoral consultation as provided for by the national conference.

Considering the machine-gunning of a peaceful demonstration organised on 25 January 1993 in Lomé by democrats, which caused many deaths and about a hundred wounded, on the very day of the Franco-German mediation mission, and the systematic repression of the population of the capital between 27 and 30 January last by the army and militia attached to the former regime;

Considering the massive exodus of the population from the capital to the neighbouring countries and the risks of tension and conflicts which the crisis in Togo might provoke in the sub-region;

Recalling that the multiple commitments of the head of state to respect the transition institutions and to guarantee the implementation of the con-

stitution adopted on 27 September 1992 have not yet been put into effect;

Recalling that on 8 February round table discussions were initiated between the parties of Togo (in Colmar) under the aegis of France and Germany in order to find a way out of the political deadlock;

The Socialist International Council, which met in Athens on 9 and 10 February 1993:

- resolutely condemns the acts of violence and violation of human rights which particularly implicate the responsibility of General Eyadema, Supreme Head of the Armed Forces, and demands that an international committee should conduct an inquiry into the tragic events of 25 January last;
- affirms its support for all the mediation forces and legitimate (transition) institutions and asks that the international community should do its utmost to guarantee their prerogatives and freedom of action; calls upon sponsors to suspend any commitments as long as these guarantees are not ensured;
- in view of the seriousness of the situation in Togo, which might generate major tensions in this part of the African continent, calls upon the competent authorities to refer the matter to the UN Security Council to ensure compliance with the decisions that will lead to the resumption and completion of the democratisation process in Togo;
- follows with interest and supports the continuation of Franco-German efforts, in cooperation with the European Community, until this crisis is settled;
- calls above all for the containment of the Togo armed forces, which is the only way to ensure their political neutrality, and asks that a special intervention force be set up under joint command to guarantee free elections, and commits itself to take an active part in the observation of the electoral process, from the drawing up of the electoral lists to the announcement of the results.

THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

Seven signposts on the road to peace in the former Yugoslavia

The war in Bosnia-Herzegovina continues unabated, cruelly frustrating even our attempts to bring humanitarian relief to the growing and increasingly desperate army of displaced persons and refugees. The stalled peace plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina has been brought before the Security Council.

There are renewed hostilities in and around United Nations Protected Areas in Croatia, and the implementation of the United Nations peace-keeping plan for Croatia has not progressed since we met in Berlin in September.

The danger of proliferation has, if anything, increased. We cannot exclude the possibility that the conflict will spread to areas of ethnic tension like Kosovo, that it will undermine the stability of the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, engulf the neighbouring countries, and further entangle the wider international community.

In this situation there are, not surprisingly, voices calling for armed intervention and military solutions. The calls are born of exasperation that our efforts to negotiate an end to the war have yet to bear fruit, that our attempts to stop atrocities and crimes of war have been frustrated, and that our efforts to provide humanitarian relief have been frequently obstructed.

We all share the sense of frustration. And let those who taunt our efforts at mediation by continuing to pursue violence and aggression consider the risk that there are limits beyond which our goodwill and patience should not be pushed.

Military options cannot and should not be ruled out, particularly in the event of a wider conflagration.

Yet, let us pause before we join the call to arms. For those who have to bear responsibility for armed intervention, heavy losses seem more certain than success. There can be no guarantee that even massive military intervention will end the conflict.

There is a significant risk that armed intervention may prolong and spread the war and add to the suffering and loss of life.

There is a corresponding risk that a selective lifting of the arms embargo for Bosnia-Herzegovina may only lead to intensified warfare and not achieve its desired objective. There is a high risk that even limited military measures will jeopardise the peace negotiations, the UN peace-keeping efforts, and the humanitarian relief operations.

We must continue to rely on political pressure and persuasion, as well as UN-mandated sanctions, carefully calibrated, as our principal tools of enforcement.

We propose the following seven signposts for the road ahead:

1) We must support the London Agreement and the Geneva Conference

We must reaffirm our commitment to the London Agreement and the international conference on the former Yugoslavia under the joint chairmanship of the United Nations and the European Community. We must all throw our full weight behind the efforts to achieve agreement on the peace plan for Bosnia and Herzegovina and we must strictly adhere to the principle that territorial expansion gained by the use of force and 'ethnic cleansing' will not be recognised by the international community.

With its broad-based approach and its continuous follow-up, the Geneva Process still represents the only viable path, and perhaps the final chance, to settle the conflict by political means. The conference remains the primary tool for coordinating our efforts to make peace. Should the conference end in failure, military options will loom larger.

2) We must support the role of the United Nations

The United Nations is already heavily involved in all aspects of the international effort to ameliorate, contain, and solve the conflict in the former Yugoslavia. It is doing an important job under exceedingly difficult circumstances.

We must give the United Nations the means and resources to complete its daunting task.

But even more is at stake. The former Yugoslavia has become a testing ground for the future role of the United Nations. Allowing the UN to fail in the former Yugoslavia could also spell doom for our hopes and dreams of a United Nations reinvigorated by post-cold-war cooperation leading the way to a new international world order. We must not allow it to fail.

3) We must act jointly

There is a clear and present danger that the international community, instead of solving the Yugoslav crisis, may get caught up in its disunity and divisions. The challenge is two-fold:

First, we must act jointly to achieve our goal of making peace. To be effective we cannot afford any partisanship or pursuit of narrow national interests. We must be even-handed and act in a spirit of solidarity with all the peoples of the former Yugoslavia.

Second, we must take care lest any differences in how we perceive the causes of the conflict or the means to end it create new divisions in the wider international community.

In Russia the government's handling of the Yugoslav crisis has become a focal point for debate over the reorientation of foreign policy in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union. There is considerable opposition to the Government's support for the sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro.

A number of countries, particularly in the Islamic world, are voicing concern that the Bosnian Muslims are not given fair and equal treatment by the international community.

We must carefully consider such dimensions of the Yugoslavian conflict to prevent renewed East/West and North/South polarisation along ethnic or religious lines in its wake. We must indeed act jointly.

4) We must make all parties take responsibility for making peace

All parties must assume responsibility for making peace if the Geneva Conference is to succeed. This oversimplified statement is nevertheless fundamentally true. There is an understandable, and sometimes justifiable, tendency among the parties to the conflict to place responsibility somewhere else, on the opponent, on the international community for failing to take adequate action, and so forth.

But if we let any party run away from its own responsibility to stop the war and make peace, peace there will not be.

We must support the forces of democracy and moderation in former Yugoslavia. We call on SI member parties to support morally and materially the social-democratic parties and journals in the states of former Yugoslavia.

5) We must continue to give top priority to humanitarian assistance

Even as losses mount from continued heavy fighting, it remains the case that cold and hunger may claim many more lives than bullets will before the winter loses its grip on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

We must therefore continue to give top priority to the delivery of humanitarian assistance to displaced persons and refugees.

We must avoid steps that may impede these efforts carried out under difficult conditions and at considerable personal risk by personnel from the UNHCR and other organisations.

We must strongly condemn the continued shelling of aid convoys and continue taking measures to provide adequate safety for aid personnel.

6) We must ensure respect for human rights

Perhaps the most troubling aspect of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia has been the widespread disregard for human rights and international law, as evidenced in the ugly practice of so-called ethnic cleansing, the indiscriminate artillery bombardment of besieged cities, the killing of prisoners in prison camps.

The horrifying evidence of mass rape must be thoroughly investigated. The SI calls on the UN and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, CSCE, to recognise these as war crimes, and on governments to recognise women's rights to political asylum as victims of war-related rapes. Further efforts must be made to build support institutions for war-related rape victims and for their children. This support must continue even beyond the duration of the civil war.

We must make it clear to those who commit or condone atrocities and

crimes of war that they are undermining the moral foundation of the very culture and nation they claim to defend.

And we must recognise as well that we are jeopardising fundamental qualities of our own future and that of our children if we fail to ensure that human rights violations and crimes of war are registered and investigated, that those responsible are brought to justice.

We must support the efforts by the UN and the CSCE regarding the prerequisites for setting up an international war crimes tribunal.

A major barrier to a peaceful settlement in the former Yugoslavia is the frequent link between minority status and suppression and abuse. We must assist the parties in breaking this link, for example by providing international guarantees to stabilise the security situation of ethnic minorities such as Serbs in Croatia, Hungarians and Croats in Vojvodina, Muslims in Sanjak, Albanians in the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, Albanians - and for that matter, Serbs - in Kosovo.

7) We must prevent proliferation of the conflict

We must clearly recognise the danger of a wider conflagration. We must support further measures within the framework of the UN, the CSCE, and the EC to prevent the conflict from spilling over to particularly exposed areas such as Kosovo and the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia.

The international community must send the message of recognition of the limits.

ZAIRE

The Council meeting of the Socialist International held in Athens on 9-10 February 1993, gravely concerned by the deterioration of the situation in Zaire and the generalised chaos in the country:

- strongly condemns the extortion and misdeeds and holds President Mobutu personally responsible for having blocked and hindered the functioning of central governmental institutions;
- reiterates its attachment to the democratic process, the implementation of which constitutes the indispensable prerequisite for economic and social reconstruction of the country and for restoring international cooperation;
- expresses its confidence in the High Council of the Republic instituted by the Sovereign National Conference and in the government, and
- supports the democratic forces of Zaire and in particular the UDPS of Prime Minister Etienne Tshisekedi.

PORTUGAL

Socialist Party, PS
António Guterres
José Lamego

PUERTO RICO

Puerto Rican Independence
Party, PIP
Rubén Berríos
Fernando Martín

SENEGAL

Socialist Party of Senegal, PS
Papa Amath Dieng
Alioune Badara Diagne
Bara Diouf

SLOVAK REPUBLIC

Social Democratic Party of
Slovakia
Jan Sekaj
L'ubor Bystricky

SPAIN

Spanish Socialist Workers'
Party, PSOE
Elena Flores
Rafael Estrella
Miguel Angel Martínez

SWEDEN

Swedish Social Democratic
Party, SAP
Birgitta Dahl
Pierre Schori
Conny Fredriksson
Monica Andersson
Bo Toresson

TUNISIA

Constitutional Democratic
Assembly, RCD
Chedly Neffati
Hechmi Amri
Mohsen Snoussi
Emna Aouij
Lajili Mejid

TURKEY

Social Democratic People's
Party, SHP
Erdal İnönü
Ercan Karakas
Mümtaz Soysal
Nami Cagan
Üstün Küseföglu
Sule Bucak

USA

Democratic Socialists of
America, DSA
Bogdan Denitch
Motl Zelmanowicz
Christine Riddiough

USA

Social Democrats USA,
SDUSA
Joel Freedman

VENEZUELA

Democratic Action, AD
Marco Tulio Bruni Celli

CONSULTATIVE PARTIES

ALBANIA

Social Democratic Party of
Albania, PSD
Skender Gjinushi
Paskal Milo

ALGERIA

Socialist Forces Front, FFS
Rachid Halet
Seddik Debaili

CAPE VERDE

African Party for the
Independence
of Cape Verde, PAICV
Alvaro Tavares

CHILE

Party for Democracy, PPD
Sergio Bitar
Marcia Covarrubias

CHILE

Socialist Party of Chile, PS
Luis Maira
Juan Gabriel Valdés

HAITI

Party of the National
Congress of
Democratic Movements,
KONAKOM
Victor Benoît
Jean-Claude Bajoux
Micha Gaillard
Jessie Benoît

IVORY COAST

Ivory Coast Popular Front,
FPI
Laurent Gbagbo

MONGOLIA

Mongolian Social
Democratic Party, MSDP
D Gankhuayag
G Urantsooj

PAKISTAN

Pakistan People's Party, PPP
Iqbal Haider

TUNISIA

Popular Unity Movement,
MUP
Ahmed Ben Salah

URUGUAY

Party for People's
Government, PGP
Antonio Gallicchio

**MEMBERS OF THE
SOCIALIST UNION OF
CENTRAL AND EASTERN
EUROPE, SUCEE**

ROMANIA

Romanian Social Democratic
Party, PSDR
Smaranda Dobrescu

OBSERVER PARTIES

COLOMBIA

M-19 Democratic Alliance
Antonio Navarro
Abraham Rubio Quiroga

HUNGARY

Hungarian Social
Democratic Party, MSZDP
Endre Borbély
Ilona György
László Kapolyi

HUNGARY

Hungarian Socialist Party,
MSZP
László Kovács

NICARAGUA

Sandinista National
Liberation Front, FSLN
Daniel Ortega
José Pasos
Margarita Zapata
George Hallag

SLOVENIA

Social Democratic Party of
Slovenia, SDSS
Janez Jansa

**FRATERNAL
ORGANISATIONS**

International Falcon
Movement/
Socialist Educational
International, IFM/SEI
Jerry Svensson
Jacqui Cottyn

**International Union of
Socialist Youth,
IUSY**

Alfred Gusenbauer
Roger Hällhag
Ricard Torrell
Gabriela Schöffbeck

**Socialist International
Women, SIW**

Maria Jonas
Marianne Bargil
Alejandra Faulbaum

**ASSOCIATED
ORGANISATIONS**

**Party of European
Socialists**
Axel Hanisch

**Socialist Group, European
Parliament**

Barbara Dührkop
Rob van de Water

**International Union of
Socialist Democratic
Teachers, IUSDT**

Christos Sigalas

**World Labour Zionist
Movement, WLZM**

Henry Smith

GUESTS

**ANGOLA
MPLA**

Lopo do Nascimento
Eduardo Ruas Manuel

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Platform of the Joint
Opposition
Amancio Gabriel Nse

HAITI

Jean-Bertrand Aristide

**Democratic Party of
Iranian Kurdistan,
PDKI**

Mustapha Kamal Davoudi
Ebrahim Djourabchi

PORTUGAL

Socialist Party, PS
António Guterres
José Lamego

PUERTO RICO

Puerto Rican Independence
Party, PIP
Rubén Berríos
Fernando Martín

SENEGAL

Socialist Party of Senegal, PS
Papa Amath Dieng
Alioune Badara Diagne
Bara Diouf

SLOVAK REPUBLIC

Social Democratic Party of
Slovakia
Jan Sekaj
L'ubor Bystricky

SPAIN

Spanish Socialist Workers'
Party, PSOE
Elena Flores
Rafael Estrella
Miguel Angel Martínez

SWEDEN

Swedish Social Democratic
Party, SAP
Birgitta Dahl
Pierre Schori
Conny Fredriksson
Monica Andersson
Bo Toresson

TUNISIA

Constitutional Democratic
Assembly, RCD
Chedly Neffati
Hechmi Amri
Mohsen Snoussi
Emna Aouij
Lajili Mejid

TURKEY

Social Democratic People's
Party, SHP
Erdal İnönü
Ercan Karakas
Mümtaz Soysal
Nami Cagan
Üstün Küseföglu
Sule Bucak

USA

Democratic Socialists of
America, DSA
Bogdan Denitch
Motl Zelmanowicz
Christine Riddiough

USA

Social Democrats USA,
SDUSA
Joel Freedman

VENEZUELA

Democratic Action, AD
Marco Tulio Bruni Celli

CONSULTATIVE PARTIES

ALBANIA

Social Democratic Party of
Albania, PSD
Skender Gjinushi
Paskal Milo

ALGERIA

Socialist Forces Front, FFS
Rachid Halet
Seddik Debaili

CAPE VERDE

African Party for the
Independence
of Cape Verde, PAICV
Alvaro Tavares

CHILE

Party for Democracy, PPD
Sergio Bitar
Marcia Covarrubias

CHILE

Socialist Party of Chile, PS
Luis Maira
Juan Gabriel Valdés

HAITI

Party of the National
Congress of
Democratic Movements,
KONAKOM
Victor Benoît
Jean-Claude Bajoux
Micha Gaillard
Jessie Benoît

IVORY COAST

Ivory Coast Popular Front,
FPI
Laurent Gbagbo

MONGOLIA

Mongolian Social
Democratic Party, MSDP
D Gankhuayag
G Urantsooj

PAKISTAN

Pakistan People's Party, PPP
Iqbal Haider

TUNISIA

Popular Unity Movement,
MUP
Ahmed Ben Salah

URUGUAY

Party for People's
Government, PGP
Antonio Gallicchio

**MEMBERS OF THE
SOCIALIST UNION OF
CENTRAL AND EASTERN
EUROPE, SUCEE**

ROMANIA

Romanian Social Democratic
Party, PSDR
Smaranda Dobrescu

OBSERVER PARTIES

COLOMBIA

M-19 Democratic Alliance
Antonio Navarro
Abraham Rubio Quiroga

HUNGARY

Hungarian Social
Democratic Party, MSZDP
Endre Borbély
Ilona György
László Kapolyi

HUNGARY

Hungarian Socialist Party,
MSZP
László Kovács

NICARAGUA

Sandinista National
Liberation Front, FSLN
Daniel Ortega
José Pasos
Margarita Zapata
George Hallag

SLOVENIA

Social Democratic Party of
Slovenia, SDSS
Janez Jansa

**FRATERNAL
ORGANISATIONS**

International Falcon
Movement/
Socialist Educational
International, IFM/SEI
Jerry Svensson
Jacqui Cottyn

**International Union of
Socialist Youth,
IUSY**

Alfred Gusenbauer
Roger Hällhag
Ricard Torrell
Gabriela Schöfbeck

**Socialist International
Women, SIW**

María Jonas
Marianne Bargil
Alejandra Faulbaum

**ASSOCIATED
ORGANISATIONS**

Party of European
Socialists
Axel Hanisch

**Socialist Group, European
Parliament**

Barbara Dührkop
Rob van de Water

**International Union of
Socialist Democratic
Teachers, IUSDT**

Christos Sigalas
World Labour Zionist
Movement, WLZM
Henry Smith

GUESTS

**ANGOLA
MPLA**

Lopo do Nascimento
Eduardo Ruas Manuel

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

Platform of the Joint
Opposition
Amancio Gabriel Nse

HAITI

Jean-Bertrand Aristide

**Democratic Party of
Iranian Kurdistan,
PDKI**

Mustapha Kamal Davoudi
Ebrahim Djourabchi

PEOPLE

The new chair of the Social Democratic Party of Japan, SDPJ, elected at an extraordinary party congress in January, is **Sadao Yamahana**, previously the party's general secretary. Born in Tokyo in 1936 and a lawyer, he has been a member of the House of Representatives since 1976. He became a member of the party's executive in 1977, director of its public information bureau in 1982 and vice-chair of its Diet affairs committee in 1986. He was deputy general secretary of the party from 1986 to 1991, when he became general secretary.

Hiroataka Akamatsu, former director of the SDPJ labour bureau and a member of the House of Representatives, succeeds him as general secretary.

Giorgio Benvenuto was elected general secretary of the Italian Socialist Party, PSI, at the general assembly of the party in February. Trained as a lawyer, he was general secretary of the Socialist-controlled UIL trade



union confederation (which he joined when he was 18) before last year becoming general secretary of the ministry of finance.

In a letter to party members after his election, Benvenuto commented, 'The Socialist Party, facing one of the most difficult tests in its history, must be a party which is open to dialogue'.

The National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, of El Salvador has announced the presidential candidature of its general secretary, **Victor Manuel Valle**, for

the elections to be held in March 1994. The MNR has stressed its hopes for a united approach by all democratic forces and is exploring cooperation and a possible shared presidential slate with other opposition parties.

Milos Zeman was elected chair of the Czech Social Democratic



Party, CSSD, at the party congress at the end of February. Zeman, 48, studied economics in Prague. During the Velvet Revolution of 1989 he was actively involved on the centre-left wing of the Civic Forum and the following year was elected to the Federal Parliament where he became chair of the budget committee. Last year he joined the then Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party and was again elected to the Federal Parliament and chosen as chair of the Prague branch of the party.

The congress elected **Petr Morávek**, **Pavel Novák**, **Petra Buzková**, **Jaromír Kuca** and **Václav Grulich** as vice-chairs of the party.

Ruth Dreifuss, the secretary of the Union of Swiss Trade Unions and a Socialist from Geneva, was elected a member of the Federal Council, the Swiss government, by parliament on 10 March. She has taken the home affairs portfolio.

Following its strong showing in the recent general elections, the

Irish Labour Party has six of the 15 places in the new cabinet of Prime Minister Albert Reynolds. Labour Leader **Dick Spring** is *Tánaiste* or deputy prime minister and minister for foreign affairs, **Ruairi Quinn** is minister for employment and enterprise, **Mervyn Taylor** is minister for equality and law reform, **Brendan Howlin** is health minister, **Naimh Breathnach** is education minister and **Michael D Higgins** is minister for arts, culture and heritage.

The new Social Democratic prime minister of Denmark, **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen** (see Profile, page 10) has named 13 members of his party to cabinet posts. They are **Mogens Lykketoft** (finance), **Jan Trojborg** (industry), **Ole Stavad** (taxation), **Pia Gellerup** (justice), **Bjorn Westh** (agriculture and fisheries), **Hans Haekkerup** (defence), **Birthe Weiss** (interior and refugee affairs), **Jytte Andersen** (labour), **Helga Mortensen** (transport), **Helle Degn** (aid and cooperation), **Svend Auken**, his predecessor as party leader (environment), **Torben Lund** (health), **Karen Jespersen** (social affairs), **Jytte Hilden** (culture) and **Svend Bergstein** (research).

Following February's parliamentary elections in Aruba (see Socialist Notebook, page 57), **Nelson O Oduber**, leader of the People's Electoral Movement, MEP, remains prime minister. The other MEP ministers in the new government are **A A Tromp Yarzaragay** (finance), **F J Refunjol** (education), **Hyacintho R (Rudy) Croes**, the party's international secretary (justice), **E Briesen** (economic affairs and tourism) and **C A S D Wever** (minister plenipotentiary to The Hague).

Meanwhile, the MEP has elected a new party board, which also includes **Manolo Giel** as president and **Fredis Refunjol** as general secretary.

>>>



Thorvald Stoltenberg has been appointed by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali as co-chairman of the international

peace conference on the former Yugoslavia. He will take up his new position at the beginning of May, replacing the former US secretary of state, Cyrus Vance. Former British Foreign Secretary Lord Owen remains the other co-chair.

In 1989 Stoltenberg was appointed UN High Commissioner for Refugees, but left that post the following year to become foreign minister in the Labour government formed by Geo Harlem Brundtland and to oversee his country's application to join the European Community. He has been foreign and defence minister in previous Labour governments. As a career diplomat, he served several years in Belgrade and speaks fluent Serbo-Croat.

He has twice travelled to the former Yugoslavia on behalf of the Socialist International since the outbreak of the conflict. An active participant in our work over many years, in the 1980s he undertook a similar role on the International's behalf in Nicaragua.

At the recent SI Council meeting in Athens, Stoltenberg spoke of the great frustration of all those attempting to bring humanitarian relief and progress towards peace in the former Yugoslavia. But, he said, 'let us make pause before we join the call to arms... We must continue to rely on political pressure and persuasion, as well as UN-mandated sanctions... as our principal tools of enforcement'.

FUNDAUNGO

Condominio Fountainblue
Módulo E,
Apartamento 3,
87 Avenida Norte, entre 7a. y
9a. Calle Poniente,

Apartado Postal 01-97,
Apartado Comercial Gigante,

San Salvador,
El Salvador

Telephone and Fax:
(503) 230838.

The Dr Guillermo Manuel Ungo Foundation has been established in San Salvador to promote the thought and action of democratic socialism, particularly in El Salvador.

It takes its name from the late leader of the National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, and vice-president of the Socialist International, who died in 1991.

Its aims include those of making known the political, moral and intellectual legacy of Dr Ungo; developing the human resources needed for the social transformation of El Salvador; encouraging the study of Salvadorean reality as a tool for the benefit of the majority of Salvadoreans; developing programmes of popular education for those hitherto excluded from Salvadorean political life, developing social programmes to benefit the majority of Salvadoreans, making the reality of El Salvador and Central America better known internationally, and collaborating in international plans to favour wider democratic participation in El Salvador.

Board

Nora de Ungo, president
Marina de Compte, vice-president
Gerardo Godoy, secretary
Ana María Godoy, treasurer
Carlos Enrique Ungo, member

Executive director

Ricardo Córdova

Honorary members

Luis Ayala
Rubén Berríos M.
Ed Broadbent
Elena Flores
Gabriel García Márquez
Oswaldo Guayasamín

José Francisco Peña Gómez
Carlos Andrés Pérez
Beatrice Rangel
Pierre Schori
Enrique Tejera París
Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski





WOMEN & POLITICS

Journal of
Socialist International Women

Publisher and Editor
Maria Jonas

47

WOMEN: A PRIORITY FOR WORLD DEVELOPMENT

Glenys Kinnock

Last year's UNICEF *'State of the World's Children'* report asserts that a new world order should oppose the apartheid of gender as vigorously as the apartheid of race. The acknowledged reality is that everywhere in the developing world - from the urban slums and shanties to the impoverished rural communities - women will be working from dawn until dusk, for little reward or recognition.

North and South we are endeavouring to promote the interests and concerns of women and to do this we must be prepared to combat gender inequalities. The danger is, of course, that this leads to accusations of cultural imperialism. The truth is that it is essential that institutionalised inequalities, of race or gender, must be challenged. Women's inequality is a fact of life in our world. If development is to be successful, that injustice must be tackled and we must recognise this reality and be prepared to deal with the issues with discretion and sensitivity.

*In Latin America as elsewhere,
poverty hits women and
children first.*



Poverty, wherever it occurs, hits women first and worst and undermines their ability to play a full role in their societies and in the welfare of the world. As workers, farmers, traders and carers their contribution to the development process is and always has been, central. Now, more than ever, the case for women to exercise rights commensurate with those extensive responsibilities must prevail. The truth is that on almost any scale of measurement and in almost any situation, women contribute most and get back least. And within the global generalisations there are huge disparities that show the intensity of disadvantage suffered by women.

The women of the South look after the young and the old, fetch water and fuel, grow and market much of the developing world's food and, for working an average of twice as many hours as men, they are rewarded with considerably less of everything that might be on offer.

The discriminatory forces which operate ensure that in many countries fewer girls than boys actually survive. In Bangladesh, India and Pakistan, a million girls die each year because they are girls. These are extreme examples of a general problem. Access to health, education, employment, property and even civil and political liberty depends, according to UNICEF, on '*one cruel chromosome*'. Women are seen as recipients of welfare, not as contributors to economic life. In many countries they are treated as legal minors who must refer to their husbands before seeking a job or opening a bank account.

It is not an exaggeration to assert that this discrimination, this '*apartheid of gender*' is causing the heaviest toll of misery and it is threatening the survival prospects not only of women and their children, but of the planet itself.

Of course, we should not presume a global community of women but I would argue that women North and South have less power, more work, less money and more responsibility.

In the crudest possible way, therefore, women are the most basic economic asset. It seems that value, however, does not produce increased demand. In some Latin American countries, a midwife is paid more if she delivers a boy. Women who produce only girls may receive less respect and in some societies female infanticide is practised. The Chinese call the birth of a boy 'a great happiness' and the birth of a girl 'a small happiness'. Even in modern Britain a Prince earns a 21 gun salute and a Princess only 10. The truth is that all of this discrimination, both serious and frivolous, reflects the status accorded to females and also the power relations women encounter throughout their lives.

In Europe, women are less likely to be in full-time paid work and more likely to be unemployed. They are still paid between 14 and 34 per cent less than men and are much more likely to work in insecure part-time or temporary jobs. Their mobility in the labour market is further affected by the fact that they are generally the main carers of children and other dependents.

The 1992 Human Development Report states that women earn a relatively low share of national incomes. In Japan, women earn only one third of the average male *per capita* income. In Canada, the United Kingdom and USA they get half. And even in Norway, Finland and Denmark, women earn only two thirds of the income men earn.

When gender-related data are introduced into the human development index of northern countries, then a country like Canada falls from top to number 8 in the table. This is the result of the fact that women have significantly lower employment and wages rates than men. For similar reasons Japan slips to number 18. Sweden, however, goes up from number 5 to number one.

UNESCO defines literacy as the ability to write a simple sentence. There are 1 billion illiterates in the world, two thirds of whom are women. That is as good a definition as any of inequality. It is this inequality which determines the value of our work, our access to education and training, our chances of gaining economic independence, our control over our own bodies, our level of participation in decision-making and our rights as human beings. But as I hope I can show, the women of the South experience these inequalities and injustices more brutally and dramatically as poor citizens living in the poorest urban and rural parts of their impoverished countries.

María Zelaya of Nicaragua once said '*the liberation of women will only come about when women succeed in liberating themselves - and all society*'. She was calling for a redistribution and reallocation of power because then, and only then, will real development occur and the problems of social and political poverty be tackled.

Certainly, progress has been made North and South, but we still wait for the really fundamental changes in the *status quo*. Although advances have been made and greater choice is being exercised, the centuries of patriarchy are difficult to displace.

There needs to be a worldwide concern for the equality and self-empowerment of women who should be beneficiaries and participants in the development process.

As we look around our own countries we should get some sense of the worldwide issues which need to be addressed. The fact that there are women North and South who are reluctant to challenge the structures which ensure their subordination does not mean that we should not work to educate and then increase consciousness about equal development. It has been my experience that women who have been described to me as passive and oppressed will speak out when given the opportunity to prove that they are far from satisfied with their lot. It is essential that the real and genuine interests and needs of women are addressed without gender stereotyping and with the clear and unequivocal aim of ending discrimination. Then and only then will women get their full rights.

Cheap labour is mostly women's cheap labour. Women in every part of the world are just as likely to be categorised as 'particularly suited' certain types of work. The assumption is that what the woman worker does suits her lifestyle and that with her 'nimble fingers', she is naturally good at tasks requiring dexterity and patience. Reference to the highly skilled nature of much of the work is seldom made. She is forever assembling and rarely designing, and normally taking orders and rarely giving them. Her skills are seen as 'natural' and that then becomes an excuse for low pay. Her wages are seen as supplementary to her partner's. Her status, security and training all reflect that subordinate role.

It would be patronising and unjust to criticise women in the North and the South who are reluctant to organise against these conditions. Family relationships and cultural and social realities need to be taken into account.

But there are great and encouraging changes. The Mexican September 19th Union has meetings which are held at a time when women can more easily leave the cooking and childcare responsibilities. They also work out ways to change men's attitudes and to stop domestic violence. The Korean Women's Union has openly challenged the right of companies to pay women less than men and the Sri Lankan Women's Factory Union is addressing the concerns they feel about sexual harassment at work.

When we are discussing issues relating to women's rights then violence against women, North and South, should certainly be recognised. Many women live with actual violence or the threat of violence and this is, of course, a barrier standing in the way of their achievement of real rights.

In Colombia, 1 in 5 cases of injury was due to domestic violence in one year and 94 per cent of women in hospital were the victims of brutal partners. In the United States in 1980, 60 per cent of husbands admitted to using physical violence against their wives. In Canada, in that year, 1 out of 10 women, was assaulted by her husband. Violence against women is a violation of their human rights and should be seen as such at the 1993 United Nations Conference. Amnesty International certainly urges that this should be the case.

Women suffer particular forms of abuse and torture in the custody of male authorities. There are many instances of imprisoned women who are old or pregnant who have been raped, internally mutilated and forced into prostitution. As women in the South campaign actively and politically in their societies, they are more and more the victims of intolerable prison conditions. And as women worldwide challenge the norms of their society and enter the workplace and public life in greater numbers, they are facing increasing violence.

However, these issues are now out in the open and discussion and debate should continue about how the misery of so many women can be alleviated. It should be regarded as a central issue in all human rights campaigning.

As I have visited countries in Africa, Asia and Central America, I have been brought up against the realities of today's international economic problems which are not seen in the corridors of financial power or reflected in the statistics of debt service ratios. Those realities are in the faces of women.

They pay for debt burdens - through the increase in food costs, the fall in family incomes, the run-down of health services and the narrowing of educational opportunities. It is their children whose individual development today and whose social contribution tomorrow are being closed off. It is the women who have to devise the appropriate survival strategies as the pressure on their lives increases.

Women are at the epicentre of the debt crisis. There is great concern about the effects of debt and recession and the stabilisation and structural adjustment policies which follow. UNICEF's call for adjustment with 'a human face' was a recognition that it is the low income population of third world countries who have paid the highest price

and that there has been a severe erosion of the human resource base.

Research has shown that macroeconomic policies have a clear gender bias and that the result has been to further disadvantage the women in low-income families.

50

Policy makers do not see the triple roles of women as they are involved in reproductive and child rearing work, in earning an income and in community management. Which means they take the major responsibility for providing for their families as cut-backs in basic services are made.

These triple roles of women are barely recognised and are not valued. Their work is made 'invisible' by planners who see most of it as non-reproductive and somehow 'natural'. Therefore, when it comes to assessing the needs of low-income families there is rarely any real understanding of the role and rights of women.

Still the urgent need for structural adjustment in the world economy as a whole has barely made it on to the superpower agenda. I should add that whatever progress individual governments have made towards improving the position of women or of integrating women fully into development, is severely hampered and often undermined by a belief that economic liberalisation is the only road to solvency and that the structural adjustment policies imposed by the World Bank and the IMF are a necessary medicine. The UK's Overseas Development Administration is an example in point. In this and other areas another Conservative government means a continuing lack of commitment - and this has never been more amply demonstrated than by the fact that only 9.1 per cent of British aid goes to basic resources, economic development, engineering and infrastructure sectors and that UK aid has tragically reached its lowest ever level of 0.27 per cent of GNP.

The poor may always be with us but so surely will the powerful - seeking to expand their freedoms at the expense of others, to deny justice unless it serves their ends. Susan George asks if the poorest countries fell off the map would the rich countries even notice? Latin America now represents a mere 4.1 per cent of the value of world trade, Africa a mere 2.4 per cent (with South Africa responsible for one fifth of that). Any two of the so-called Asiatic 'dragons' (Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong) account for a higher proportion of world trade value than all the countries of Africa put together. It is no longer credible to assume that the old northern model of development which was only possible with cheap imports of raw materials from southern countries and trading relationships which were firmly fixed in the North's favour, is appropriate for North or South. Long term and equitable development requires political will and action to address inequitable trading relations, the debt and environmental crises, gender, racial and class inequalities North and South.

As far as development and the environment are concerned women should be clearly central to all action. They are in the front line of the struggle against environmental degradation. As the deserts spread through overgrazing, as the soil is eroded because of intensive farming and poor conservation methods, and as forests are cleared for commercial sales or cash cropping or construction projects, women spend more time foraging for fodder and fuel and fetching water - their basic household tasks.

Whether they are old, young or pregnant all third world women do these jobs day after day and year after year. According to the International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD), the crisis for rural women has reached alarming proportions - 565 million women are living in poverty.

Poverty for rural men has increased by 3 per cent over the last 20 years and for women the increase has been 48 per cent. A study of 74 developing countries, again by IFAD, has shown that one in 5 households is headed by a woman who has been widowed, divorced, separated or abandoned.

All these women are absolutely critical to the family's survival and there is clear evidence that poor women spend a greater proportion of what they earn on food than their husbands do.

Yet in rural areas of the developing world, women are often denied ownership of the land they work. In Islamic law, for example, women's rights to land are clearly defined but the threat of divorce or other sanctions lead women to effectively pass the control of the land over to the men. Even when women have rights to certain fields their responsibilities will also include helping in the husbands' fields - as well, of course, as looking after the family.

In Africa the trend is clearly going against women as they work harder and harder and as their status as secondary to men shows little signs of changing. Women rarely own or inherit land. In 10 African countries women and children constitute 77 per cent of the entire population. Women have a legal right to own property in 16 per cent of the households in those 10 countries.



Glenys Kinnock visits Garment Workers' Union members in Gonube Township, South Africa.

The fragility of our world becomes more apparent daily, and as every year an area of trees equivalent to the size of Egypt disappears and deserts spread, we must be alerted to the call to action which we hear from the developing world. It is the poor who live in the areas under greatest threat - where it rains least and where survival is hardest. And yet over the years the people's need to make their living from their land and from their trees has been ignored by those who went in and thought they knew better.

It is now time to listen to women. Professor Wangari Matthai from the Kenyan Greenbelt Movement and others went to Rio to call for the liberation for women from the drudgery of their lives in a rural economy. They called for the need for new technologies for food processing, for a fairer distribution of the workload and for *time* to care for the soil and the trees.

Too often their experience in the past has led to new approaches and technologies causing them more work and the long-term development prospects are limited by the difficulties of obtaining credit. Again and again they work harder to try to make up for their difficulties. New technologies bring some success which then leads to the men taking over from the women. And the use of fertilisers, for instance, stimulates the growth of weeds and this increases the women's workload in the fields. Women consequently often refuse to use it or give it away.

In these and other matters it is important to properly assess the impact of change on women's lives. The Summit will have been a missed opportunity on a global scale if the development needs of the South are not given as much attention as the environmental needs of the North. They are totally inter-related.

The struggle to save grasslands and forests, protect the water or air, control AIDS and other diseases, and conserve natural resources has to be, in so many essential ways, a fight against poverty.

And of course the truth is that population control and all its environmental implications depends on the reduction of child death rates. This will only come when parents feel confident about health, education and survival for themselves and their family. However much we talk about birth control 'methods' and however much is spent

on propaganda, the women and men cannot yet see much personal advantage in smaller families. On the contrary, when children are the only future means of support, control of family size is seen as a source of poverty not a means to affluence.

52 As Frances Moor Lapi said *"rapid population growth is a moral crisis because it reflects the widespread denial of essential human rights to survival resources, like land and food. Far-reaching economic and political change is needed to reduce birth rates to replacement levels. Such change must enhance the power of the poorest members of society, removing their need to cope with economic insecurity by giving birth to many children"*.

Every year half a million women die of causes related to pregnancy and childbirth and one million children lose a mother. The reality is that young women will continue to die at the rate of one every minute unless it is recognised that their deaths are usually caused by their poverty and deprivation.

This whole question, like so much I have mentioned, comes down to women's workload, education, health and nutrition. It is about their real access to information about family spacing, pre-natal care and safe conditions for delivery. It is indeed about their status in their society.

One World Action is committed to a development policy which is founded on women's self-empowerment. In our analysis four steps are essential to this: constitutional equality and legal reforms combined with policies of positive action; public education to publicise these rights and change women's and men's attitudes; the social, economic, environmental and political 'infrastructure' necessary to make these rights a reality; and women's organisations at every level, from local to national to international, to set the agenda, monitor progress and press for changes.

Government and NGO development cooperation can play a major role by funding the establishment of services and structures which would positively affect women's status, namely, education and adult literacy, training, healthcare, housing, transport, equitable and democratic decision-making structures. This would require a reduction in spending on the large-scale, conventional engineering projects. Governments could also give more direct funding to women's organisations. It should also be possible to actively encourage partner government ministries to see women's organisations as implementing agencies. Furthermore, it is possible to promote and support land reform. Northern governments can take steps to regulate the overseas operations of multinational companies whose head offices are located in their countries. Again it takes political will and the European Community could play a big role in this.

All of us concerned with global development issues - governments, academic institutions, NGOs, trade unions - must work hard to build new relationships between North and South based on mutual responsibility for human rights, global well-being and respect.

It is particularly difficult for governments and their international relations to overcome the legacy of colonialism and exploitation and the aid relationship of patron/client.

NGOs and their networks are taking the lead in building new North/South relationships based on solidarity. At One World Action we see two conditions necessary in building such new relationships.

Firstly, northern NGOs (and other institutions) must adopt an analysis of development which includes the poverty in the South. Secondly, we must be willing to address the issues of gender, class and racial inequality within our own countries, specifically we must take active steps to build alliances with and support the struggles of black and ethnic minority, migrant and refugee organisations, with community-based and low-income groups, in addition to strengthening our links and support with the progressive trade unions.

The need for action, which we recognise, will ensure that we work to gain the necessary strategic and collective approach to world development. Gramsci's maxim 'Pessimism of the Intellect, Optimism of the Will' is good guidance for those of us seeking to achieve change on the scale that is needed.

Glenys Kinnock is a primary school teacher in London; a member of the Board of UNICEF (UK); chair of the Management Committee of 'One World Action', which aims to assist self-help organisations in developing countries; founder and chair of the 'One World' campaign which promotes change in North-South trade and relations and in development support.

SIW BUREAU MEETING, ATHENS, GREECE, 6-7 FEBRUARY 1993

Socialist International Women held its first Bureau meeting after the Berlin Triennial Conference, in Athens, Greece, at the invitation of PASOK, the SI member party. Andreas Papandreou, President of the host party, and Maria Kypriotaki, chair of PASOK's Equality Committee gave welcome addresses. Melina Mercouri (Greece), Alena Chudíková (Slovak Republic), Christine Riddiough (DSA, USA) made introductory remarks to the theme 'Women in changing economic systems'. The introductory remarks by Ixora Rojas (Venezuela AD) were read out in her absence. The meeting was attended by 64 delegates; many women from PASOK and other NGOs followed the interesting discussion as observers. The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolution - Women in changing economic systems

The deep political changes in the world in recent years have brought about changes in the economic systems, particularly affecting women.

In Western Europe, the completion of the Single Market will have profound effects on the social fabric of societies in member states. Women in Western Europe still have a long way to go to catch up with men economically, socially and politically: there-

Left to right: Maria Kypriotaki, chair of PASOK's Equality Committee; Melina Mercouri; and Maria Jonas, SIW General Secretary.



fore Socialist International Women demands that in the further process of European unification priority shall be given to a reinforcement of its social policy and to a true policy of equal opportunities and of affirmative action.

54

In Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, the capitalist market economy replaces centralised command economy. This process is opening severe problems of women's unemployment and worsening living conditions for them.

Former Communist countries which supported and manipulated the economies of developing countries have terminated their intervention: without the support of the Communist regimes, the economies of these developing countries are paralysed.

In Latin America and Africa the ongoing debt crisis developing countries are experiencing cannot be solved by neo-liberal policies which are increasingly imposed. Structural adjustment policies dictated by the IMF and the World Bank, as they do not take into account women's contribution and role in developing countries, have not brought about the reduction of debt: in fact they have reduced investments, which limits future growth. In Latin America the problem today is that a neo-liberal economic model has been imposed, privatisations are carried out indiscriminately and the economic gap does not allow for the fair redistribution of social expenditure. These policies are totally inconsistent with the basic needs of the peoples.

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), proposed for adoption by the parliaments of the USA, Canada and Mexico, will have alarming effects on jobs, wages, working conditions and the environment in those countries. In the industrialised USA and Canada, millions of manufacturing jobs will be lost and production moved to Mexico where legislation permits the establishment of *maquiladora* zones. *Maquiladora* zones are exempt from labour and health regulations and the majority of workers employed in those zones are young women. The NAFTA does not contain any labour regulations or environmental provisions to protect the workplace or the environment of industry.

In many nations of the NICs (newly-industrialised countries) of Asia, *laissez-faire* economic policies allow business behaviour to put labour efficiency above labour fairness with long working hours, failure to pass on a fair share of profits to workers, a lack of commitment and interest in social and cultural services and indifference to the preservation of the environment.

SIW notes with great concern the effects changes in the economic systems have on women. Notwithstanding the economical world crisis, women are protagonists of great changes and put pressure on the labour market asking for employment, equal rights and liberty. Women are a subject of progress and transformation, which must be taken in due account by the progressive forces.

The imbalance of women's representation in decision-making bodies is of crucial significance. The limited participation of women in decision-making processes has put women in the position of passive recipients of social and economic benefits of development. The feminist perspective of political, social and economic matters must be considered and taken into account.

Changes in the structure of the economy have affected the participation of women in the formal workforce. Women are worst affected by the recessions and forced back to unpaid labour without any provision of social security.

SIW reiterates its firm belief that the right to employment is a fundamental human right which must be respected. Public services provide the conditions which make women's employment possible. SIW believes that the distribution of work, opportunities and wealth is of utmost importance in a future united Europe as in the whole world.

SIW notes that the control for over 40 years of the Communist parties in Eastern Europe has led to obsolete and polluting industrial structures, chronic economic mismanagement, as well as overemployment. The transition to a free market economy has brought about a dramatic rise in unemployment among women, particularly women with low levels of training and education and among married women. Living standards have sharply decreased and the cost of living (housing, public transport, energy costs, fuel and food) have risen disproportionately. Child-care facilities have been reduced to extremely low levels and the reduction of other public services (free education, free health-care, etc) have added a heavy financial burden on incomes.

SIW therefore calls for the support of projects for investments in the modernisation of industry to stimulate and support joint projects for professional training and education and to contribute to the re-integration of women in working life in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In the framework of the budget allocations of the European Social Fund, SIW requests that the Socialist Group of the European Parlia-

ment give priority to actions destined to finance initial and further training programmes for women.

The situation of women in developing countries as the poorest and most vulnerable groups in society and the effects of foreign debt on women were analysed by SIW at its Bureau meeting in New York in October 1991. SIW reiterates the conclusions drawn and resolution adopted and stresses that structural adjustment programmes negotiated with international financial institutions must be based on a socially and economically balanced growth policy with special measures to protect and assist vulnerable groups. Investments in job creation, infrastructure and training programmes, especially for women, must be part of economic recovery measures.

Since the problem of external debt threatens the security of continents, SIW recommends the way to approach and face it, in order to reduce its negative impact, must involve the participation of organised social bases, women in particular, and of those sectors which are victims of the problem.

The international community should agree on the design of unified markets but integration processes must contain social and labour standards, guaranteeing fundamental rights of workers including freedom of association and the right to collective bargaining, employment security, social benefits and the right to strike. SIW supports the Socialist International member parties in Canada and the USA in their opposition to the NAFTA and calls on Socialist International member parties to reject any similar neo-conservative multinational corporation-driven trade and economic integration arrangements which don't contain any labour regulations or environmental provisions.

SIW calls on Socialist International member parties in government to support investment programmes in former Eastern Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America which have special provisions for women, so they can be both agents and beneficiaries of development.

As a result of competitive global economic environment the 'human factor' is neglected which affects women's position in society because of imbalanced distribution of income and work opportunities. SIW calls for effective social policies which will bring the 'human factor' (respectively the woman factor) to the forefront, in line with the principle that development is for people, with people.

SIW reminds Socialist International member parties of the Socialist International Council Resolution of December 1988 and the Stockholm Congress resolution of June 1989, to increase women's representation in decision-making bodies to 50 per cent by 1998. Socialist International Women considers compliance with these resolutions an issue of democracy within Socialist International member parties.

Emergency Resolution - An end to war and the abuse of women and children in former Yugoslavia.

The Socialist International Women Bureau Meeting in Athens on February 6th and 7th 1993 approves the Statement issued by the Executive at its meeting in Lille on November 28th, 1992.

After three months we must note that things are getting worse and worse.

Women and children are more and more affected by bombardment of civil targets, lack of food, fuel, shelter and medicines; more and more women, children and elderly people are obliged to flee from their villages and towns and to seek shelter in refugee camps.

SIW strongly calls upon all parties involved to put an end to the fighting in former Yugoslavia and supports all efforts initiated in Geneva to find a peaceful and negotiated solution to this conflict and to the horrible process of "ethnic cleansing".

The situation of women is especially bitter. The SIW Executive has already recorded reports of thousands of women and children being raped by men from all military and paramilitary groups as well as from the civilian population.

The SIW Executive Statement in November 1992 reported special camps where women are kept to be raped and that most often rapes happened in public places, witnessed by families and neighbours; also cases of mass rape and of women dying through multiple rape. Women who became pregnant as a result of these rapes do not have the right or the opportunity to have an abortion. They are thus deprived of the principle of the right to decide for themselves. The international press has reported the horror of women giving birth to children they refuse even to look at, or being driven away by their own families.

We must put an end to all this! SIW calls on the International Court of Justice to

recognise these as war crimes, and on Governments to recognise women's rights to political asylum as victims of war-related rapes.

56

In order to ensure respect for human rights, through the application of international norms, Socialist International Women calls on the International Court of Justice to establish a war crimes tribunal in order to investigate the extent of war crimes committed in former Yugoslavia and to punish these brutal and cruel acts.

SIW calls on the United Nations to set up an International Commission of Women Parliamentarians and Lawyers to enquire into such outrages and crimes.

SIW renews its call on women's networks throughout Europe to establish partnerships with Women's Anti-Violence Groups, and with any other willing groups in former Yugoslavia so as to build different support institutions (including women's centres) for war-related rape victims and for their children, in order to provide treatment, and social and psychological help for women from the war zones.

The victims of violence, torture and rape will need moral and material support also when the war is over. The situation of the young girls and women, victims of sexual violence, is exceptionally difficult in cultures dominated by men. They must be taken special care of. SIW urges European member organisations to demand that those women, victims of rape in former Yugoslavia, be given shelter and helped in dealing with their situation in the way and where they choose.

SIW calls on all its member organisations to promote mass meetings of women, in order to sensitize public opinion to the horror of our raped and mutilated sisters, to implement through MP's and Governments the diplomatic and political proposals outlined above, and to collect the necessary funding for support institutions for women.



IN MEMORY OF ANA MARGARITA

Ana Margarita Gasteazoro, former Vice-President of Socialist International Women died on 30 January 1993. Ana Margarita exemplified the political involvement of Salvadorean Socialist Women. She was Secretary of the National Youth Revolutionary Movement of the MNR and the Secretary of the Women's Movement. Ana Margarita experienced the suffering of her people following the assassination of Archbishop Romero, when in order to save her life she

had to drag herself through the streets of San Salvador, after the Salvadorean regime sent the army to attack the mourners at the Archbishop's funeral. On the morning of 12 May 1981, she was arrested and subjected to physical and psychological torture. She was taken to the women's prison in Ilopango and was accused of being a terrorist. Other phony charges were brought against her.

Whilst still imprisoned, SIW proposed that she become one of its Vice-Presidents, a position she filled from 1983-1986. Ana Margarita struggled to eradicate the unjust system of her country. She stood for true democracy, for freedom and a just social system. For that she was persecuted, arrested and tortured. From her cell in prison she continued in her unyielding determination to contribute to the democratic struggle of the Salvadorean people.

But Ana Margarita was also a dear friend in difficult political situations. We should all be inspired by her courage, friendship and commitment.

Irmtraut Karlsson

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

ALGERIA

FFS seeks return of democracy

Hocine Ait-Ahmed, general secretary of the opposition Socialist Forces Front, FFS, stated early in 1993 that he would not return to Algeria until the regime in power gave an unequivocal pledge to restore democracy. The FFS became a consultative member of the SI at the 1992 Berlin congress.

In the first round of multi-party elections in December 1991 the fundamentalist Islamic Salvation Front, FIS, had emerged as the likely overall victor. At the same time, the FFS polled a creditable 15 per cent, and won more first-round seats than the then ruling National Liberation Front, FLN.

Unwilling to contemplate an FIS victory, the Algerian establishment staged an effective coup, cancelling the second voting round and installing a High Committee of State under Mohammed Boudiaf. The latter was assassinated in June 1992 and succeeded by Ali Kafi, who in January 1993 promised a referendum on the country's political future.

Since no date or details accompanied the referendum announcement, the FFS continued to campaign for an immediate return to democratic procedures and for a political dialogue involving all sections of society, including the army. Under serious threat in the prevailing state of emergency, Ait-Ahmed went into exile in August 1992.

ARUBA

MEP renews mandate

In parliamentary elections on 8 January, the People's Electoral Movement, MEP, won nine of the 21 seats in the Staten and formed a new coalition government, again including the Aruban Patriotic Party, PPA, and National Democratic Action, ADN.

The MEP leader, Nelson Oduber, remained prime minister. The

MEP has a further five cabinet posts (see People, page 45), while the ADN and the PPA each have two.

The MEP continues to steer an orderly course toward full independence for Aruba (population 60,000) from the Dutch crown in 1996. The Movement, which had previously been a consultative member of the SI, became a full member at the Berlin congress in September 1992. It has long been the largest party on the island, having secured 10 seats in the 1989 elections and 8 in 1985.

AUSTRALIA

Labor breaks record



The Australian Labor Party, ALP, has defeated a conservative coalition of the Liberal and National parties to secure a record fifth term of office at federal level. The party, led by Prime Minister Paul Keating, faced the electorate on 13 March - the tenth anniversary of Labor's 1983 victory - against a background of 11 per cent unemployment, a measure of the country's most acute economic crisis since the 1930s. Opinion polls had consistently predicted a conservative victory by a 10 or 12 point margin, but there was a late surge

in support for Labor. In the event the party persuaded voters to reject the opposition's ill-considered economic policy based on anti-trade-union legislation and the introduction of a 15 per cent goods and services tax.

Voters also responded positively to the ALP's plan for a referendum within the next few years on Australia's constitutional status: the country is at present a monarchy under Queen Elizabeth, but many Australians favour the adoption of a republican structure and a new national flag reflecting the nation's independence from former colonial ties. Labor intends to establish a committee of eminent Australians to study ways of severing constitutional links with Britain and replacing the monarch and Governor General with an elected president, possibly in time for the centenary of the present federal constitution in 2001.

Keating, who succeeded Bob Hawke as ALP leader in 1991, acknowledged that it had been a tough campaign but was pleased that the voters trusted Labor to beat the recession: 'This is a victory for the true believers, the people who in difficult times have kept the faith', he declared.

Labor secured an increased overall majority in the 147-member House of Representatives, with 80 seats, against 65 to the Liberal-National opposition, while 2 seats went to independents, giving Keating a mandate for his four-year programme to tackle the recession by boosting industrial investment, extending job training, improving welfare programmes and developing Australia's role as a major trading power in the Asia-Pacific region. A government reshuffle brought fresh talent to the federal cabinet though the major ministries remain in the same hands. Treasurer (finance minister) John Dawkins expressed confidence in meeting the economic growth target of 3 to 4 per cent by the year's end.

Paul Keating

AUSTRIA

Low support for anti-immigration initiative

A political initiative for a referendum to halt immigration secured far fewer signatures than expected by the closing date of 1 February. Heading the 'Austria First' campaign was the right-wing Freedom Party, FPÖ, led by Jörg Haider, who castigated the ruling coalition of the Social Democratic and People's parties, SPÖ/OeVP, for 'complacency' on the influx of foreigners.



Whereas Haider had himself specified 500,000 signatures as the minimum target of the initiative, the outcome was a sign-up figure of 417,278, representing only 7.4 per cent of the registered electorate. Nevertheless, the total exceeded the 100,000 required under the Austrian constitution to secure a parliamentary debate on an issue within six months.

In the latter stages of the FPÖ campaign, some 200,000 people attended a rally in Vienna on 23 January to protest against xenophobia and racism. Backed by the SPÖ and other organisations, the demonstration was the largest seen in the Austrian capital since World War II.

The SPÖ chancellor, Franz

Vranitzky, personally visited Eisenstadt last November following the desecration of the town's Jewish cemetery with neo-Nazi slogans, in order to demonstrate his abhorrence, SPÖ sources stated, of 'xenophobia and right-wing radicalism'.

During the FPÖ referendum campaign, SPÖ leaders pointed out that the government had already taken steps to ensure that immigration did not get out of hand. A new Aliens Act, which entered into force on 1 January, was the third major measure in a year aimed at controlling entry.

BELGIUM

Historic vote for federal structure

The Chamber of Deputies, in a historic vote on 6 February, gave the necessary two-thirds majority to a constitutional amendment formally transforming Belgium from a unitary state into a federation of its linguistic communities.

The amendment was backed by the four ruling coalition parties, namely the Flemish and French-speaking (Walloon) components of the Socialist and Christian Social movements. The two-thirds majority was attained on the strength of support from the Belgian Greens and a small Flemish nationalist group.

Marking a definitive stage in a 23-year-long transition to federalism, the amendment established Flanders, Wallonia and bilingual Brussels as self-governing regions with their own directly-elected parliaments. The regional administrations have extensive powers, only defence, foreign relations and monetary policy being reserved to the small federal government. Under the new structure, the small German-speaking community in eastern Belgium obtained increased rights.

In late March, with half the articles of the constitutional amendment still to be ratified by the Chamber of Deputies, a government crisis was narrowly averted, following a major disagreement

between the Flemish Social Christian Party and the francophone Socialist Party, PS, on austerity measures aimed at reducing the Belgian budget deficit. Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene had tendered his resignation to the king, but this was not immediately accepted and after further talks between the four coalition partners agreement was reached on a budget package which excluded controversial proposals to limit wage-indexation.

BULGARIA

New union formed

The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, BDSP, together with the Alternative Socialist Alliance (independent), ASA; the Bulgarian Labour Social Democratic Party, BLSDP; and the Social Democratic Club, SDK 'Europe', on 10 March formed a new Bulgarian Social Democratic Union.

In a common Political Declaration, the Union's four members drew attention to the deepening social and economic crisis in Bulgaria, the worsening living conditions of working people, and the need for an 'authoritative and energetic political force that will unite the Bulgarian citizens and protect their interests'.

The BDSU aims to 'coordinate the strategy and the applied policy of the social democratic parties and movements in Bulgaria in preserving their political independence'. The members will collaborate in organising activities, sharing information and practical resources, and will work towards common programmes and electoral cooperation.

Chancellor
Vranitzky

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

CANADA

Conservatives in disarray

Canada's New Democratic Party, NDP, is gearing up for a general election campaign later this year. The ruling Conservative Party, installed in 1984 and returned with a reduced majority four years later, has taken a battering in the opinion polls because of the continuing deep recession and a controversial free trade pact with the United States and Mexico. Its confidence was further shaken by the rejection by referendum of a constitutional reform package which won cross-party backing, including that of the NDP (see 3/92, page 63).

The federal council of the NDP, led by SI Vice-President Audrey

**NDP Leader
Audrey
McLaughlin**



McLaughlin, met in Ottawa on 23-24 January to prepare its campaign strategy. Meanwhile, Conservative leader and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney resigned on 24 February, but will remain in office until his party meets to choose a successor, probably in June.

In October 1992, the NDP had held on to six of the seventeen seats in the Yukon Territory legislature, but lost power to the newly-formed Yukon Party which took seven seats and formed a minority government.

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

Elections postponed

The twilight of the Central African Republic's military regime was extended to the government's decision on 30 January to postpone the presidential and legislative elections which had been scheduled for the second half of February. No new date for polling was announced.

A previous attempt to hold multi-party elections, in October 1992, had ended in failure, amid allegations of wholesale malpractice (see 4/92, page 64). The four opposition candidates for the presidency included Abel Goumba, leader of the Patriotic Front for Progress, FPP, an SI observer member.

In December 1992, President Kolingba had appointed a new prime minister, namely General Timothée Malendoma, and awarded nine cabinet portfolios to opposition parties. Malendoma was once a prominent member of the FPP-led Concertation of Democratic Forces, CFD, but was expelled in August 1992 after participating in a government-initiated dialogue.

The president announced on 17 January the creation of a 'Provisional National Political Council of the Republic', CNPPR, consisting of himself, the four opposition presidential candidates and the chairman of the existing Economic and Regional Council, CER. He also in February appointed yet another prime minister, Enoch Lakoue, presidential candidate of the Social Democratic Party.

Chaired by former President David Dacko (also a presidential candidate), the CNPPR has endeavoured to establish itself as the country's supreme authority. However, effective power continues to reside with President Kolingba and the military.

CYPRUS

Clerides defeats Vassiliou

Glaftos Clerides (73) of the Conservative Democratic Rally, DISY, was the surprise victor in the Greek Cypriot presidential elections held in two rounds on 7 and 14 February, narrowly defeating the incumbent, George Vassiliou. In the run-off vote Clerides received crucial support from the centrist Democratic Party, DIKO, and the EDEK Socialist Party (an SI affiliate), whose joint candidate had been eliminated in the first round.

The DIKO-EDEK candidate, Paschalis Paschalides, stood under the banner of the Front of Fighting Forces, in opposition to the current United Nations proposals for a settlement of the Cyprus question (see 4/92, page 54). He received 18.64 per cent of the first round vote, while Vassiliou, backed by the powerful AKEL Communists, took 44.15 per cent and Clerides 36.74 per cent.

Although Clerides had generally supported the government's conduct of the Cyprus negotiations, in the election campaign he distanced himself from the Vassiliou line, which he described as too conciliatory. This enabled DIKO and EDEK to switch their support to the DISY candidate, who took 50.28 per cent of the vote in the second round, against 49.72 per cent for Vassiliou.

Announced by President-elect Clerides on 25 February, the new Greek Cypriot government consisted of six DISY ministers and five from DIKO. At his investiture on 28 February, the new president said that his government would not refuse to attend future UN-convened talks, although it required a short delay to facilitate 'better preparation and better study'.

CZECH REPUBLIC

60

First independent steps

The independent Czech Republic was born on 1 January, when the 74-year-old Czech-Slovak federation came to a largely amicable end (see 4/92, pages 54-5). On 26 January the former Czechoslovak head of state, Václav Havel, was duly elected as the new state's first president, receiving 109 votes in the 200-member parliament, against 49 for an ex-Communist candidate and 14 for a nationalist.

The Czech Social Democrats held their first post-independence congress in Hradec Králová on 26-28 February, when delegates formally approved the name Czech Social Democratic Party. The congress adopted a new programme and statutes, defining the party's policy as seeking to provide a consistent left-wing alternative to the present neo-conservative governmental coalition, based on a strong welfare state, and a market economy with emphasis on ecology, social policy and the development of democracy. A new leadership was elected, headed as chair by Milos Zeman (see People, page 45).

DENMARK

Social Democrats return to government

The Social Democratic Party of Denmark ended over a decade of opposition on 25 January when it became the leading formation in a new centre-left coalition. Embracing four parties, the new government is Denmark's first majority administration since 1971.

The previous Conservative-led minority coalition collapsed on 14 January, when Prime Minister Poul Schlüter had resigned over the 'Tamilgate' scandal. This involved criticism of his conduct in 1987 over the exclusion from Denmark of the families of Tamil refugees from Sri Lanka.

As leader of the largest parlia-

mentary party, Social Democrat Chair Poul Nyrup Rasmussen (see Profile, page XX) was asked to try to form a government. He duly obliged, reaching political agreement with three small centrist parties, the Centre Democrats, the Radical Liberals and the Christian People's Party. Between them, the four coalition parties command 90 of the 179 Folketing seats.

The new 25-member government includes 15 Social Democrats (see People, page 45).

In his government programme, Rasmussen laid emphasis on the need to reverse the Danish electorate's rejection of the EC's Maastricht treaty in June 1992 (see 2/92, page 58). It was later announced that a second referendum would be held on 18 May, when approval would be sought for the adjusted Danish terms agreed at the EC's Edinburgh summit in December.

The government's other priority, said the new prime minister, would be the fight against unemployment. To this end it would seek to make the jobless a European crusade during Denmark's tenure of the EC presidency in the first half of 1993.

EGYPT

Mubarak acts against fundamentalists

President Mubarak and the Egyptian authorities have adopted a strong line against extremist Islamic violence. Egypt's ruling formation is the National Democratic Party, NDP, an SI member party.

Fundamentalist terrorism has been directed especially against the Egyptian tourist industry, worth some \$3,000 million in a normal year, and also poses a growing threat to foreign businesses. Perpetrated by activists of the Jamaat Islamiya movement, the attacks have included the shooting-up of tourist buses, resulting in several deaths. By March tourist bookings were 50 per cent lower than the pre-violence level.

Interviewed by the Washington Post, President Mubarak defended



President
Mubarak

his decision to transfer trials of Jamaat suspects from civil to military courts. He pointed to the speedier procedures of military courts (from which there is no appeal), adding that the further progress of Egyptian democracy depended on economic and political stability being achieved.

According to non-government sources in early March, some 6,000 alleged Islamic militants were in custody awaiting trial. Under emergency laws in force since the assassination of President Sadat in 1981, such suspects can be detained indefinitely.

The government has sought to curb increasing fundamentalist influence in the ruling bodies of professional associations, which it attributed to low participation in elections. Under a new law adopted on 16 February, a minimum turnout of 50 per cent of eligible voters is required for an election to be deemed valid.

President Mubarak has also called for a 'global alliance' in the fight against fundamentalist terrorism. His stance was given added weight by reports that at least one of those arrested in connection with the bombing of the World Trade Centre in New York on 26 February was a follower of the exiled Egyptian fundamentalist preacher, Omar Abdel-Rahman.

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

FINLAND

Sundqvist resigns

Ulf Sundqvist resigned as chair of the opposition Finnish Social Democratic Party, SDP, on 24 February. A former education minister and SDP general secretary, Sundqvist had headed the SDP since November 1991 (see 4/91, pages 44 & 58).

The senior SDP vice-chair, Antero Kekkonen, became acting chair pending a new leadership election at a party congress in June.

FRANCE

Socialists bow out

The Socialist Party, PS, sustained a not unexpected defeat in National Assembly elections held in two rounds on 21 and 28 March. The PS had dominated the French government since 1981 except for Socialist President François Mitterrand's interval of 'cohabitation' with the right in 1986-88.

The first round of voting was notable for a high abstention rate of over 30 per cent. The PS and allies' share of the vote was 20.3 per cent, compared with the 35 per cent achieved by the PS alone in the first round in 1988.

The PS vote was on a par with that of each of the two conservative formations, the Gaullist Rally for the Republic, RPR, led by Jacques Chirac, and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's Union for French Democracy, UDF. The aggregate share of the RPR-UDF alliance, at 39.5 per cent, was only two points up on the parties' 1988 showing.

On the far right, Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front, FN, increased its first-round vote from 9.6 per cent in 1988 to 12.7 per cent, most of which swung behind the RPR-UDF alliance in the second round. A sizeable 10.7 per cent of the first-round vote went to 'various right' parties.

A feature of the first round was the disappointing performance of the Ecologists, whose 7.6 per cent

was well down on recent electoral performances. Another was the relative resilience of the unreconstructed French Communist Party, PCF, which took 9.2 per cent compared with 11.3 per cent in 1988.

Under the French system, candidates winning at least 12.5 per cent in the first round could go forward to the second, when alliances and tactical voting came into play. The outcome was a defeat for the PS and its allies.

The results showed that the RPR-UDF alliance had taken 460 of the 577 General Assembly seats and 'various right' candidates a further 24. Despite its strong first-round showing, the FN won no seats. The final tally for the PS and allies was 70 seats. The PCF retained 23 seats.

Within the centre-right alliance, the RPR pulled ahead of the UDF and subsequently nominated Edouard Balladur, an RPR ex-finance minister, as prime minister. RPR Leader Jacques Chirac, having held the premiership in 1986-88, had indicated before the elections that his ambitions lay rather in the presidency.

President Mitterrand, whose term of office runs until 1995, now begins a new period of 'cohabitation' with the RPR-UDF coalition.

Within the PS, the defeat served to intensify debate on the party's future strategy.

GERMANY

SPD setback in Hesse

The Social Democratic Party, SPD, lost ground in local elections in Hesse on 7 March, when the main beneficiaries were the extreme right-wing Republicans and the Greens.

The SPD vote fell from 44.8 per cent in the last such elections in 1989 (and 40.8 per cent in 1991 state elections) to 36.4 per cent this time. Observers calculated that the party had suffered from the low turnout of only 71 per cent of the 4.3 million eligible voters. The Christian Democrats, CDU, also fared badly, taking 32 per cent compared with 34.3 per cent in 1989 and 40.2 per cent in 1991.

The SPD's partners in the Hesse state government, the Greens, won 11.1 per cent of the vote compared with 9 per cent in 1989 and 8.8 per cent in the 1991 state elections. Because of the Greens' increased vote, the SPD-Green alliance narrowly retained a council majority in the state capital, Frankfurt.

Substantial gains were made by the Republicans, who took 8.3 per cent of the vote overall compared with only 1.7 per cent in 1991. In Frankfurt this anti-immigration formation registered 9.5 per cent and won 10 of the 93 council seats. In some districts the Republican vote reached 15 per cent.

The SPD chair, Björn Engholm, commented that the Hesse results indicated a 'deep crisis of confidence' in the main political parties. Warning that unemployment and general economic insecurity were enabling the extreme right to gain support among 'the weakest levels of our society', Engholm added: 'There is a great danger of people who are suffering in our society turning to those who promise them the most'.

Solidarity pact signed

After the Hesse contest political attention focused on proposals by the Christian Democrat/Free Democrat federal government for a national 'solidarity pact' designed to deal with the unforeseen costs of reunification. Published on 19 January, the plan was at first rejected by the SPD on the grounds that it was socially unjust. However, federal/state government talks from 10 March quickly produced an SPD/government consensus on the pact's detailed content.

The pact was signed on 13 March by the federal government and the 16 states, as well as by the coalition and opposition parties. It provided for increased taxation and spending cuts designed to finance the estimated DM 110,000 million annual cost of reunification from 1995 onwards.

GUATEMALA

Peace talks re-opened

The difficult process of negotiating an end to one of Latin America's most intractable armed conflicts continues to engage the coalition government which includes the SI member Democratic Socialist Party, PSD, led by Mario Solórzano. Some progress has been registered with the renewal of formal peace talks with the guerrilla front, the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union, UNRG, in Mexico City in February, after an 18-month adjournment.

The resumption of direct negotiations followed the supervised return in January of several thousand refugees from across the Mexican border. Guatemalan Nobel prizewinner Rigoberta Menchú, a campaigner for the rights of the country's indigenous majority, joined in the welcome for the refugees, some of the 45,000 who have fled the country in more than 30 years of violence.

The governments of Colombia, Mexico, Spain and Venezuela announced on 24 February the formation of a goodwill group to assist the peace process which had stalled over differences between the government and the UNRG on whether a human rights accord should precede or follow a ceasefire and peace pact. The show of international support for the peace process was welcomed by both sides but the chief mediator, Bishop Rodolfo Quezada Toruño, warned that much remained to be agreed. The urgency of the task facing the peace-makers was highlighted by reports early in the new year of violent clashes between the army and guerrilla forces in the north of the country.

IRELAND

Springtime for Ireland

Labour took six of the 15 seats in the coalition cabinet (see People, page 45) which it finally formed on 12 January with the outgoing

government party, Fianna Fáil, following November's general election (see 4/92, page 57).

Labour's first coalition deal with the liberal-nationalist Fianna Fáil was endorsed almost unanimously at a 1,200-delegate special party conference. Together, the two partners hold 101 of the 166 Dail seats. Labour shouldered a much bigger share of government than has traditionally been the lot of junior partners in Irish coalitions; the party also made its influence felt in the formulation of the programme for government. This featured a priority commitment to the creation of 20,000 jobs a year, easing the tax burden on the low paid, and increasing investment in public housing, health, education and transport. With unemployment affecting one in five of the workforce, the government faced considerable challenges, including a currency crisis, record interest rates and a government debt in the region of 95 per cent of GDP.

The coalition has also undertaken to decriminalise homosexuality and hold a referendum on the legalisation of divorce. It promised reforms in the fields of political party funding, election campaign spending and ethics in government.

As minister of foreign affairs, Labour Leader Dick Spring becomes Dublin's chief representative in Northern Ireland matters. In a gesture of rapprochement toward the Protestant community in Northern Ireland, he held out the prospect of reforming the Irish Constitution to remove or amend articles which had been cited as stumbling blocks in inter-party talks on the north's future internal government. Urging a resumption of negotiations, he called for 'an accommodation on the constitutional issue which is reasonable and fair to all' and for a 'new covenant' between the different historic communities on the island.

ISRAEL

Expulsions impasse

The crisis over Israel's expulsion of 413 Palestinians in December (see 4/92, pages 57-8) continued during the first three months of 1993, with the situation of those expelled, in their makeshift camp in southern Lebanon, representing an obstacle to the resumption of Arab-Israeli peace talks.

Following UN resolutions and international pressure the Israeli High Court ruled on 28 January that the government's action had not contravened Israeli law, based as it was on British colonial-era regulations. It also found that the deportees had the right of individual appeal, although this option was immediately rejected by the Palestinians concerned.

In a move to defuse the crisis, the Labour prime minister, Yitzhak Rabin, announced on 1 February that 100 of the Palestinians could return.

Despite this gesture, Palestinian representatives insisted that there could be no return to the negotiating table until the expulsions had been rescinded in full.

At a meeting of the Israeli cabinet on 7 February forthright criticism of the government stance was lodged by the environment minister, Yosi Sarid, one of the four ministers of the Meretz alliance headed by the United Workers' Party, MAPAM. (The Labour Party and MAPAM are both SI member parties). Earlier, on 24 December, the MAPAM central committee had resolved that the support of Meretz ministers for the expulsions had been 'erroneous' and contrary to the 'Meretz platform and the political principles of MAPAM'.

On 16 February Rabin conceded publicly that his 1992 election promise of an agreement on Palestinian self-determination within nine months could not be met.

US diplomacy continued to seek a resumption of the formal Arab-Israeli peace process, for which 20 April was set as the target date by Washington. Visiting the region in late February, the new US sec-

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

retary of state, Warren Christopher, failed to overcome Palestinian objections to resumed talks but felt able to express optimism that the process would continue.

Visiting the United States in mid-March, Rabin came under considerable US pressure to make further concessions on the expulsions issue. Meanwhile, the security situation in Israel and the occupied territories has deteriorated, with an increasing incidence of violence.

Weizman elected president

Ezer Weizman was elected president of Israel by the members of the Knesset on 24 March. Weizman, the candidate of the Labour-led coalition, was once a leading member of the right-wing Likud Party, but left Likud in 1980 and later joined the Labour Party. An architect of the 1979 peace treaty with Egypt, he is an outspoken advocate of negotiated agreement with Israel's Arab neighbours and, although his office is largely ceremonial, many expect his presence in public life to give added momentum to the peace process.

ITALY

Upheavals in parties and government

During February and March several ministers resigned from the four-party coalition government led by Giuliano Amato of the Italian Socialist Party, PSI. The resignations followed continuing reports of irregularities in the financing of electoral and political activities affecting virtually all political parties. The government's position appeared weak and it was widely predicted to remain in office only pending the long-awaited referendum on electoral reform due to be held on 18 April.

Meanwhile, Bettino Craxi, leader of the Italian Socialist Party, PSI, for more than 16 years, resigned at a party assembly on 11 February and was succeeded by Giorgio Benvenuto (see People, page 45). Craxi, who was prime



Prime minister prepares to vote

minister in 1983-87, had in November signalled his intention to step down (see 4/92, page 58). The resignation followed debates within the party over the electoral reform and other issues (see 4/92, page 58) and occurred against a backdrop of national debate about the need for a change in Italian politics.

The next few weeks saw the resignations of the Republican and Liberal leaders and, at the end of March, of Carlo Vizzini, general secretary of the Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI.

Recent municipal polls have shown the vote of most mainstream parties slipping back by several percentage points.

The referendum on electoral reform is seen as the probable first step in wide-ranging reforms likely to lead to substantial change in the balance of political forces in the country.

JAMAICA

PNP's landslide victory

The People's National Party, PNP, gained a decisive victory in a snap general election held on 31 March, increasing its parliamentary majority.

Buoyed by opinion poll indications of a commanding lead over the opposition, Prime Minister P.J. Patterson called the general election with just three weeks' notice and a year earlier than scheduled.

The PNP had been consolidating its position under Patterson, who became party leader and prime minister on the retirement last year of veteran Caribbean statesman and SI Honorary President Michael Manley.

In December, the government secured a three-year extended fund facility from the IMF to support its programme for curbing inflation and achieving steady economic growth. Significant cuts were made in income tax and import duties and major public works programmes were ann-

ounced, providing welcome relief from the severe austerity policies necessitated by the impact of the world recession.

MADAGASCAR

Presidential elections

The opposition candidate, Albert Zafy, secured an impressive victory in the delayed second round of presidential elections held on 10 February. Having held power since 1975, the incumbent head of state, Admiral Didier Ratsiraka, appeared to accept defeat gracefully.

Leader of the National Union for Development and Democracy, UNDD, the French-educated Dr. Zafy (65) stood as the candidate of the Committee of Active Forces, CFV. In the first round of voting on 25 November he had fallen short of an overall majority, winning 45 per cent compared with Ratsiraka's 29 per cent. In the second round Zafy took a massive 66.7 per cent of the vote, against 33.3 per cent for Ratsiraka.

The SI's consultative member in Madagascar, the Party for National Unity, VITM or Vonjy, had initially backed Ratsiraka's moves to introduce multi-party democracy (see 3/91, page 60). Subsequently, however, it gravitated to the opposition camp.

MALTA

Labour conference

The annual conference of the opposition Malta Labour Party, MLP, on 28-29 January confirmed Alfred Sant as leader and also elected Mario Vella as party president, Jimmy Magro as secretary general and Alex Sceberras Trigona as vice-president.

Making his first conference speech since becoming MLP leader in February 1992 (see 2/92, page 63), Dr. Sant dwelt on some of the major issues facing Malta. On the government's application to join the European Community he said that Maltese membership made no sense now or in the foreseeable



future, given that Malta had been left 'humiliated' in the EC waiting room.

Forecasting that Labour would be back in government 'quicker than some people may think', the Labour leader also touched on the controversial issue of church-state relations. A recent accord between the Nationalist government and the church was seen by Labour as essentially reactionary.

MOROCCO

Amaoui sentence upheld

Pre-election political tensions were heightened by an Appeal Court decision on 31 January to uphold the sentence imposed in April 1992 on trade union leader Noubir Amaoui (see 1/92, page 63). Amaoui is also a member of the political bureau of the Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP, an SI member party.

Amaoui had been sentenced to two years' imprisonment for 'insulting and slandering' the government of Morocco in an interview with a Spanish newspaper. International protest against the sentence included a European Parliament resolution on 21 January calling for the release of Amaoui and other political detainees in Morocco.

Condemning the Appeal Court ruling as a violation of basic

human rights, the USFP decided to suspend its participation in the national commission charged with preparing the legislative elections now due in June.

NICARAGUA

Chamorro turns to Sandinistas

The Sandinista National Liberation Front, FSLN, is currently in the position of holding an effective majority of seats in the National Assembly and offering tactical support to the government of President Violeta Chamorro - despite having been defeated in both the presidential and legislative elections of 1990.

A split in the 14-party National Opposition Union, UNO, which defeated the FSLN in 1990, has led most of the 51 UNO deputies to withdraw from the 92-seat Assembly, leaving the 39 Sandinista deputies and nine others in control. The opposition, headed by estranged Vice-President Virgilio Godoy, claims that FSLN leaders who spearheaded the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship in 1979 have become 'entrenched in positions of power' and that President Chamorro is governing in a de facto alliance with the Sandinistas. The opposition has been taking to the streets in protest, seeking to bring forward the general elections scheduled for 1996.

Meanwhile, two Sandinistas were appointed to President Chamorro's cabinet in January: Fernando Guzmán to the new portfolio of minister for tourism, and Alvaro Fiallos Oyanguren as junior minister for agrarian reform. The retention of General Humberto Ortega, brother of FSLN leader and former President Daniel Ortega, as head of the army, and the maintenance of economic reforms instituted by the former FSLN government are among the grievances exercising the opposition.

The FSLN, admitted to observer status at the SI's Berlin congress in September, remains by far the country's largest political formation. The UNO coalition, which

Left:
Alfred Sant

backed Chamorro's election campaign and now opposes her government, is a motley alliance of parties ranging from conservatives to communists. It includes erstwhile leaders of the right-wing *contra* guerrilla forces which, with US support, sought to destabilise the Sandinista government throughout the 1980s. Several *contra* units have rearmed and have since mid-1991 been conducting occasional attacks on civilian and security force targets.

PERU

PAP in local polls

Campaigning in difficult conditions, with many of its leaders imprisoned or exiled after President Alberto Fujimori's army-backed coup suspended democratic government last April, the Peruvian Aprista Party, PAP, nevertheless took some seats in January's local elections.

More than 11,000 candidates stood for over 1,800 local authorities around the country and the results were far from the endorse-

ment which Fujimori hoped for half-way through his term. As in November's elections to a so-called 'constituent congress', there was a high rate of abstention and ballot-spoiling, with many voters opting for independents and minor parties. Facing certain defeat in the election for mayor of Lima, the nominee of Fujimori's New Majority-Change 90 grouping actually withdrew from the contest and most other councils had no candidates at all from Fujimori's party.

PAP leader and former President Alan García remains in exile in Colombia, which has refused his extradition and recognised his sta-

65

FROM THE ARCHIVE

A PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST REMEMBERS

A recent number of *Portugal Socialista*, the organ of the Portuguese Socialist Party, carried the reminiscences of José Ferreira Albuquerque, who was born in 1911, a few months after the foundation of the Portuguese Republic, and six months before the celebration of the Socialist Party's Fourth National Congress in Lisbon. He has been a socialist for 58 years in the city of Setúbal where he worked in the fish canning industry.

He joined the party on 16 August 1932, feeling that the objectives of the anarcho-syndicalists to which he had been linked were 'a little utopian'. At the time the party's general secretary was Dr Ramada Curto. He joined just in time to attend the party's congress in Coimbra. The dictatorship of António de Oliveira Salazar was gaining strength and the party faced suspension. In 1938 the union to which Ferreira Albuquerque belonged was also closed by the government.

'I used to make common cause even with the devil, if that were necessary, in order to fight Salazar', he remarks.

In Setúbal in 1945 he joined the Movement of Democratic Unity which maintained political activity against the government. When the April Revolution took place in 1974 he requested renewed membership of the Socialist Party and was issued with membership card number 17. He has been active in party life in Setúbal since.

tus as a refugee from political persecution. Fujimori, meanwhile, has continued with the wholesale political purging of the judiciary, armed forces and diplomatic corps.

The PAP, a consultative member of the SI, is keeping up pressure domestically and internationally for a return to democratic legitimacy in Peru (see 4/92, pages 16-19).

PUERTO RICO

Hispanic identity asserted

Thousands took part on 24 January in one of the biggest demonstrations ever seen in Puerto Rico, defending the status of Spanish as the island's official language. The colourful rally was called by the Puerto Rican Independence Party, PIP, as an affirmation of Latin American identity and a rebuke to those seeking the adoption of English as an official language in order to ease Puerto Rico's integration into the United States.

The initiative of the PIP, which moved from consultative to full membership of the SI at the Berlin congress in September, struck a

chord with patriotic Puerto Ricans. Even some prominent members of the pro-integration lobby joined trade unionists, artists, intellectuals and civic leaders on the protest platform.

With a referendum due later this year on the island's constitutional status, the PIP rally provided ample evidence that, despite the dominant Progressive National Party's willingness to concede equal status to English, loyalty to Puerto Rico's Hispanic heritage transcends party lines.

Voters in the referendum will be asked to choose between seeking incorporation as the 51st state of the USA, maintaining the present commonwealth status, or backing the national independence option favoured by the PIP. In this context, the party has been greatly encouraged by the popular response to its forthright stance on the language question.

SENEGAL

Diouf re-elected

President Abdou Diouf was duly re-elected for a third five-year term on 21 February as the candidate of the ruling Socialist Party, PS, an SI member. Parliamentary elections are due to be held in May.

The official results showed that Diouf had won an outright majority of 58.4 per cent of the vote on the first round, in a turnout of 51.5 per cent. The runner-up was Abdoulaye Wade of the Democratic Party, who obtained 32 per cent, while six other candidates all won less than 3 per cent of the vote.

In the last presidential elections, held in 1988, Diouf defeated Wade by 73 to 26 per cent. In April 1991 Wade took his party into a government of national unity, at the invitation of the ruling Socialists (see 2/91, page 63), but the Democratic Party reverted to opposition status in October 1992.

At the invitation of the Senegalese government, an SI delega-



*President
Diouf*

tion observed the presidential contest, which was held under a new electoral code (see page 31).

SLOVAK REPUBLIC

Election of first president

Born on 1 January, the independent state of Slovakia formally acquired its first government on 12 January, dominated as before by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, HZDS.

Two rounds of voting by deputies of the Slovak parliament in late January failed to produce the required three-fifths majority for any of four presidential candidates. But on 15 February a consensus emerged in favour of Michal Kovac, a former Communist banker, who was nominated by the HZDS and elected unopposed as the country's first president.

By early March, however, disagreements within the new government had resulted in the dismissal or resignation of several key ministers, including Economy Minister Ludovit Cernik, the leader of the Slovak National Party and the only non-HZDS government member.

*Left:
PIP Leader
Rubén
Berríos*



'We cannot allow a Lebanese-type situation to develop in part of ex-Yugoslavia - if we do, the result will be the Palestinianisation of a European region.'

Michael Flückinger, chair of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly Committee on Migration, Refugees and Demography



Australian Labor's victory as seen by 'Le Monde'

Quality, Industriousness and Reliability Is What El Salvador Offers You!



Rosa Martinez produces apparel for U.S. markets on her sewing machine in El Salvador. You can hire her for 57-cents an hour*.

Rosa is more than just colorful. She and her co-workers are known for their industriousness, reliability and quick learning. They make El Salvador one of the best buys in the C.B.I. In addition, El Salvador has excellent road and sea transportation (including Central America's most modern airport) . . . and there are no quotas.

Find out more about sourcing in El Salvador. Contact FUSADES, the proven, non-profit and non-partisan organization promoting social and economic development in El Salvador. Miami telephone: 305-381-8940.

* Does not include fringe benefits.

Circle 147 on Reader Service Card

ENR 11/15/93 51

Free trade zones in Central America employ non-union, low-wage female labour, as shown in this advertisement which appeared in a US employers' publication.

Reprinted from the news bulletin of the International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Associations, IUF

'The rest of the world should be reminded that in the existing 300 indigenous languages there is no one word for 'nature'. To indigenous peoples nature is part of the human experience itself.'

Dr Guillermo Delgado-P, professor of Latin American Studies at the University of California, Santa Cruz

'Millions invested in peacekeeping now may save hundreds of millions in relief later. But we can never forget that peacekeeping saves more than just dollars: it saves lives.'

US Secretary of State Warren Christopher

TÄNK FRAMÅT



välj

SOCIALDEMOKRATIN

*Think ahead. Vote for the Social Democrats
Swedish election poster, 1966*