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*Missiles dismantled:
hopes revived*

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Cover picture
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3 EDITORIAL

4 Disarmament - the First Step to Security

Willy Brandt argues that the destruction of weapons is just one of the elements needed for global security

8 Pandora and the End of Communism

Mario Soares considers the need for democratic socialism in a troubled world

11 PROFILE

Alexander Dubcek, leader of the Slovak Social Democrats

12 Politics and Change in Japan

Makoto Tanabe calls for a new morality and greater internationalism

16 PARLIAMENTARY DIARY

Heien Clark on why change is needed in New Zealand

18 Sharing the World's Resources

Birgitta Dahl argues that justice and development must be central to the environmental debate

21 Antarctic Landmarks

Hugh O'Shaughnessy describes cooperation in the world's most inhospitable region

24 BOOKS

New books on the Dominican Republic and on a Labour vision of London

26 About the SI

27 SI NEWS

• SI Mission in Iraqi Kurdistan • Environment Committee prepares for Rio
• Delegation to Venezuela • Mission to Armenia and Azerbaijan
• London meeting on Africa • SI Presidium in Madrid • PEOPLE

42 LETTERS

43 WOMEN AND POLITICS

Women's Stand in Europe

SIW president *Anita Gradin* reflects on the changes in Europe and how these will affect women

Women Plan their City

Renate Brauner outlines an innovative campaign by Viennese Socialist Democratic Women

Why I Support a New Party

Ellie Smeal, former president of NOW, reviews the facts in favour of such an option

Women and Health: a Letter from Denmark

55 SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

• Australia • Austria • Belgium • Bulgaria • Czechoslovakia • El Salvador • Estonia
• France • Great Britain • Germany • Greece • Guatemala • Haiti • Israel • Italy
• Japan • Latvia • Malta • Morocco • Nepal • New Zealand • Northern Ireland
• Norway • Peru • Portugal • Romania • San Marino • Spain • Turkey • Venezuela

67 THE LAST WORD

TOWARDS THE RIO CONFERENCE

The governments of the world are making their final preparations for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development which is scheduled to take place in Rio de Janeiro.

The Socialist International has itself worked over the years on the crucial topics to be discussed at the Rio summit, which will offer the best opportunity there has ever been to forge a global consensus on the protection of our planet.

As we say elsewhere in this issue, there is much work still to do if that consensus is to be reached and much to do thereafter. At the same time the omens are not unfavourable. It is of the highest importance for humanity that the Conference agree on a concrete strategy of action in Rio. The opportunity presented by the Conference must not be wasted.

DISARMAMENT – THE FIRST STEP TO SECURITY

The great challenges of the present and the future can only be met if we put disarmament into practice on a large scale and worldwide. But let there be no doubt, international security is threatened not only by weapons of mass destruction and over-armament, but also by the global destruction of the environment, excessive consumption of energy and raw materials, overpopulation, and the unfair terms of the world economy. We know, or at least we can guess, that disputes over distribution and movements of migrants can endanger security just as much as ethnic and religious tensions tending to violent eruption, or the persecution of minorities and other serious violations of basic human rights.

Peace and development, the protection of human rights and the global environment

*The destruction of weapons is vital, but it is only one of the elements needed for the achievement of global security, argues **Willy Brandt**, president of the Socialist International.*



are the great challenges we face now and for the future. We shall certainly not be able to master these challenges by military means - on the contrary, they only serve to reinforce the conviction that there must be radical disarmament, in Europe and worldwide.

At least - and we should gratefully acknowledge this - the threat to humankind of a nuclear war between the nuclear super-powers has been banished by the overcoming of the East-West confrontation which had been with us for decades. The 'great' have quite rightly been lauded for this historic achievement, which has been brought about more by ideological than by military disarmament. But those ordinary people whose untiring educational work played its part in this massive change of consciousness should not be forgotten. The peace movements have been more successful than they might themselves realise.

Despite all the insecurities which characterise the new situation in the world, one thing at least seems certain: the present leadership in the Kremlin is also committed to disarmament. Only recently, the presidents of Russia and the United States announced a further reduction in 'strategic' nuclear weapons. It also seems to be agreed that the arsenals of so-called tactical weapons should disappear.

There remains, however, the question of whether Moscow's intentions will be followed everywhere in the former Soviet Union. In the light of the immense political difficulties, as well as the economic, social and ethnic problems, and the historical burdens within the Commonwealth of Independent States, we cannot ignore the fact that new nuclear powers have emerged by 'cell division'. It is no coincidence that proliferation has become a crucial issue. It is not difficult to imagine other countries with nuclear ambitions wanting to tap 'Soviet' know-how. It is naive to assume that the leader in Baghdad was the only one interested in nuclear know-how. It was already known, before the recent admission by Pakistan that it is capable of producing nuclear weapons, that others in the Middle East were ahead of Iraq. At least six other developing countries are quite close to making a nuclear bomb, and could have the capability to build delivery systems within the next decade.

If we are also aware of the comparatively simple manufacturing process for chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction, we may indeed be frightened - especially since the established nuclear powers still have more than full arsenals of atomic, biological and chemical (ABC) weapons.

Certainly for collective security it would be sensible to destroy these devilish things on a worldwide scale and under monitored conditions. However the world is far from always governed by sensible judgement, tending rather to be dominated by states which are in competition with one another. As far as heads of state are concerned, not a few still agree with Machiavelli, who advised his Prince that: 'since it is difficult to be both at the same time, it is much safer to be feared than to be loved'. Nevertheless the conviction is growing even among power-conscious realists that the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction can only be prevented or counteracted by systems of collective security.

Whereas collective security was scarcely feasible during the cold war era - since two heavily armed alliances were confronting each other - the chances of realising this concept have improved considerably since the beginning of the 1990s. A clear indication of this is the renewed interest in the United Nations. Even in places where the power of veto has for decades undermined the aims of the organisation's charter, the spirit of San Francisco seems suddenly revived. What the founders of the United Nations conceived in San Francisco - a collective security system with powers of sanction against those who would disturb the peace - has now come to be understood, and not only in New York, as the central mission of the United Nations.

In order to avoid possible misunderstandings which might have occurred through the association of the UN with the Gulf war, I would like to stress again the following: a collective security system should and indeed must be capable of preventing wars. Obviously the United Nations was not (yet) ready for this during the Gulf conflict. If we want to go beyond the experience of the past there are two things we must strive for:

- firstly a strengthening of the United Nations, whose organs must be given the means of recognising conflicts at an early stage, containing them, and solving them peacefully if possible;
- secondly, and simultaneously, regional security systems must be extended and institutionalised.

The new secretary general of the United Nations, our former vice-president, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, supports both these aims. Through his long experience in diplomatic and political circles over many years he knows only too well that in his own region the notion of collective security has for the Middle East been a mirage and for Africa non-existent. This was a factor in his considerations when applying for the difficult UN post; he knows

Building trust: a French soldier (centre) examines Russian weapons



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that a functional world organisation must for the time being make up for the blatant lack of regional security.

Whether the fine-sounding words of the members of the Security Council at the recent summit - where they declared their intention of considerably strengthening the UN - are to be translated into action remains to be seen when, towards the middle of this year, the secretary general presents his proposals for improving the effectiveness of the United Nations. It is, however, encouraging that in the meantime the five permanent veto-holding members of the Security Council have held talks on the monitoring of arms exports, the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and also on the worldwide banning of chemical weapons.

But are we not still caught within the context of the arms race, as long as the five permanent powers retain their nuclear capability as well as their power of veto? The dangers of proliferation can only be dissolved if the understanding grows, through outside pressure, that these devilish things should everywhere be dismantled and the remaining stocks brought under the control of the United Nations, which could be guaranteed through regional security systems.

Do we have sufficient reason to hope that this vicious circle can soon be broken? I think this might be possible because those nations which are not so strong these days as they were cannot but strive for a disengagement from the fatal race. Despite all the uncertainties of a diagnosis from afar, it seems obvious that people in Russia, as well as in the other states of the former Soviet Union, have understood where the waste of resources on competitive armament leads. Even the United States is experiencing the limits of this dysfunctional productivity. It is clear to all concerned that military strength will no longer be the decisive factor for future ranking in the world, since only those who rid themselves of ballast in the military sector will be able to close the gap with their less encumbered competitors.

We must continue to press tirelessly for further steps towards disarmament and to take advantage of the peace dividend. Anyone who knows the potential for reduction in military budgets thanks to the end of the East-West confrontation should not accept glib references to the cost of the Gulf war or of SDI programmes. It does seem understandable that the main dividend from the potential cost-cutting exercises will be redistributed nationally on the 'home front', bearing in mind the present indigence in countries like Russia and the deficit in the United States. There is a national 'backlog' to be made up everywhere and no doubt arms conversion cannot be carried out without cost. All the

Missiles dismantled ...



... and cut up for scrap

about to erupt.

We are still miles away from a world order in the positive sense of the term, despite some verbose claims to the contrary. What we are facing at this time is world disorder on a frightening scale. In this period of transition we are obliged to live with many uncertainties; the creation of more solid world structures will take time. But if we take seriously the justified concerns of all parts of the world, and if we take measures to try and ensure that unhealthy trends are limited and reversed, we are perhaps already making a contribution to the future of this - our only - world. ■

same, we should look further than our own noses and try to ensure that a substantial part of the peace dividend is set aside for international cooperation.

Whether a ten per cent share is too low or a third share too high is, and of course should be, a matter for discussion. This is also the case with so-called 'burden sharing'. A division of labour is of course sensible, but this should not lead the OECD countries to look only towards the East and simply ignore the justified expectations of the South. I simply do not consider it fair or wise to shrink from shared global responsibility by merely citing the limits of national capacity.

Global interdependency must not become a mere slogan. On the contrary, the very real risks of the holes in the ozone layer and the concern about global warming in particular should lead us to a re-evaluation of interdependent development. If we do not learn very quickly to produce with less waste and to reduce ludicrous consumer demands, we will be to blame for the march towards a multitude of world disasters. Seeking to save the environment of the well-off will necessarily imply cooperation with the 'have-nots'. I do hope therefore that at the forthcoming Rio conference we will not only hear judicious speeches, but the environment will be treated as an urgent priority in terms of international security.

Isolationism and excessive armament do not offer anybody, in any country or continent, a promising option for the future. A narrow outlook on the world would sooner or later have its own bitter consequences. Anyone who thinks that the question of peace has been solved by the overcoming of the East-West confrontation is of course mistaken. On the contrary, there are a number of indications, in more than one part of the world, that potential conflicts which have been brewing for a long time are

PANDORA AND THE END OF COMMUNISM

The disintegration of the communist world was like the opening of Pandora's box. In Greek mythology, Pandora, through stupidity, opened the box the gods had given her and out of it tumbled all the ills of humanity. With the collapse of communism and the Soviet empire there appeared a number of unsuspected problems which had been in the shadows when the world was divided into two blocs.

The first was the problem of democracy and the deepening of the very idea of democracy; the second was how democratic regimes could function in backward societies suffering tragic problems of underdevelopment.

When democracy achieved its victory there was a victory, too, of the market economy. The market can count on many virtues but it cannot resolve complex social problems on its own, as the experiences of Margaret Thatcher in the UK and Ronald Reagan in the US showed. That was the root of social questions which presented themselves as acutely as ever before. On top of that, there were unexpected conflicts. One of those was the Gulf war, which demonstrated the fact that the world was no longer divided between two super-powers. In the military field there is today only one super-power, the United States, which is able to intervene in any theatre of operations and settle conflicts whether they be regional or global. On the other hand, however, it is clear that this military super-power is no longer an economic super-power as it was in the past. It is subject to intense competition from the two great centres of development, Japan and the so-called south-east-Asian dragons who are more or less associated with it, and the European Community. Finally, with the disappearance of the Berlin Wall and the Iron Curtain, the so-called Eastern countries went through a transformation, having as their ideal point of reference democracy and economic prosperity and as their model the European Community. These countries suddenly all started to knock on the door of the EC, creating a concatenation of problems for western Europe.

Nevertheless, democracy has emerged victorious. But I would add, what sort of democracy? Such a question poses complex political problems because democracy is not just the ritual of elections nor even the rule of the majority. It is also respect for minorities, for what is different, respect for others. Now it is incumbent on us to deepen that concept of democracy and not to consider it as some recipe for miracles, above all if we remember that there are many countries which feel that they automatically resolve all their internal problems by mere recourse to more or less clean elections, as is happening, for instance, now in Africa. On the other hand, the market economy and competition are fundamental for progress but do not in themselves resolve problems. They can indeed in the short term aggravate some of these problems and produce great inequalities in society. As a general rule, in a regime of economic freedom the strong become stronger and the weak weaker, a fact which necessitates a greater or smaller degree of intervention by the state as regulator of the economic process and guarantor of social justice. Such is the path towards democratic socialism.

In the present unsettled world situation there are those meanwhile who say that the world is not up to living in freedom. For my part I, as the democrat that I am, absolutely reject such an authoritarian view of the world. It is obvious that everyone needs a father during babyhood and adolescence, but when we reach adulthood we leave behind that sort of authority. Peoples, too, must take on the responsibilities of adulthood, govern themselves and make their own way in the world.

There is no doubt that tragic contradictions are present in today's world. The planet is

Mário Soares, president of Portugal and an honorary president of the Socialist International, considers the need for democratic socialism in a troubled world.

progressing in the technological sense and we have today the ability to save all humanity from hunger. The truth is however that two-thirds of humanity still lives in the most atrocious indigence. Thirty years after the start of liberation movements the African continent is submerged in poverty and violence: it has gone back decades in its level of development. That is a grave indictment of the western world, which used the independence process as a way of installing in Africa despotic governments uninterested in the lot of their peoples. It is one of the reasons which lead me to think that it is vital to find once again the strength of strong convictions and ideals. Contrary to what is being said today - that the end of communism has brought the end of ideology - I believe that ideologies are in fact very swiftly making their mark again.

In the past poverty, inequality and social injustice obliged us to struggle for a more just, more equal and more humane society. Such was the point of departure of the socialist movement and the international communist movement. The solutions they found were, in the first case, not always good and, in the second case, very bad. Today we have to find better solutions, setting out from the same starting point, but aiming to arrive at better conclusions. This is a need that is being felt ever more strongly throughout the world. On the other hand, as there is a general feeling of insecurity and disorder many people think that the present situation is bad, have little idea about the future and as a result look back to the past. This return to the past has produced results we have already suffered from, which led to two world wars, xenophobia, aggressive nationalism, and everything we are now seeing once again even in western Europe. In such situations today, the recipes of short-term pragmatism are no longer giving efficient results. It is for that reason that we have to get back to great convictions and great principles.

With the ending of the Cold War, the United States is being tempted once again into isolationism. It is a long-standing temptation but one which I believe will be overcome. In my opinion, the people of the US are one of the peoples who have given the best example of moral idealism at various times throughout their history. They have at the right time thrown up figures who expressed that idealism, such as Washington, Jefferson, Wilson, and more lately Roosevelt, Kennedy and Carter. But from time to time they go through periods of doubt and introspection. During the 1950s we saw the phenomenon of McCarthyism for example and it looked as though US society was going to fall to fascism. That would have been a disaster for humanity, but happily it did not happen.

When there exist difficult situations and US society faces grave problems - serious social and racial inequality, uncertainty as to the future of its economy, and disorder in the world - there is a natural temptation to isolate oneself from the world and concern oneself only with domestic problems. In such circumstances, I trust that politicians appear with forward-looking attitudes. At the same time there are spontaneous movements in societies which take politicians by surprise. That was what happened in the 1960s in the US universities, a revolt of youth against the Vietnam war which afterwards spread throughout Europe, giving rise to the demonstrations of May 1968 and the libertarian

ideas of that era. It was in some sense a foreshadowing of what can happen today - one can feel the same atmosphere among the worries which surround us. We will have to go back to everything that is generous in life, everything that is not yet contaminated by vested interests. I am convinced that this is what is indeed going to happen. What we need today, not only in Europe but in the wider world, is politicians capable of telling the truth and coming back to the simple truths of life, able to say to people what is necessary in a planet which is rapidly becoming one world.

There are indeed worrying signs in Europe, but the solutions that are offered by extremist parties are worn out. There is no doubt that the christian democratic movements which have been in power in Italy and to some extent in Germany are a little threadbare. The same could be said about socialist or social democratic parties of a certain type which were excessively pragmatic in their actions. Here I would add that I am not against pragmatism, but pragmatism has to be backed up by ideas and ideals. I can give an example of one man who, as a pragmatist, does have ideals and who is a point of reference for the whole of Europe, Jacques Delors. He is a man who wants to help Europe advance, who has clear ideas about the

Great changes in Portugal, as elsewhere: from muscle power...



Wolfgang Kunz/Network

10 future (just as Jean Monnet and Maurice Schumann did in their day) and is at the same time sufficiently pragmatic to get things moving day to day, step by step. There are others who lose themselves in their pragmatism and who lack those fundamental convictions which in a period of crisis are the essential reference point for those who feel themselves at a loss.

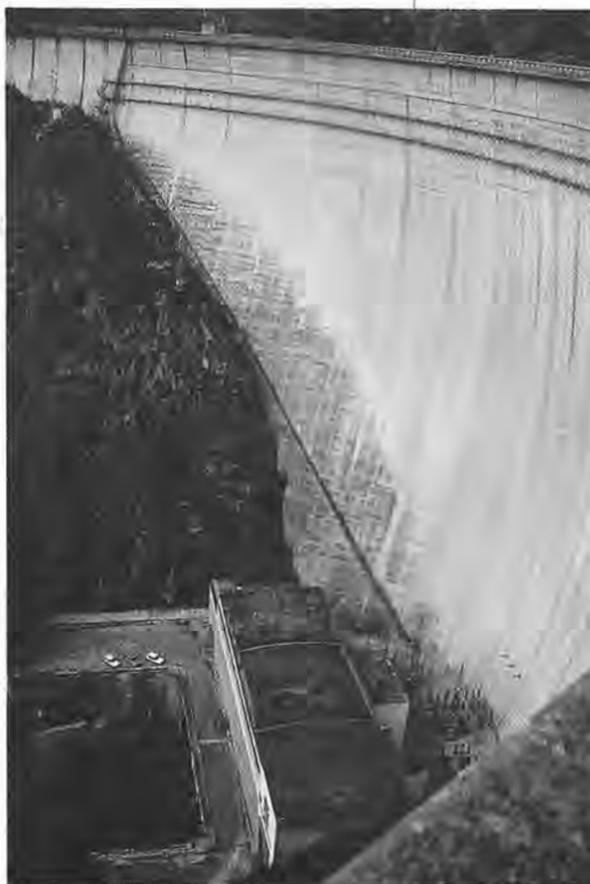
There exists today a great feeling of frustration among those who see that the ritual of democracy has been reduced to its most formalised aspects. People are called to vote every few years, they vote freely and that is a great achievement - I would be the last to speak ill of such an achievement - but citizenship is not exercised solely through the vote. Other forms of participation in public life must be encouraged and developed. Such forms of organisation can be arrived at through debate. Today in Europe there are for the first time problems which have to do with the formation of genuinely European political parties, part of the march towards an authentic European Community, the political, economic and monetary union that I have always been in favour of.

It is a fact that communism - the recipes which were suggested and developed by Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Mao - has collapsed. But socialism as the demand for social justice, liberty and solidarity, that great ideal of emancipation, has not collapsed. Democratic socialism is in my opinion more alive than ever and it is more necessary than ever to solve the problems of men and women in society.

In the 1970s many socialists talked of the breakup of capitalist society and a transition towards a certain collectivisation of the means of production. Such were the ideas which existed up to 1974 in the thought of some parties which called themselves social democratic. We Portuguese were precursors of this. After the 'revolution of carnations' we came up against reality, a reality which was going fast towards collectivisation, and we stood up against such a senseless project. The Portuguese Socialists made history on the level of ideas and praxis and the other socialist parties of southern Europe followed us, although the German Social Democratic Party had been the first to bring about this transformation, for theoretical rather than practical reasons.

One could say that socialism is a cultural attitude, but it is also a principled attitude, radically in favour of progress, the attitude of those who believe in changing society, the economy and people, of those who believe in equality of opportunity, and above all of those who believe that all this is fundamental if society is to advance in freedom and with the strictest respect for human rights. The fact that today there are conservatives who are bringing themselves up to date, that today there are liberals or even conservatives in Europe who are moving towards social solutions and who are also trying to use the functions of the state to correct certain of the most intolerable inequalities does not mean that there are not deep differences between conservatives and socialists (or social democrats, or members of labour parties). What it means is that the appreciation of social problems is evolving and that liberals and conservatives are getting nearer to positions occupied by socialists. It is a development that has advantages for all. It is the tribute that vice pays to virtue. ■

... to hydro-power



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*Socialist Affairs looks at the life of the new
leader of the Slovak Social Democrats*

'Only that which is in accordance with the will of the decisive majority can be legitimate'. The words of Alexander Dubcek, spoken in Bratislava in October 1987, gave a broad clue to the way the former leader of Czechoslovakia was thinking as he considered the future of his country and himself in the twilight of Leninism.

His decision in March this year to accept the leadership of the Social Democratic parliamentary candidates list in his native Slovakia showed that he had not ceased the process of re-evaluation that in 1968 had led him to preside over the 'Prague Spring'.

Dubcek was born on 27 November 1921 at Uhrovek. Four years later his carpenter father and the family emigrated to the Soviet Union. For 13 years the family made their home on a collective farm in the USSR, returning shortly before the Nazi invasion. During the Second World War and the puppet regime established by the occupying forces in Slovakia the young Dubcek joined the partisans. After a spell learning a fitter's trade in the Skoda factory he became a Communist Party official, eventually rising in 1963 to become party leader in Slovakia.

From that position in 1967 he risked his career in the party by denouncing the dictatorship of First Secretary Antonin Novotny and the treatment of Slovaks. A few months later in January 1968 he was Czechoslovakia's leader and beginning the policies which were to bring about the Prague Spring. Censorship was abolished, religious freedom re-established, police powers curtailed and central planning relegated to the political attic. He was convinced that his government would be allowed to continue with its experiments and was surprised when in August of that year the forces of five Warsaw Pact countries marched into the country to put an



**ALEXANDER
DUBCEK**

end to them. He himself, with several colleagues, was detained at gunpoint and on 26 August was led into the Kremlin to be berated by Brezhnev.

Thereafter he was dismissed and disgraced, set to menial work, a virtual prisoner in his own home. In 1987 he commented thus on his time in internal exile, 'I have been trained as a fitter and so I worked as a forestry worker and later in a workshop. Some people say that it is dirty work, but it is "clean dirt". One doesn't mind eating one's sandwiches with dirty hands or blowing the dirt off when they fall on the ground. The only thing that angered me was that the "guardian angels" were watching me and kept me aware of it in every possible way'.

His return to Prague and to political life came on 24 November 1989 when the Communist government of Milos Jakes was still in power. Dubcek dismounted from a bus which had brought him from his home in Bratislava and went to greet the 300,000 people who were awaiting him in the capital's Wenceslas Square.

On that occasion he called for a renewal of society. He said, 'The ideal of socialism with a human face is living in the minds of a new generation'.

It was no surprise when he was elected Speaker of the federal assembly in Prague. The honours flowed. In January 1990 he was in Strasbourg to receive from the European Parliament its Sakharov Prize. He took the opportunity of saying that Czechoslovakia's entry to the European Community was 'only a matter of time'. Three months later he was back in the Kremlin, not this time as a prisoner but rather as a guest of Mikhail Gorbachev, with whom he discussed the withdrawal of Soviet troops from his homeland. Today he is again at the centre of political life in his native Slovakia.

POLITICS AND CHANGE IN JAPAN

Recently Japanese politics was hard hit by a scandal on an unprecedented scale. This latest scandal, in which a number of conservative politicians received unbelievably large donations from business corporations, is just one more clear illustration of how money-tainted Japanese politics has been and still is. Involved in this scandal were a former prime minister, several former ministers and other senior parliamentarians. One of them has already been arrested and prosecuted. Today in Japan power and money are two sides of the same coin.

Every time a scandal of this kind is disclosed, the Liberal Democratic Party takes cosmetic measures simply to buy time until people forget all about it. For the conservative politicians of the money-for-power school, morality holds little value.

It is more obvious than ever that Japan cannot continue on its present political course. However, in order to change this course, alternative political forces must emerge. Unfortunately it is only quite recently that our party has successfully transformed itself into a viable alternative political power.

In fact, until the 1986 national congress of the party which approved a new declaration of democratic socialism, the Social Democratic Party retained some elements of leftist dogmatism. At the summer 1991 congress the party decided to set up a 'shadow cabinet', chaired by myself as shadow prime minister. This initiative is to demonstrate to the public our preparedness to take over power. Today, both public dissatisfaction with a long one-party rule and public expectations of a new coalition government are rapidly increasing. Moreover, in the House of Councillors, the upper house, the opposition parties have the majority. Under these circumstances, the public expects our party to take the initiative towards uniting the opposition forces to replace the present conservative government. Parliamentary democracy can only function properly when there is an alternation of power.

With an upper house election approaching, a new momentum for the re-formation of political forces is building. A majority of people now understand that the present political system controlled by the conservative government has reached a deadlock and can no longer respond to the new demands of an emerging era.

Japan, as the second-largest economic power, cannot be allowed to remain inward-looking or domestic-policy-oriented. At this most dramatic period of historic transformation of the world, Japan must develop its own unique international perspectives.

The half-century-long East-West cold war structure characterised by the USA-USSR rivalry finally collapsed after the demise of the Soviet Union. In the course of the cold war, enormous time and resources were consumed to the benefit of no one. This was especially so in Asia. The Korean war in the 1950s and the Vietnam war in the 1960s claimed many lives and ravaged those countries. With such a historical background, it is quite natural for Asian people to welcome wholeheartedly the end of the cold war.

However, the ending of the cold war will not automatically mean a promising future for the human race. A new era is testing our courage and our determination to tackle such emerging tasks as environmental protection, human development, disarmament, peace and human interdependence. It is in these areas that Japan's contributions are most needed.

Social democrats in Japan opt for globalism, that is the idea of living in global togetherness. Renunciation of wars, absolute pacifism, international solidarity, individual freedom, parliamentary democracy and the protection of human rights, all of them incorporated in the present constitution of Japan, are the values which Japanese people

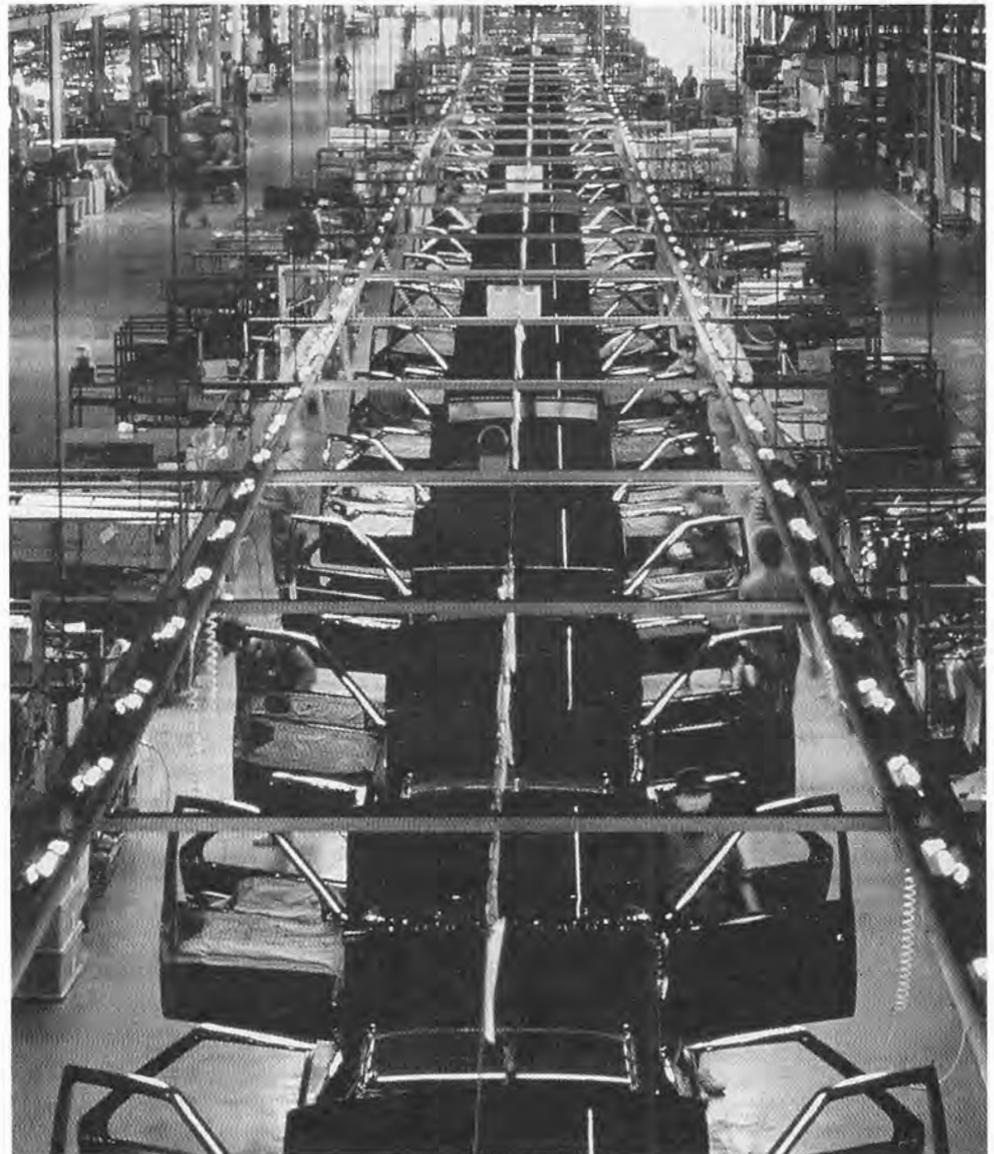
*Makoto Tanabe,
Chair of the Social
Democratic Party of
Japan, calls for a new
morality and greater
internationalism.*

vigorously pursued after all the sufferings in the longest and darkest days of militarism. This desire of the people put post-war Japan on the course of a peace-loving and economy-oriented diplomacy.

Moving now towards a new century, Japan should focus its foreign policies more on North-South and South-South problems. It is clear that world attention should shift from East-West relations to North-South relations. If the emergence of new threats and tensions goes unchecked the future course of the South will inevitably have an enormous impact on the future course of the North. Without peace and stability in the South, no one can imagine peace and stability for the whole world.

A door of hope is half open to a new century of human interdependence, but at the same time the world is being rocked by a number of serious problems, such as ethnic conflicts, hunger, poverty, refugees, environmental degradation, and the income gap between North and South. In such an international environment, Japan is expected to make a maximum contribution by utilising its unique position as a state with high economic performance, extremely advanced technology, and its long-held policies of an arms export ban and the three non-nuclear principles (no possession, no production and an entry-ban on nuclear weapons).

Today new efforts, both multilateral and intra-regional, are being pursued in order to establish a new international order after the cold war. In Europe, a new movement towards 'one continent' is illustrated by the CSCE's adoption of the Paris Charter and



14 NATO's approval of a new strategy. Turning to Asia, we can witness new developments towards detente and peace in the Korean Peninsula and in Cambodia. With such new developments emerging in various parts of the world, the United States has finally come to realise that the multilateral formula can also be applied to disarmament negotiations in the Asia-Pacific region.

Japan needs the United States and China as its most important partners in seeking regional peace and disarmament, in developing trade and economic exchanges, and in facilitating environmental protection and economic development. These three countries, together with other Asia-Pacific countries, can pursue multi-faceted and multi-layered cooperation within the region in a spirit of respect for socio-political and cultural differences. The time is ripe for the people in the region to initiate the disarmament process.

In the Korean Peninsula, encouraging developments include a joint declaration on denuclearising the Peninsula, an agreement on nuclear inspection, and the suspension of the US-South Korea joint military exercises. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which had been isolated from the international community, is today being given a chance to initiate historic reform. As far as relations between Japan and the DPRK are concerned, our party is a leading proponent of opening diplomatic relations, which in our opinion will facilitate both detente and economic development in the region.

I should also like to touch upon Cambodia. In mid-January this year, I visited Cambodia, Thailand and China, and discussed a broad range of issues from peace negotiations to economic cooperation with the leaders of the respective governments and ruling parties.

In Cambodia I was relieved to find that the people have maintained high expectations of a peaceful solution. But at the same time, after a 13-year civil war and atrocities which completely destroyed the economic infrastructure, people are still haunted by the unpredictability of their future lives. The present underdeveloped economy will continue to stir up public distrust of the government, and if such an economy is left as it is there will be no future for either peace or reconstruction in Cambodia. Recognising this present situation, our party is calling on the Japanese government to provide maximum financial and technical aid to help Cambodia develop its social and economic infrastructure in such fields as agriculture, energy supply and transport.

Japan will never be able to assume a leading role in the international community if it fails to respond to the specific needs of the Cambodian people and the international community in general. As a developed country within the Asian community, Japan is most qualified to take the initiative to organise an international conference for Cambodian reconstruction. Both official and private funds should be utilised to bridge the gap between the urban and rural areas, to eliminate poverty, and to help Cambodia develop a self-sustaining economy. Cambodia will be a litmus test of the viability of Japanese Asian diplomacy.

With regard to Japan's international commitment, another aspect on which I should say more is the nature of our economic behaviour. Post-war Japan is perhaps one of the countries which benefited most from the free trade system, under which it imported raw materials from Asia and all over the world and exported manufactured goods mainly to the US and Europe. However, due to its peculiar business behaviour which puts labour efficiency above labour fairness, Japan has been criticised by the international community as a 'free trade-buster'. Such behaviour has also brought about serious trade friction with the US, Europe and South Korea. It is such aspects of Japanese business practices as long working hours, failure to pass on a fair share of profits to the workforce, lack of interest in social and cultural activities, and indifference to the preservation of the environment and to energy conservation which are primarily criticised by the US and by European countries. If Japanese business continues to be guided solely by the principle of 'sell good things at low prices' Japan will remain isolated from the rest of the world. Free competitiveness in the market economy presupposes both the social discipline for fairness and justice and the business morale to guarantee decent life for all. But unfortunately it is such discipline and morale that is foreign to most Japanese business corporations.

So it is essential that today's Japan demonstrate to the world that it will make every effort to get rid of this old-fashioned business behaviour and to seek renewed partnerships with the Asian and western countries.

Last but not least, I must take up the unsolved issues related to Japan's past deeds. To this day, the present conservative government has failed to face squarely its past of military invasions. We must not forget the fact that the Japanese Imperial Army not only invaded China, Korea and other Asia-Pacific countries, but also inflicted numerous



Karen Kasmauski/Network

... and market success

casualties on them. It is therefore the duty of the present generation to teach the next generation about past misdeeds.

Several prime ministers have expressed 'deep regret and remorse' for pre-war Japan's atrocities. But if apology without compensation is hypocrisy and compensation without apology mere arrogance no one can justify the conservative government's argument that all reparation issues have been finally and completely settled at state level and that individual claims can be turned down.

As the leader of the largest opposition party, I have already proposed to the ruling party leaders that we should have a round table discussion to settle the issues of compensation for war victims, including *ju-gun-ianfu* (women sent to the fronts to 'comfort' soldiers) and forced labourers. I am also proposing that the national parliament should unanimously adopt a resolution by which the state of Japan would officially apologise for past war crimes and reaffirm its commitment to world peace.

Some people say, 'Don't look back. Look forward.' But without the imagination or courage to look at one's image mirrored in the eyes of the victims, one can never find true self-respect or dignity. Only one who faces the past squarely is rewarded with a key to open the future. ■

NEW ZEALAND: REBUILDING CONFIDENCE

16

After ten years in the New Zealand parliament, I can claim with justification to have experienced it from all vantage points save that of the Speaker. Beginning as a junior opposition backbencher, I progressed to being government select committee chairperson, then a minister and frontbencher, and now an opposition frontbencher.

New Zealand's parliament is one of the unicameral legislatures in the western world. The absence of an upper house has both strengths and weaknesses. Where an upper house works effectively it provides more opportunities for debate and review of public policy and may stand in the way of ill-considered change. In its absence, other mechanisms are required if the parliament is to function adequately.

I raise these issues because in New Zealand now as never before people are seriously questioning the way their parliament and system of government work. In large part this is a response to the huge economic changes initiated by the last Labour government and now to the equally huge social changes being wrought by the National government. Neither set of changes has been generally well received or supported. They have happened with great speed. New Zealanders have often felt disempowered and unable to have any real impact on decision-making in their supposedly representative system of government.

In part the resistance to economic change can be explained by the fact that in New Zealand so little changed for so long. Fundamental changes were made in the 1930s by the first Labour government. The structures it set in place were preserved in increasingly ossified form by the Conservative governments which generally held power until the 1980s. By then the highly protected and regulated economy was both an anachronism and

**Rt Hon
Helen
Clark**

unsuccessful. Labour moved speedily to open it up to international competitive forces, but in so doing did not have policies adequate to deal with the human costs of job displacement and unemployment. Already high numbers of jobless grew higher.

Since Labour lost power in 1990, the market revolution has gone much further. A full-scale assault on the welfare state in all its aspects has been mounted. The labour market has been deregulated, even to the extent of leaving trade unions without statutory recognition. Welfare benefits have been slashed, charges have been introduced in the public health services and public housing is rented not to the poor and homeless but to those who can pay rents set at market levels.

These measures were not put forward by the National government as part of its election manifesto. They promised to rebuild a 'decent society', not demolish the welfare state. Much of the public feels bitter, disillusioned, betrayed, and hurt. Not only were they not told what would happen, but also there has been no opportunity for public consultation and debate on major changes affecting most people's lives.

In New Zealand's largely unchecked unicameral parliament, legislation can be introduced and quickly passed. For example, the government, elected in October 1990, in two weeks in December 1990 repealed Labour's equal opportunity and pay equity legislation. No replacement is planned.

As I write, legislation fundamentally altering New Zealand's comprehensive social insurance scheme for accidents is being passed through parliament during late night sessions only, four months after its introduction. That accident compensation scheme took six years to design and has been in place for 20 years. In our system it can be quickly disposed of.

It is little wonder then that the ability of

parliament acting on behalf of the people to scrutinise government action is being seriously questioned. It badly needs change and there are many constructive ways in which that could be achieved. Less attention is being paid to that important task, however, than to what I personally regard as a red herring, namely a campaign to change the electoral system.

Advocates of electoral change to a system of proportional representation appear to believe that by involving more parties in parliament and by the formation

of coalition governments the process of change would be more considered and more likely to be publicly acceptable. There is no real evidence that those are likely outcomes. Rather the pendulum might swing to the opposite extreme by providing for weak coalition governments unable to make any decisions, let alone considered ones.

Of course many countries have forms of proportional representation in their electoral systems. The question in New Zealand is whether a change will provide any redress for the grievances held about the way our political system presently functions. My own view is that it will add another set of problems to those we already have. The form of the electoral system did not cause New Zealand's present political, economic and social malaise. Accordingly, changing it is unlikely to cure the malaise.

What can usefully be done is to transform parliament into a more effective forum for debate, investigation and scrutiny of government action. In New Zealand the cabinet has always been large relative to the numbers



*Helen Clark
MP is deputy
leader of the
Labour
opposition in
the New
Zealand
parliament
and former
deputy prime
minister.*

of government members of parliament from whom it is drawn. A small majority of the cabinet can drive controversial measures through a governmental caucus of MPs and then through parliament, despite the fact that such measures may enjoy nothing like majority support in parliament. Strong arguments can be mounted for reducing the size of the cabinet so that it has to persuade others of its actions, and for increasing the ability of parliamentary select committees to report to parliament irrespective of the views of the executive. It is not

uncommon now for the government majority on a select committee to reject a government bill, but then be overruled in effect by the cabinet and forced to report sycophantically and not critically to parliament.

In the end though the New Zealand political system is in crisis because parties have said one thing in opposition and done another in government, and because economic prosperity has eluded all governments for 20 years. Elections have tended to be auctions for the distribution of a fictional surplus which is quickly abandoned thereafter. There has not been open and honest debate about what it is reasonable to expect governments to deliver within a three-year time span.

It will not be easy to rebuild confidence in politicians, parliament and the system of government in general. The credibility of all has been seriously eroded. The question is whether the baby will be thrown out with the bath-water as a result of the coming referendum on the electoral system, or whether the people will accept modifications to political institutions like the parliament instead.



SHARING THE WORLD'S RESOURCES

Our time is a time of profound and rapid change, a time of new risks and dangers, but also of new opportunities. New avenues are opening for democratic socialism. Our ideas of solidarity, freedom, justice and democratic decision-making are vital in the struggle against the threats to humanity and nature: war, injustice, poverty and the depletion of natural resources through exploitation and misuse. This gives us a unique role and responsibility in which we must not fail.

It was in this spirit that the Socialist International Committee on the Environment was established at the SI Council meeting in Bonn in 1986. We first concentrated our efforts on drawing up an environment programme for the International. At the SI Congress in Stockholm in 1989 the Socialist International adopted its first environment programme, 'Towards Environmental Security: A Strategy for Long-term Survival'.

Our main task at the moment is to give guidance on how we in the International can best help to ensure that the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), to be held in Rio in June this year, takes the decisions that will lead to the necessary change.

As we stated in our environment programme, this means bringing together environment and development as a single concept. It means firm and concrete commitments with a direct bearing on national politics. It means a fairer distribution of resources and responsibilities between rich and poor, between North and South. We shall keep demanding this until the right decisions have been taken.

Time is now running very short. We have seen some development, some breakthroughs. But not enough. Not on the major issues such as climate change or the transfer of resources. Governments have not yet been bold enough in taking decisions on the joint action needed.

While they are still hesitating, trying to escape their - our! - responsibility, the environmental disaster continues, depleting the ozone layer and already causing health risks; changing our climate; polluting water, air and soil; causing deforestation, soil erosion and droughts. Resources continue to flow in the wrong direction. Poverty and

Birgitta Dahl, chair of the SI Committee on the Environment, argues that justice and development must be central to the environmental debate.

injustice increase. The debt burden and the deterioration in the value of trade threaten to deprive whole continents of the right to development.

Throughout human history, people have sought to influence and exploit nature in order to improve their own living conditions. In a historical and global perspective, this is a matter of the struggle for survival.

Today some people in rich countries and the rich classes in poor countries have a supportive environment. But few, very few, can congratulate themselves on creating - or even contributing to - a sustainable environment. The market economy, with ruthless exploitation everywhere of people and nature, with austerity measures imposed on developing countries by the International Monetary Fund, cannot solve today's problems by itself; it cannot defend the interests of the poor and of the unborn generations. Neither can communism, as is demonstrated by the present economic and ecological catastrophe in eastern Europe. The path taken by the industrialised world to overcome poverty and to increase income and wealth has overstrained natural resources and cannot constitute a global model.

Scientists tell us that the earth can support only about 500 million people at the material standard prevailing today in the rich countries. Already twice as many, a billion, live at that standard, and more than 5.5 billion inhabit the earth. The development of new technology will increase our scope for using less resources to achieve more. But technological development will not be enough. We must change our way of life. And change in the right direction will not come by itself. As with peace and disarmament, nothing can be achieved without political will and concrete decisions.

The responsibility rests on the industrialised countries. They are the worst polluters. One fifth of the world's population is responsible for four fifths of the environmental damage. The greatest damage to the global environment is caused by wasteful production and technologies, opulent consumption patterns in the developed countries, and brutal exploitation of manpower and resources in the third world.

Environment is closely related to justice. It is the poor who are the real victims of environmental degradation, especially in terms of the health hazards associated with poverty.

Poverty means infected drinking water, hovels instead of homes, illiteracy instead of education - these are the conditions facing the more than one billion human beings fighting for their daily survival in rural areas and in squatters' settlements.

Let us never forget that women and children make up the majority of the very poor and are thus the main victims of environmental degradation. It is women who work in the fields treated with the most hazardous pesticides. It is women who ruin their health in the textile and electronic industries. It is women and children who are the victims if we allow developing countries to become 'free zones' with the low wages, unacceptable working conditions and hazardous technologies which have been banned in the rich countries.

This is the reality facing us. Let us be very clear: it is not acceptable for the developing countries to refrain from development because industrialised countries have already reached and exceeded acceptable emission standards. We will have to find other, more advanced and more just solutions - a new path into the future.

To meet this challenge we must enter a new phase of international cooperation and multilateral environment policy - an era of concrete negotiations and binding commitments, including the necessary arrangements for the transfer of financial and technical resources.

The heads of government who go to Rio in June cannot go there empty-handed. The conference must end with the adoption of a number of conventions and concrete working programmes and a schedule of commitments. And the requisite resources and technology must be placed at the disposal of poorer countries. This means, for example, conventions for safeguarding climate, biological diversity and forests, and a declaration of principles, the 'Earth Charter'. An action programme, 'Agenda 21' as it is called, for further measures and negotiations across a broad field will also be needed and must include specific commitments and timetables.

Developing countries are hard-pressed to develop the capacity and competence needed for the long-term management of their natural resources, their population policy and their environment. The efforts of developing countries will have to be strongly supported by industrialised countries through the provision of additional financial resources and the transfer of technology. The Rio Summit will have a crucial role in establishing such cooperation. This effort and cooperation on the part of the rich world is a political and economic necessity, but it also has a moral dimension. It is not unreasonable to say that the industrialised countries of today have borrowed from the rest of the world, from

Trees die ...

future generations and from nature in their strivings for economic and social development. The time has come to pay back the loan - otherwise it will turn out to have been robbery.

Today, the developing countries are entitled to ambitions equal to those of the industrialised countries. Technology and a sustained international effort must make it possible for the developing countries to achieve their development objectives without destroying the resource basis for the safe maintenance of future generations in their own countries and without jeopardising the stability of the global environment.

This leads us to four essential aims based on the principles of justice that we in the Socialist International stand for:

- the rich industrialised countries must be ready to contribute by considerably reducing pollution and exploitation of global resources, and by promoting new lifestyles and consumption patterns; this is a prerequisite for sustainable development worldwide;
- reduction of the debt burden, and an increased commitment to transfer of financial resources additional to the UN aid target of 0.7 per cent of GNP and of environmentally sound technology on a non-commercial basis to developing countries and to eastern Europe;
- support for the empowerment of people at local level and respect for local technology and production methods;
- strengthening international law and UN powers to protect natural resources in situations of conflict, and ensuring sound environmental standards for technology, trade and investment in developing countries.

Furthermore, the resources released by peace and disarmament - the so-called peace dividend - must be used for the environment and the development of the poor countries in the South and the East.

These were the unanimous conclusions of the SI Environment Committee, adopted by the SI Council meeting in Santiago last November.

Our work is now focused on our active contribution to the preparations for the Earth

Summit in June. We are following the negotiations and pressing our governments and international organisations to take the right decisions. The SI Committee will hold a meeting in Rio in June. We will be present at the Summit as a Non-Governmental Organisation and a voice for justice.

The International should spare no effort to make the UN Conference on Environment and Development a landmark in the struggle for the future and to make sure that its decisions are implemented through concrete action. The Environment Committee will present to the next SI Congress its suggestions for the International's future contribution to this process.

In the new and rapidly changing world our challenge is to create a development which is tenable in the long term and which can reconcile human social progress with what humankind and nature can withstand.

This calls for justice and solidarity. It calls for international cooperation. It calls for democratic socialism, for the active participation of the Socialist International and its member parties in our joint struggle for the future. ■



David Parker/Science Photo Library

... and cans pollute

*Hugh O'Shaughnessy
describes international
cooperation in the
world's most
inhospitable region.*

ANTARCTIC LANDMARKS

As the date nears for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, good news comes from the coldest, most remote and least hospitable region of the globe. The Antarctic Treaty has acquired its fortieth signatory, Guatemala, and the plans its members have worked out to preserve the region as a Reserve for Peace and Science, a species of world park, have been agreed among the nations. They will be put into practice as soon as enough national ratifications have been lodged.

The Treaty, often criticised as being elitist and bureaucratic and as promoting secretiveness, is clearly becoming more popular. Though its administration lies principally in the hands of the consultative members - those who maintain bases or who regularly carry out scientific tasks in Antarctica - others, from Papua New Guinea to Greece, feel there are diplomatic advantages to be gained from membership of such a patently worthwhile grouping.

Some optimists would even say that it offers valuable precedents and pointers towards much greater international cooperation, particularly on environmental issues.

The Treaty itself was signed in Washington in December 1959 by twelve countries. Britain, a pioneer in Antarctic exploration since the time of Captain James Cook in the eighteenth century, became the first to lodge its ratification in May of the subsequent year. The pact banned the use of arms and the construction of fortifications in the region south of the 60th parallel of latitude; it had ambitious provisions aimed at halting international quarrels over territorial claims in the area and it enjoined signatories to collaborate in the cause of science, pooling their knowledge in a vast area larger than either the United States or Australia.

The political stipulations of the Treaty have certainly shown their value. The Antarctic Peninsula, south of the South American continent, and the islands adjacent to Graham Land and Palmer Land are, for instance, claimed by three countries, Argentina, Britain and Chile. At the same time, none of these claims is recognised by other than a small coterie of countries friendly to the claimants; France, Britain, Norway, Australia and New Zealand recognise each other's claims. The US, the country which mounted in 1946-7 the largest military operation in the region with 4,700 men and 13 ships, recognises no claims but reserves the right to make one. Washington maintains a permanent base at the South Pole. A recent official US publication uncompromisingly asserts, 'No nation owns Antarctica. A large sector of Antarctica, that between 90 degrees west and 150 degrees west, is unclaimed to this day'.

Though no human being is able to live unsupported from outside in a region where there is no plant life but mosses and lichens and where the only indigenous food is fish and penguins, the absence of general agreement is much less dangerous than it is in highly populated areas such as Europe or the Middle East. It is nevertheless not without its dangers. The fact that no hostilities broke out between Britain and Argentina in Antarctica during the Falklands War of 1982 bears witness to the solidity of the international commitment to preserve the area as a region of peace.

Many countries have meanwhile established footholds on the southern continent. On King George Island, a little way off the northern tip of Graham Land which is usually free of ice, the bases include the Great Wall (China), Teniente Rodolfo Marsh (Chile), Bellingshausen (Russia), Artigas (Uruguay), King Sejong (Korea), Jubany (Argentina), Arctowski (Poland) and Commandante Ferraz (Brazil). All are built on the southern side of the island within a few dozen kilometres of each other, some within a few hundred metres of their closest neighbour. Their personnel fraternise extensively with one

*Vital weather sciences ...*

another and international collaboration is such that there is joint Russian and Chilean staffing of the small hospital on the island.

Others exist in a solitary state, such as Dumont d'Urville, the high-technology base in the French sector which thrusts to the South Pole between the parts of the Australian claim. They are situated in the best and most sheltered locations in this region where the sun is never seen in the winter months and where the world's lowest temperatures and strongest winds blow for weeks at a time. (The difficult nature of the terrain contrasts oddly with the often lyrical nature of the place names. Alexander Island, discovered by Faddei Bellingshausen, an Estonian naval officer in the service of Czar Alexander in the early 19th century, has features such as the Beethoven and Monteverdi Peninsulas, the Walton Peaks, the Elgar Uplands and the Mozart and Handel Ice Piedmonts.)

Last year the Treaty took on a new importance. Meeting in the Spanish capital at the invitation of the government of Felipe González, signatories agreed on the Madrid Protocol under which for the next 50 years they would abstain from drilling for oil and exploiting minerals. Though the present state of technology would in any case make it difficult to win the resources of the Antarctic it is known that nickel, cobalt, tin, chrome, molybdenum, gold, silver, titanium, uranium and many other ores lie south of the 60th latitude, not to mention the oil and gas which is thought to be contained under the waters round the Antarctic Peninsula.

The chances of keeping the region free of commercial exploitation seemed slim when in June 1991 various western governments refused to sign an agreement to this effect. Public opinion organised by the ecological lobbies, however, persuaded those governments to change their position by the time of the Madrid meeting in October.

The way is now opening up for a global study of an area which is of importance to all the countries of the world because of its moderating effect on the climate of the planet. The ice in Antarctica contains the biggest proportion of the world's fresh water. It lies in deposits up to three miles deep. In those deposits is a history of the earth's climate over the past 150,000 years. The onset of the Industrial Revolution, for instance, is recorded

SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

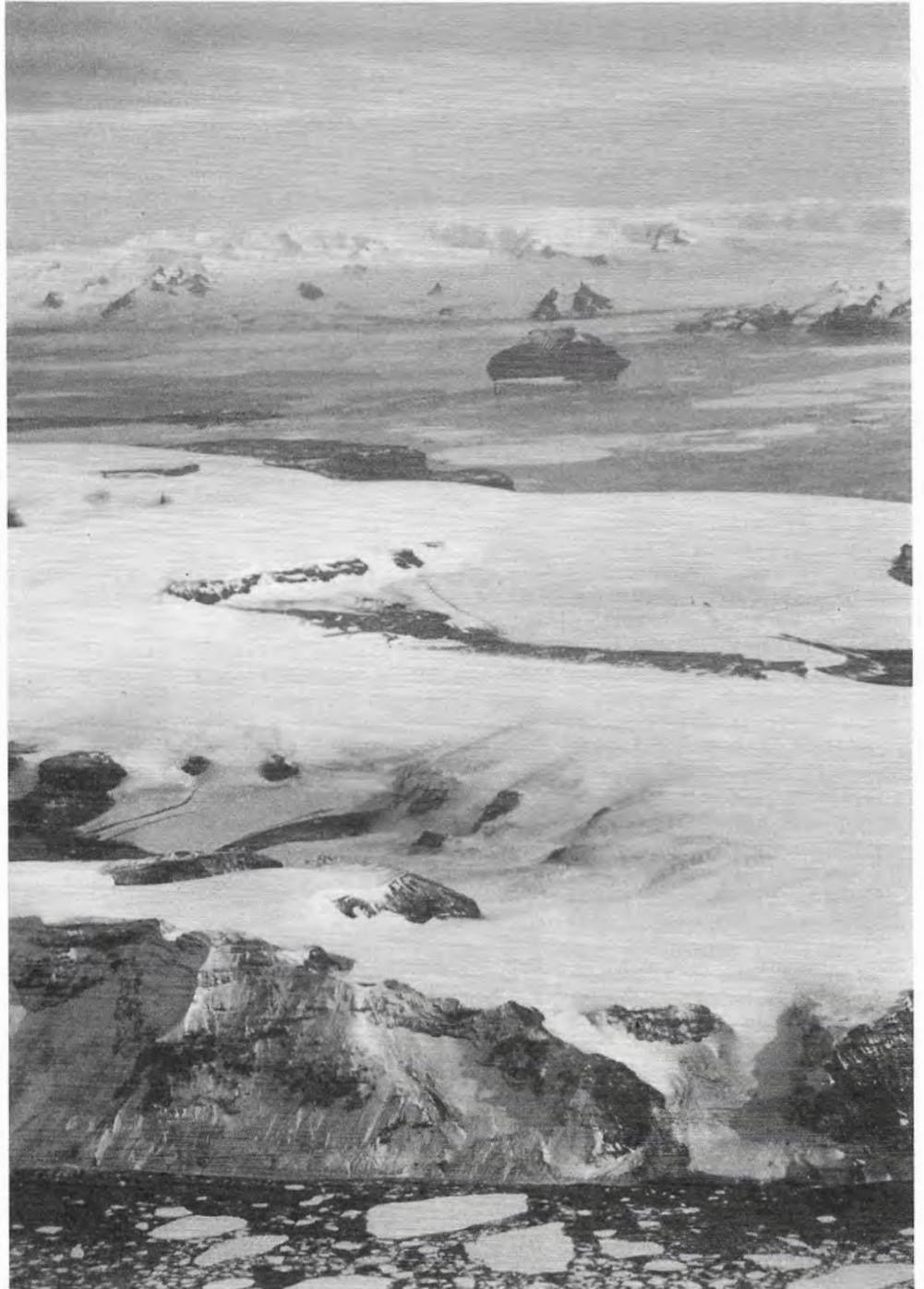
Issue 1/1992

for ever in the pollution trapped hundreds of feet down in the ice which formed at that time. If all the six million cubic miles of ice were to melt, the level of the world's oceans would rise 200 feet, annihilating many islands and low-lying coastal countries.

Over and round the mountains of Antarctica the glaciers make their imperceptible way before they break off into the icebergs which surround the continent. Round Antarctica scream the icy gales which impinge on the climate of the rest of the planet. When the ratifications of the Madrid protocol are lodged the world will have an important new chance to work together to study such overwhelming natural phenomena. ■

23

... flourish amid the cold



Ellen Bird reviews...

A New London

by Richard Rogers and Mark Fisher

London, 1992, Penguin, ISBN 0 14 015794 8

One contribution to the recent British Labour Party election campaign which looks set long to remain a point of reference in public debate is this book which has been widely read and praised in recent weeks. Mark Fisher, Labour shadow minister for the arts, combined with Richard Rogers, the British architect best known for his design of the Pompidou centre in Paris, to investigate the fabric of London - a city suffering tragic architectural and social decay - and to plan the city as it could be.

Rogers works all over Europe and is enthusiastic about the renewal of civic pride and development in recent years which he attributes to the decentralisation of resources and decision-making and to healthy competition between cities. He was prompted to work with Mark Fisher on this project by the undoubted fact that London was failing to keep up with the progress of its continental counterparts.

Whilst both authors are lovers of London and enthusiastic city-dwellers, their depression and anger at the city's deterioration and decay is palpable: 'These streets are filthy with litter; its roads are choked with traffic; schools and hospitals are crumbling; major galleries and museums have holes in their roofs; shops, offices and factories stand empty. People sleep rough in doorways by night and beg by day. Women are frightened to go out alone. The extremities of wealth and poverty, display and despair,

shame anyone who cares for this great city.'

Many of London's problems are shared by other Western capitals. Their causes are well known: the departure of traditional industry, the closure of docks, the relocation of new industries to cheaper and more pleasant 'greenfield' sites, the escalating cost of housing - a generation and more of economic transformation and social upheaval. But whilst elsewhere in western Europe the rejection of the large-scale, uniform planning of the immediate post-war period has given way to a balanced mixed development which is part of an endeavour to foster an urban community on new lines, in Britain things have been very different. With the advent of the Thatcher government the growing criticism of the highrise local-authority building of the 1960s became a pretext for leaving the evolution and implementation of London's redevelopment entirely to the free market.

Rogers and Fisher travelled around Europe examining how other cities were addressing today's post-industrial problems. Whilst never uncritical, and well aware of the poverty, unemploy-

ment and social divisions afflicting all of Europe's cities, they saw in Paris, in Seville and Barcelona, in Rotterdam, in re-unified Berlin, a commitment to urban regeneration and urban design as tools for social and political renewal. In contrast to London's deteriorating ancient buildings and new developments of uneven quality, they saw the grand new buildings alongside the old in Paris, and Barcelona's Olympic development; in contrast to the empty Thames-side desolation in the heart of London, they saw the riverside regeneration of Rotterdam.

They came back to share an inspiring vision of their city as it could be, with incentives to bring jobs and homes back to the city centre, with better public transport, with exciting architectural projects and revitalised public spaces, and - at the heart of this vision - a 'refocusing' of the city towards the long-neglected Thames and its banks.

They came back, also, more convinced than ever of the need for a city-wide authority. Whilst all over Europe devolution to regional and municipal government has given a new impetus and pride to urban development, London has been without city government since the Conservative government abolished the Labour-led Greater London Council in the mid-1980s.

Spanish politicians recalled to Rogers and Fisher that under Franco strategic planning had been considered 'dangerously political'. Lack of planning in today's great cities is dangerous, tragic and wasteful. As an SI vice-president points out elsewhere in this issue (see page 35) and as recent events in Los Angeles have frighteningly underlined, minimum-intervention government and a total reliance on market forces are, even in the world's most affluent countries, insufficient to provide for the needs and the future of today's vast and diverse cities.



The sorry state of London



Hugh O'Shaughnessy

The Dominican Republic: Beyond the Lighthouse

by James Ferguson

London, 1992, Latin America Bureau, ISBN 0 906156 64 5

The Dominican people have throughout their history suffered from the ineptitude of their rulers. Today they are being ruled by a man, Joaquín Balaguer, who was the principal assistant of the overweeningly vain and vacuous Rafael Leónidas Trujillo, the man who called himself El Benefactor, the man who had Santo Domingo, the capital, renamed Ciudad Trujillo. Today Balaguer is building a lighthouse in Santo Domingo at a cost equivalent to one-third

of the national budget and at the price of evicting 45,000 poor people from their homes. When it is lit there is not enough electricity for all in the capital and the power blackouts can last for hours. Balaguer has proved himself a worthy pupil of El Benefactor.

The secret of Balaguer's political survival is illustrated by one of the many good photographs in this attractive and readable introduction to Dominican politics. President Balaguer, now blind and infirm but sticking like a leech to power, is shown under a portrait of himself, sitting among paunchy Dominican generals who wear rows of medals despite the fact that the Dominican army has never fought a war. The cult of personality with a good dose of violence against one's opponents is after all one effective way of staying in power.

James Ferguson has built an enviable reputation as one of the best informed European commentators on the Caribbean. His work

includes a sound and readable consideration of the result of the US invasion of Grenada, a monograph on Haiti and a more general work on the development of the region.

This latest work, particularly valuable at a time when Santo Domingo is becoming the geographical focus for the quinquennial celebrations of the first European settlement in America, will not disappoint his readers. That is not to say that it is encouraging reading. It is a portrait of a society profoundly divided between rich and poor which is aching for change.

He puts faith in the ability of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, and its leader José Francisco Peña Gómez to help put an end once and for all to the baleful political tradition of Trujillo and his heirs. If that came to pass it would be the best 500th birthday present for the Dominican Republic.



About the SI

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The Socialist International (SI), founded in 1864, is the world's oldest and largest international political association. It represents 88 political parties and organisations with the support of more than 200 million voters.

The SI 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 president of the SI since 1976 is Willy Brandt, former chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, winner of the 1971 Nobel Peace Prize and the 1984 Third World Prize, chair of the Brandt Commission, and honorary chair of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. The secretary general is Luis Ayala, from Chile, who was elected at the Congress in 1989.

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 Africa, disarmament, economic policy, the environment, human rights, Latin America and the Caribbean, local authorities, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, Southern Africa, and finance and administration.

The SI is a recognised non-governmental organisation, collaborates with the United Nations, and works with a range of organisations and free trade unions internationally.

President

Willy Brandt

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Michael Manley	José Francisco Peña
Pierre Mauroy	Gómez (SICLAC)
Karel van Miert	Guy Spitaels (CSPEC)
Eiichi Nagasue	

Secretary General

Luis Ayala

Members

Full member parties

Australian Labor Party, ALP
 Social Democratic Party of Austria, SPÖ
 Barbados Labour Party
 Socialist Party, PS, Belgium
 Socialist Party, SP, Belgium
 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
 Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party
 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
 Social Democratic Party, Iceland
 The Labour Party, Ireland
 Israel Labour Party
 United Workers' Party of Israel, MAPAM
 Italian Social Democratic 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
 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
 San Marino Socialist Party, PSS
 Socialist Party of Senegal, PS
 Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE
 Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP
 Social Democratic Party of Switzerland
 Constitutional Democratic Assembly, RCD, Tunisia
 Social Democratic Populist Party, SHP, Turkey

Democratic Socialists of America, DSA, USA
 Social Democrats USA, SDUSA
 Democratic Action, AD, Venezuela

Consultative parties

People's Electoral Movement, MEP, Aruba
 Revolutionary Left Movement, MIR, Bolivia
 EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus
 Siumut, Greenland
 Working People's Alliance, WPA, Guyana
 Revolutionary Progressive Nationalist Party of Haiti,
 PANPRA
 Party for National Unity, VITM, Madagascar
 Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP, Morocco
 Nepali Congress Party
 Pakistan People's Party, PPP
 Peruvian Aprista Party, PAP
 Polish Socialist Party, PPS*
 Puerto Rican Independence Party, PIP
 Progressive Labour Party of St. Lucia, PLP
 Romanian Social Democratic Party, PSDR*
 St. Vincent and the Grenadines Labour Party, SVGLP
 Popular Unity Movement, MUP, Tunisia
 Democratic Left Party, DSP, Turkey
 People's Electoral Movement, MEP, Venezuela

* members of SUCEE

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
 Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European
 Community
 International Federation of the Socialist and
 Democratic Press, IFSDP
 International Union of Social 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 IN IRAQI KURDISTAN

The Socialist International sent a mission to Northern Iraq from 27 January to 2 February to study the situation in Iraqi Kurdistan. The mission, whose members were Conny Fredriksson, Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP; Brigitte Bloch, French Socialist Party, PS; and Renata Malerba and Luca Cefisi, Italian Socialist Party, PSI, also took part in the congress of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, PUK, which was held in Sulaymaniyah.

The mission also visited

Halabja, Qala Diza, Shaqlawa, Salheddin, Dahuk and Atrush. They talked to the most significant Kurdish political leaders, to individual pesh merga fighters and to spokesmen in refugee camps.

The mission learned that since the end of the 1970s some 4,000 of the 5,000 villages in Iraqi Kurdistan had been evacuated and systematically destroyed by Iraqi troops. The Kurds rose up against the Iraqis in March 1991 and the Iraqi troops withdrew. Kurds now

control all the land between the Iraqi borders with Turkey and Iran nearly as far as Mosul and Kirkuk, a 'liberated area' larger in size than the 'free zone' guaranteed to the Kurds by the United Nations. In the liberated area, government services and public administration are carried out by Kurds working without pay from the authorities in Baghdad.

According to the UN and other sources, 900,000 of the total population of 4.5 million in Iraqi Kurdistan are refugees in their own country. The Kurdish administration is concentrating its efforts on reconstruction with the support of the UN and other non-governmental organisations, rebuilding houses, constructing water and sewage systems and reviving agriculture. A little revenue is raised by the imposition of 'customs dues' on trucks passing through Kurdish-controlled land on their way between Baghdad and Turkey.

The PUK led by Jalal Talabani and the Kurdistan Democratic Party, KDP, led by Massoud Barzani are regarded as the most important political forces among the eight parties which constitute the Iraqi Kurdistan Front.

Talabani described his party as a coalition of many forces, Marxist, Islamic and national.

Both Talabani and Barzani defended negotiations with Saddam Hussein for Kurdish autonomy, given that they felt the UN allies had deserted them after the Gulf war and given the need to put an end to the suffering of the Kurdish people. Talabani called for international mediation in the continuing discussions. He saw three immediate tasks: the liberation of the rest of Iraqi Kurdistan, increasing the number of pesh mergas, and gaining control of villages through the establishment of civil administration and municipal committees.

At the time of the SI mission, Kurdish leaders were beginning preparations for elections to a legislative assembly which would represent the people and give international legitimacy to the new order in the area. The elections were scheduled to take place on 17 May.

Refugee camp at Rania



Brigitte Bloch

ENVIRONMENT COMMITTEE LOOKS FORWARD TO RIO SUMMIT AND TO SI CONGRESS

An internal working meeting of the SI Committee on the Environment was held at the SI secretariat in London on 28 March. The Committee, which is chaired by Birgitta Dahl, Swedish Social Democratic Party, met to review priorities in the SI environment platform, to discuss the SI position in the run-up to the UN Conference on Environment and Development which will take place in Rio de Janeiro from 3 to 14 June, and to prepare for the special meeting of the Committee to be held in Rio to coincide with the UNCED summit.

The meeting was attended by representatives of SI member parties in Europe, Latin America and Africa.

Birgitta Dahl stressed that the Committee's main priority was the forthcoming SI Congress and the further development by Congress of the International's programme on the environment, enshrined in the platform adopted at the last Congress in 1989. However, the outcome of the United Nations summit would be crucial to the context in which the International's programme was developed, she said, and much of the SI Committee's work in the immediate future would thus be concerned with Rio.

SI Secretary General Luis Ayala told the meeting that the proposal to hold a special meeting of the SI Committee in Rio to coincide with the UN summit had aroused widespread interest amongst SI member parties and others. The International's member party in Brazil, the Democratic Labour Party, PDT, and its leader, Leonel Brizola - governor of the State of

Rio de Janeiro - was much involved with the preparations for the UN summit and the associated forum of non-governmental organisations and would also be hosting the SI Committee meeting in Rio.

The Committee's discussions focused on practical preparations for the Rio meeting and on the SI policy paper to be made public in Rio, which would afterwards form the basis for a draft to be presented to the SI Congress.

The meeting heard from Roberto D'Avila, secretary of state for the environment of the state of Rio de Janeiro, representing the PDT, a description of the preparations under way for the June events. He stressed the very large numbers of governmental and non-governmental representatives expected in Rio and the important opportunity to present SI policies on the environment.

The Committee agreed on a programme of meetings in Rio, to take place during the second and final week of the UN summit. Members will also be following the progress of the summit, and it is hoped that the Committee will serve as a forum for those members of SI parties who are members of governmental delegations to meet and exchange views.

Jacques Baudin, Minister of the Environment of Senegal, had travelled to London directly from the UN summit preparatory negotiations in New York and reported to the Committee on the progress of those talks, stressing the crucial issues on which international agreement had yet to be reached, chief among them

the question of transfer of resources from the most developed to the least developed countries to assist with the implementation of environmental policies.

Other participants also underlined this question, along with a number of other crucial areas which should be dealt with in the SI paper to be published in Rio, including the impact of international trade negotiations and of international debt, the role of multinational companies, the transfer of technology, sustainable development, ozone and other climate problems, toxic waste and its disposal, recycling, nuclear technology and arms questions, energy policy, education of both producers and consumers, financial and other incentives for environmental protection, and above all the need for partnership between rich and poor countries and for a formal commitment from the former to financially assist the latter in the implementation of existing and future agreements on the environment.

The significance of the UN Conference was underlined by all participants, along with the many problems faced before agreement could be reached on the environmental agenda already supported by the Socialist International and its member parties.

In the context of the UN Conference, Committee Chair Birgitta Dahl summed up, the Socialist International would seek, as always, to be an independent voice for justice and development.

SI CONDEMNS ATTEMPTED COUP IN VENEZUELA

The Socialist International, along with SI member parties and many democratic governments and organisations the world over, condemned in the strongest terms the attempted military coup d'état of 4 February against the constitutional democratic government of President Carlos Andrés Pérez. In a statement released on the day of the failed coup, the International expressed its wholehearted support for the democratic institutions of Venezuela, for its member party,

Acción Democrática, and for President Pérez, a vice-president of the SI.

On 10 February, an SI delegation met with President Pérez in Caracas to underline the support and solidarity of the International with the Venezuelan government. The members of the delegation were: Luis Ayala, secretary general of the Socialist International; José Francisco Peña Gómez, leader of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, and chair of the SI Committee for

Latin America and the Caribbean; Andrés Vallejo, national director of the Democratic Left Party, PID, Ecuador; Oscar Eid, national head of the Revolutionary Left Movement, MIR, Bolivia; Don Martina, leader of the Movement for a New Antilles, MAN, and former prime minister of Curaçao; Víctor Valle, general secretary of the National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, El Salvador; and Rudy Croes, Movimiento Electoral di Pueblo, MEP, Aruba.



SI delegation supports Venezuela's president

MISSION TO ARMENIA AND AZERBAIJAN

Following discussion of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict at the meeting of the SI Presidium in Madrid (see page 37), a mission of the Socialist International travelled to the region. The SI mission was in Azerbaijan and Armenia from 30 March to 3 April, to hold talks with governmental authorities, members of parliament, representatives of political parties and others on the search for a peaceful solution to the conflict. The members of the group were Dietrich Sperling MP, Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD; Charles Urgewitz, Socialist Party, PS, France; and Algan Hacaloglu MP, Social Democratic Populist Party, SHP, Turkey.

They were able to hold many meetings with a wide range of governmental and other figures in both Armenia and Azerbaijan. In

Azerbaijan these included Yakub Mamedov, acting president; Hasan Hasanov, then prime minister; Husseyin Aga Sadikof, minister of foreign affairs; Ebulfas Alilyev, leader of the Popular Front; and Alizade Araz, chairman of the Social Democratic Party. They also had the opportunity to talk to the head physician of Baku City Hospital and to refugees from Nagorno Karabakh.

In Armenia they met Babken Araktsian, president of the supreme council; Gagik Hurutjunjuin, prime minister; Vahan Papazian, advisor to the president; Gregory Areshion, minister of state; Arman Navosardian, deputy minister of foreign affairs; David Vardonian, chairman of the supreme council committee on foreign relations and Shavarsh Kocharian, vice chairman of the committee;

Seiron Baghdasarion MP, chairman of the special committee on Nagorno Karabakh; Reverend Husik, leader of the Armenian National Movement and his deputy David Shahnazarian; and members of the ruling committee of the Social Democratic Party.

The SI representatives noted the high degree of mutual mistrust between the parties to the conflict and the consequent difficulties facing any peace initiative. They stressed, however, that all those they met both in Armenia and in Azerbaijan had a positive attitude towards the involvement of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, CSCE, in the resolution of the Nagorno Karabakh conflict, and that the speedy implementation of all measures proposed by the CSCE was to be supported.

They also noted that the economic and logistic problems arising from the conflict were leading to a scarcity of food supplies and that the medical services both inside Nagorno Karabakh and in Azerbaijan were in an unacceptably poor state. International humanitarian aid was therefore an immediate need.

WORKING MEETING ON AFRICA

A working meeting of the Socialist International on Africa was held at the SI secretariat in London on 21 January. The meeting, which was chaired by the SI secretary general, was convened to consider initiatives and priorities in that continent and was attended by representatives of member parties in Africa and of other member parties interested and involved in the International's work there.

Priorities for SI work in Africa

were considered in some detail. Participants exchanged information on many African parties which, in the present changing political context, had recently sought contact with the Socialist International. It was agreed that the International would continue to follow closely the process of democratisation both in African countries where substantial progress had already been made and in those where the movement for democracy was at an earlier stage.

All agreed that the International would continue its work against apartheid and in support of democratisation in South Africa. It was stressed that the serious unresolved conflicts in the continent, including those in Western Sahara, the Horn of

Africa, Sudan and elsewhere, were also a continuing cause of grave concern.

The meeting endorsed a proposal to hold a further working meeting in Africa. This second working meeting was subsequently convened for 30 and 31 May. It will take place in Dakar and will be hosted by the Socialist Party of Senegal.

At the Dakar meeting, representatives of SI member parties and of specially invited parties and organisations from the African continent will hold discussions on the development of multi-party democracy in Africa, on social democracy and the process of democratic change, and on the search for peaceful solutions to the region's conflicts.

SI PRESIDIUUM LOOKS TO NEXT CONGRESS AND BEYOND

At a special meeting held in Madrid on 13 and 14 March, the presidium of the Socialist International set the agenda for the International's next congress, to be held in September in Berlin.

The presidium meeting in Madrid was chaired by SI President Willy Brandt and hosted by SI Vice-President Felipe González, president of the Spanish government. The other SI vice-presidents who attended were: Gro Harlem Brundtland, chair of the Norwegian Labour Party, DNA, and prime minister of Norway; Ingvar Carlsson, chair of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP; Abdou Diouf, general secretary of the Socialist Party of Senegal and president of Senegal; Pierre Mauroy, Socialist Party, PS,

France; Karel van Miert, Socialist Party of Belgium, SP, member of the Commission of the European Community; Shimon Peres, Israel Labour Party; Kalevi Sorsa, Finnish Social Democratic Party, SDP, and Hans-Jochen Vogen, Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD, together with the following *ex officio* vice-presidents: Anita Gradin, president of Socialist International Women; Alfred Gusenbauer, International Union of Socialist Youth; José Francisco Peña Gómez, chair of the SI Committee for Latin America and

the Caribbean; and Guy Spitaels, then president of the Confederation of Socialist Parties in the European Community; and SI Secretary General Luis Ayala. Also attending the meeting were: Jacques Delors, president of the European Commission; Antonio Guterres, general secretary of the Socialist Party of Portugal; Erdal İnönü, leader of the Social Democratic Populist Party, Turkey, and deputy prime minister of Turkey; Audrey McLaughlin, leader of the New Democratic Party, NDP, Canada; Andreas



Papandreou, president of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement, PASOK, Greece, and Jean-Pierre Cot, president of the Socialist Group of the European Parliament.

The presidium looked forward to the forthcoming congress of the Socialist International and the decisions to be taken there. SI President Willy Brandt told the meeting that he would not be standing for re-election at the congress. Among the many tributes from members of the

'democratic Socialism in a changing world', which will also be the main theme of the forthcoming congress of the Socialist International. After opening the meeting, Willy Brandt gave the floor to Felipe González and to Jacques Delors, to make the opening contributions to the discussion.

Felipe González traced an international scenario which was in many ways contradictory. The profound change taking place in international relations meant the

must be 'to unite the centre and the left and to involve emerging social sectors in progressive policies'.

Addressing in particular the situation in Latin America, González referred to the difficulties inherent in the policies essential to economic recovery. The great challenge for social democracy, he said, was 'to divert resources away from the most powerful sectors towards the weakest sectors, while at the same time being able to ensure sustained economic growth'.

In western Europe social democracy was the leading political force, while in central and eastern Europe, the 'heady days of anti-statism' had already begun to expose contradictions and to highlight the opportunities for social democratic alternatives in the future.

He concluded by stressing the need for flexibility, for 'broadening the spectrum of our partners in dialogue', and for maintaining 'open minds' in this momentous and fast-changing period of history.

Jacques Delors pointed out that social democracy had left its mark in many countries, even those where it had long been out of government, in the evolution of the welfare state, for example, without which the social consequences of economic crisis would have been even more severe.

He referred to the traditions of social democracy, embodied in a form of collective responsibility - historically through the trade unions, cooperatives and so forth. That sense of responsibility was important to the future. For social democrats responsibility went hand in hand with freedom and solidarity. The crucial question had always been: what did freedom mean for someone who lacked education, employment, the ability to make judgements?

The question today, he said, was how these principles of liberty, solidarity and responsibility could best respond to the new balance of political forces after the collapse of communism and help give the necessary terms of reference for the action which would correspond to the



M. Ottero

**Willy Brandt
with Felipe
González and
Luis Ayala**

presidium to Willy Brandt's great achievements at the helm of the International during the years since his election as President in 1976 and his unique role on the international stage, Felipe González summed up the feelings of all when he said, 'Willy Brandt is a symbol of what we are - he not only represents us, he symbolises us'.

**The International in a
changing world**

Before dealing in more detail with congress preparations, the presidium held a wideranging discussion on the theme of

end of the balance of terror and the release of multiple impulses to freedom, he said. It also meant a considerable degree of uncertainty, not only in eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, but also in large areas of Africa and Latin America. At the same time, however, there was one new and growing certainty - the certainty of global interdependence. This was surely a climate in which the message of social democracy should be heard everywhere, stressing as it did solidarity and rapprochement among peoples.

He underlined that the role of social democracy in this context

aspirations of our changing societies.

Characteristic of these changing societies was the existence of a very large, 'central' social group, including all except the very rich and the very poor, and encompassing diverse interests and identities. The great task for political parties was to develop the appropriate mechanisms for this group to participate actively as citizens.

He went on to stress also the importance of economic democracy, of the guarantee of human and civil rights, and of international solidarity, whose relevance in today's world was surely undiminished.

Responding to the opening speeches, Willy Brandt said that they gave much food for thought. To address the rapidly changing realities of today's world would indeed be a challenge to the forthcoming congress.

Andreas Papandreou pointed out that neo-liberalism must now account for serious and obvious failures, in Britain, the United States and elsewhere. The social democratic vision was of a mixed economy with a dynamic private sector, and a public sector which also had an important role to play. The market had shown that it could fail on income distribution, on utilising fully the resources of a country, including manpower - and the worst inequity of all was unemployment - and on the question of the environment. Enlarging on the role of the public sector today, he referred to the need for democratic decentralised planning, starting at the local and municipal level - nothing, he said, could be further from a 'command economy'. What he envisaged were strategies which would mobilise the private sector to perform efficiently, while at the same time providing a safety net. This was hardly a new idea, but nor was it an outdated one. At the same time, he stressed, in today's world of ever greater internationalisation and competitiveness, the social democratic vision must always stress productivity and efficiency.

'Sometimes, however', he added, 'I have the feeling we are

very privileged to be talking in the North about new tasks, new visions, when there is sickness and poverty and hunger on such a large scale in the world. I say these things with some humility', he concluded, 'because we have here Willy Brandt, our president, who has long ago made this a major task of his own contribution'.

Abdou Diouf stressed that he shared the views of all previous speakers, whilst taking the floor to insist upon the situation of the countries of the South, and especially of Africa. Africa, he said, was opening to democracy. He sincerely believed that African peoples were looking for freedom, fairness, respect for human rights, but also for social and economic progress. This was where the responsibility of democratic socialism lay. If it was faithful to its own values of justice, generosity and solidarity, along with economic efficiency, it would be able to achieve great things in Africa and elsewhere. For this to become a reality, he said, 'we need to have your massive, comprehensive help so that we can solve the problems we are facing'. He was often surprised, President Diouf continued, to hear discussions in Europe about the problems of immigration which made no reference at all to its cause, which was poverty - the welfare states of the North attracted like a magnet the multitudes of poor people from the South. The solution was simple, he concluded, 'it is to be found in the option to develop the southern countries. If in the future we make the effort to solve the problems of unemployment, the problems of labour in general, of agriculture which is not sufficiently developed, of small and medium-sized companies in our countries: if all these things find the right solution, I believe the flow of immigrants from South to North will decrease and then we will be able to foresee the full participation of the whole of our continent in the third millennium ... and a future for democracy and social democracy in our continent'.

Antonio Guterres intervened to add one question to the debate. Were our ideas, our values and our

parties managing to speak to the younger generation?, he asked. He could not speak for Latin America or for Africa, but in Europe he felt sure this was a key question. The social, cultural and economic situation facing the younger generation was characterised by a high level of competition in education and employment and a considerable impetus to individualism, together with access to an enormous range - but perhaps not great depth - of information. This was the personal experience which our ideologies and policies must increasingly address.

Pierre Mauroy pointed out that this discussion, to be continued in Berlin, was also taking place in each one of the International's member parties. He referred to the great opportunities opened up by the collapse of communism and the worldwide 'explosion' of democracy, and to the huge achievements in the developed countries in the years since the second world war. 'But I would remind you', he added, 'that we have some 800 million men and women who can benefit from this small paradise, while there are still far more who face tremendous problems, and those are the problems we have to solve'.

This - the North-South divide - was the greatest problem of all, but there were also challenges to be faced, for example, in Europe. Not least of these was a sense of questioning not easy to explain in the context of the huge social achievements of our countries. He mentioned a number of factors affecting the social and political climate in western Europe: the continual expansion of the 'middle class', the population explosion, the huge migratory movements, the recent and unforeseen rise of the extreme right. A further huge question was that of economic democracy: 'how can we offset the tremendous difficulties and injustices created by the market?' he asked.

Another great task to be faced, not only at European but at world level, was that of reducing unemployment. This, together with the challenges of development and of the

environment, must be faced, he concluded, in terms of our own respected and enduring values of liberty, justice and solidarity.

Gro Harlem Brundtland underlined the need to reinforce the spirit of solidarity and mutual responsibility which had always been part of the social democratic ethic, together with the equally strong need to strive for competitiveness and to create prosperity.

Technology and knowledge were really an even greater challenge to social democracy than its historic role of trying to understand and control the forces of capitalism, she continued. At the heart of this issue was the need to share access to knowledge and technology fairly. This sharing of knowledge must not stop at national borders, and we would therefore need to find the way to move from the national to the international level - to international government. The European Community was an example and a precursor and social democracy had made a great contribution to formulating the vision of democracy at European level. In other regions that process was at different stages. Furthermore, the North-South issue and the great problems of the environment had huge implications for this process.

Erdal İnönü recalled the last congress of the International in Stockholm in 1989 and the Declaration of Principles adopted there. We had at that time shown the world an optimistic vision of events to come, he said. The subsequent collapse of communism had vindicated that optimism. We could be sure of our principles. The dynamic required to carry forward those principles was now the priority. How did we increase people's participation? How did we find ways to resolve international problems without recourse to arms? How did we take a decisive step towards closing the North-South gap? Such were the questions to be posed in establishing that dynamic.

He went on to refer to the conflict in Nagorno Karabakh. Here, he said, was a specific and urgent case where we needed to find the mechanism to implement our principles, to stop the bloodshed. There was serious doubt, he told the presidium, whether a ceasefire would hold. He urged the International to appeal for a ceasefire and to send observers to Azerbaijan and Armenia in support of the framework already announced by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, CSCE. We must show the support of the International for resolving this

and other such problems in a peaceful way.

José Francisco Peña Gómez recalled the many victories of democratic socialism since the International's Geneva Congress in 1976, not least throughout Latin America. He stressed the crucial role of the Socialist International in the 'redemocratisation' of that continent and pointed to the social democratic leaders forced into exile in the 1970s who had since returned to their countries and reorganised their parties, many of which were now major political forces and some of which today held power.

He spoke too of the recent impressive performance of social democracy in economic management. Whilst the legacy of poverty left by the military dictatorships was by no means yet wiped out, the achievement in reducing inflation all over Latin America was huge, he said, and surely boded well for future economic progress in which all would be able to share.

Nevertheless, the drop in living standards suffered by so many all over the continent as the result of International Monetary Fund policies was serious and deplorable. Somehow, adjustment policies must be implemented in such a way that democratic socialism could continue to carry out its social function. Democratic socialism, by its very nature, must address the present circumstances and needs of the people, both the poor and the professional classes. In this respect the great questions facing political leaders in Latin America were similar to those raised by Jacques Delors and others in relation to Europe.

Ingvar Carlsson listed four vital areas where social democracy was uniquely equipped to meet the challenges of our times. Firstly, in the importance given to the fight against unemployment; secondly, in social justice - with a social democratic government people could feel more secure when they were sick, when they were young, at school, and when they were old; thirdly, social democrats were committed to winning the battle against pollution; and lastly, with social democracy the prospects

President Soares joins Willy Brandt in Madrid



M. Otero

were better for bridging the gap between North and South. Today more than ever, he said, these priorities were relevant and widely shared.

Karel van Miert defined the main adversaries of social democracy today as neo-liberalism, xenophobia and hyper-individualism. The first two we knew well, and already the penalties they brought were becoming evident. The problem of hyper-individualism continued to develop and to undermine human relations. He went on to mention a number of constraints on political action and social reform in modern societies. They included the limitations of the market economy and the need to maintain an equilibrium within that economy; the flight of capital, which could not realistically be contained; and the over-riding power of the mass media. Despite the major challenges to political campaigning represented by such hugely powerful factors, he felt that there was much room for optimism. The concern in today's world for democracy, freedom and human rights was overwhelmingly clear, as was the basic validity of social democratic principles.

Shimon Peres pointed out that the collapse of communism was not the only trend in world politics. In the United States, these were very difficult times - all the more difficult, perhaps, now that the much greater problems of the Soviet system were not the immediate point of comparison. He spoke of those recent emigrants from Russia to the West, who had quickly discovered the shortcomings of capitalism as the simple answer to their problems. However, whilst stressing the economic problems of capitalism, he felt that the differences between socialism and communism, and between socialism and capitalism, were essentially not economic but moral differences. Maybe, he said, what we needed today was what Léon Blum had once called the 'remoralisation of the socialist movement'. Health, education, science: all these must be a social and moral responsibility.

Adequate living conditions for all must be paid for and subject to some degree of organisation by government. This also applied to environmental standards. The crisis of the cities in the United States, for example, showed all too clearly how minimum-

Given the practical requirements for the organisation of such a large event, he went on, provisional arrangements had already been made. There was a proposal to hold the congress on 15-17 September in Berlin, where the president of the German



M. Otero

Pierre Mauroy

intervention government was falling down in this area. His final point - also a moral one - concerned the need to combat military and economic corruption, whose effects in many regions were consuming the resources available for improving society.

Closing the discussion, Willy Brandt said that he was encouraged by many of the views and ideas exchanged. The policy document being prepared for the forthcoming congress would no doubt draw substantially on these contributions.

Congress, elections

The second main task of the presidium meeting was to consider preparations for the forthcoming congress of the Socialist International and the election of the International's officers.

SI President Willy Brandt formally confirmed to the presidium that he would not be standing for re-election at the coming congress.

federal parliament had offered the historic Reichstag building as the congress venue. The mayor of Berlin and the prime minister of the state of Brandenburg hoped to greet the congress personally.

He hoped that the first day of the two-and-a-half-day congress would be devoted to discussion of the theme already broached by this meeting, that of social democracy, or democratic socialism, in today's rapidly changing world. Many party leaders and others would thus be able to participate in that crucial debate. A draft document on the theme would be prepared in advance, to be finalised and adopted by the congress, he said.

One important area for inclusion in this main theme would be how to strengthen the United Nations institutions.

He proposed three additional themes, which would be the focus of discussions on the second day of the congress. These were economic and environmental questions, and the question of human rights and national identity.

The final half-day of congress could thus be devoted to additional resolutions and to the election of the International's officers.

Willy Brandt's involvement with the Socialist International would not, could not, end with his retirement from the presidency, Felipe González said in a personal tribute.

Commenting on the proposed congress venue, González said that Berlin was 'the very expression of a changing world'.

The presidium went on to agree unanimously that the name of Pierre Mauroy should be put forward at the forthcoming congress as president of the International, the name of Gro Harlem Brundtland for a new function of first vice-president, and Luis Ayala to continue as secretary general. The congress

Membership

The presidium exchanged some views on the many applications for membership which were before the International and on which the forthcoming congress would be making some decisions. A proposal to establish an additional category of observer membership was felt to be timely. This proposal will be put to the congress.

The Former Soviet Union

SI Vice-President Hans-Jochen Vogel reported on the fact-finding visit he had undertaken on behalf of the International to the republics of the former Soviet Union. In the course of this mission, from which he had travelled directly to the presidium

the republics, the chairmen of nine social democratic parties, as well as leaders of other parties, and church and other representatives.

He stressed the fundamental nature of the changes in progress in this vast region of some 8.5 million square kilometres and 283 million people. It was difficult to find a historical parallel, he said, for the total collapse of an ideology which had prevailed for 70 years and governed the life of the whole population. The disintegration of the British or the Austro-Hungarian empires had also involved the liberation of vast territories, but not such a fundamental change in the thinking - the very concept of life - of the people.

Among the many and daunting problems facing the new republics, he mentioned the breakdown of production and supply systems over large areas; the disintegration of vast military structures, and the debts carried over from the Soviet regime.

There were Social Democratic parties in nine of the republics he had visited, Vogel reported. Perhaps the greatest challenge they, along with other burgeoning political parties, faced was public disillusion with politics - one might even say the rejection of political considerations. The widespread turning to religion and to nationalism were symptomatic of this.

He spoke of the considerable and widespread material hardship, along with the confusion and loss of self-esteem experienced by many, for example in Russia. Continuing humanitarian assistance, along with the exchange of expertise, were the greatest needs. In Moldova, for example, he and his associates had been the first delegation from a western country to visit since the republic's independence and their visit had been much appreciated.

The social democratic politicians working under such enormous difficulties in the new republics deserved great respect and support, he concluded



M. Otero

Andreas Papandreou, Jacques Delors and José Francisco Peña Gómez

would elect a total of 25 vice-presidents and the presidium asked Vice-President Karel van Miert to take on the task of consulting with member parties to propose to the congress a list of vice-presidents.

meeting, he had visited the Russian Federation, Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kirghistan, and Kazakhstan, and had met some 150 personalities, including the presidents, prime ministers and other parliamentarians of most of

The Balkans

Andreas Papandreu addressed the meeting on the situation in the former Yugoslavia and the Balkan region. He referred to the positive developments of the 1980s in Balkan-wide cooperation, leading to the inter-Balkan conference which had brought together for the first time all the Balkan countries, including Greece and Turkey. The situation today, after the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the eruption of ethnic conflicts in the wake of the Soviet collapse, was very different.

Within all the present and potential conflicts of the region, an issue of particular concern to Greece, he told the presidium, was that of the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia, known following the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the declaration of independence by each republic as Skopje. This had led to reservations on the part of the Greek government, shared by PASOK, about the European Community's decisions on the former Yugoslav republics.

He stressed that PASOK would take all possible steps to maintain and develop positive relations in the difficult new context with the whole Balkan region.

The Middle East

Commenting to the presidium on the latest developments in the Middle East, Shimon Peres spoke first of the progress recently made. For the first time, he said, there was an agreed Palestinian delegation at the Middle East peace talks. For the first time also there were direct and open meetings between a Syrian and an Israeli delegation. For the first time 22 Arab countries were meeting with Israel at an international conference on the Middle East. There was unprecedented consensus between the US, Europe and Russia on the region. Finally, relations between third world countries and Israel were improving, with the establishment of diplomatic relations with China, for example, and with many African countries.

Nevertheless, progress towards peace was slow, not least because of the policies of the present Israeli government. He stressed

that the Israel Labour Party, unlike the present government, was for a freeze on settlements, which would, they felt, seriously advance the peace process. They were also looking to a permanent, not only an interim, solution for the West Bank and Gaza, and to long-term

both had substantial experience of the region, would be asked to examine how the International might best contribute to the search for peaceful solutions and future cooperation.

The presidium also reaffirmed the concern expressed at the last



*Left to right:
Gro Harlem
Brundtland,
Ingvar
Carlsson and
Hans-Jochen
Vogel*

M. Otero

development of the whole region, through economic cooperation, disarmament, and concerted policies to reduce poverty.

He foresaw little further progress in the peace process before the elections to be held in Israel in June. If Labour were to win those elections, he had great hopes that peace in the Middle East would become 'not just a promise but an immediate opportunity'.

Urgent actions

Responding to remarks by Hans-Jochen Vogel on the conflict in Nagorno Karabakh, Willy Brandt proposed an SI initiative in support of the peace-making proposals of the United Nations and the CSCE. This was warmly supported and led to the subsequent visit of an SI mission to the area (see page 30).

The ongoing conflicts in the former Yugoslavia were also of serious concern to the presidium and following a proposal of the SI president it was agreed that Norwegian Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg and Belgian Foreign Minister Willy Claes, who

SI council meeting about the situation in East Timor, adopting a resolution which called for Indonesian military withdrawal from East Timor, direct negotiations between the Indonesian government, the East Timorese and Portugal, as the administrative power, and the organisation of a UN-supervised referendum, so that the East Timorese could determine their own political future.

Finally, the presidium made a statement on the present situation in South Africa, expressing support for the work of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, and for the continuation of the process of peaceful transformation in the country, with the broadest possible involvement of the South African population as a whole.

PEOPLE



René Felber (above), a leader of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland and Swiss foreign minister, became president of the Swiss Confederation on 1 January. He said that Switzerland, which had already sent a medical corps to Namibia and the Western Sahara, would be setting up a permanent peacekeeping force for service abroad.

Michael Manley (below), a vice-president of the Socialist International, resigned as prime minister of Jamaica and leader of the Peoples' National Party on 28 March for health reasons.

Born in 1924, Michael Manley is the son of Norman Manley, who founded the PNP in 1938 and was to become the country's premier and bring Jamaica to independence in 1962.

'Joshua' to his supporters,



Michael Manley became leader of the PNP in 1969, was elected prime minister in 1972 and re-elected in 1976. During that period he confronted the UN International Monetary Fund on domestic policy. Abroad he espoused the cause of the developing world and was awarded a UN gold medal for his opposition to apartheid. He incurred the enmity of President Ronald Reagan. He returned to power in 1989 and thereafter pursued policies which placed greater emphasis on the role of the private sector.

Manley is succeeded as leader of the Peoples' National Party and as prime minister by **P.J. Patterson**. Patterson, like Michael Manley, is a graduate of the London School of Economics. He was elected to parliament in 1970 and became party chairman in 1983. He has been finance minister and deputy prime minister as well as minister of industry and tourism and foreign minister.

Alan García, president of Peru from 1985 to 1990, was elected secretary general of the Peruvian Aprista Party, PAP, at the recent party congress. **Agustín Mantilla**, a former interior minister, was García's choice for party organisational secretary. García is now in hiding following the coup d'état in Peru (see Socialist Notebook, page 64), while Mantilla was one of a number of opposition figures arrested.

Guy Spitaels (below), chair since 1981 of the Belgian Socialist Party, PS, and a former deputy premier of Belgium, resigned the party presidency on 6 January to become president of the executive of Wallonia, the French speaking region of Belgium. Based in Namur the Walloon executive has,



like that of Flanders, a great deal of autonomy and Spitaels is expected to use Wallonia's attributions to the full. He is replaced as party leader by **Philippe Busquin**.

Bettino Craxi has been invited by Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the incoming secretary general of the United Nations, to continue in his post as special adviser on problems of development and the strengthening of peace and security to which he was appointed by Javier Pérez de Cuellar. Among his principal concerns will be the situation in the Lebanon.

Willy Claes of the Belgian Flemish-speaking Socialist Party, SP, was named one of three deputy premiers and also foreign minister, while **Guy Coeme** of the French-speaking Socialist Party, PS, was also appointed deputy premier and minister of communications.



Antonio Guterres (above), has succeeded **Jorge Sampaio** as secretary general of the Socialist Party of Portugal following a poll at the party congress on 21 February. Guterres became assistant to Mario Soares in 1975. He was a member of parliament from 1978 to 1983, and elected again in 1985. Since 1989 he had been leader of the Socialist parliamentary group.

■
Felix Rottenberg, 34, is the new president of the Dutch Labour Party, PvdA, elected at the party congress in Nijmegen on 8 March.

■
The new secretary general of the Swedish Social Democratic Party is **Mona Sahlin**. Elected to parliament in 1982, Sahlin (below) has been chair of the



parliamentary committee on working hours and in 1990 joined the cabinet as minister of labour, a post she held until the Social Democrat's election defeat in 1991.

■
At the Congress of MAPAM, Israel, held in February (see Socialist Notebook, page 61) **Eliezer Ronen** was elected chair of the party. He succeeds Elazar Granot, who has retired.

Ronen, an economist and lawyer, is a former member of Jerusalem City Council and of the Israeli Knesset.



■
Yitzhak Rabin (above) is the new chairman of the Israel Labour Party and its candidate for prime minister in the forthcoming general elections. Of some 108,000 ballots cast by party members Rabin gained nearly 41 per cent and Shimon Peres, the incumbent, nearly 35 per cent. Rabin, 69, succeeded Golda Meir as prime minister between 1974 and 1977. After the voting Peres congratulated his successor and pledged his full co-operation in working together to defeat Likud.

■
Abderrahmane Yousoufi has become first secretary of the Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP, Morocco, following the death of **Abderrahim Bouabid** (see obituary page 40).

■
Alfred Sant was elected leader of the Malta Labour Party at an extraordinary party congress in March. He was previously chair of the party's information department. He succeeds former prime minister and party leader **Karmenu Mifsud Bonnici**.

■
At an extraordinary party congress held on 11 April, **Poul Nyrup Rasmussen** (below) was elected chair of the Social Democratic Party of Denmark. Rasmussen, who succeeds **Svend Auken**, was previously deputy chair. The new deputy chairs are Birte Weiss and Ove E. Dalsgaard.



■
PEOPLE
■

Jos Van Eynde, former chairman of the Belgian Socialist Party, SP, and an honorary president of the Socialist International, died on 22 March. Born outside Antwerp in 1907 he made a career as a journalist. He reported on the Spanish civil war and latterly was editor-in-chief of the Flemish language Volksgazet which he had first joined in 1926. During the second world war he was a prisoner of war. On his release he helped to found the illegal Belgian Socialist Party and edited De Werker and Morgenrood, clandestine newspapers, under the pseudonym Homonovus. He

entered parliament in 1946 where he used to say, 'We must give people enough money to buy butter'. He defined socialism as 'a horizontal movement of people who lack means; most of all a movement of people against the power of property'.

Van Eynde became deputy chair of his party in 1954 and co-chair from 1971 to 1975. He was named minister of state in 1969. He played an active role in the Socialist International for almost 40 years, from its earliest post-war activities and subsequent formal re-establishment in 1952 until the early 1980s. He was elected honorary president at the Geneva congress in 1976.



Abderrahim Bouabid, first secretary of the Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP, of Morocco, died in Rabat on 8 January aged 71 after a long fight against cancer. Son of a carpenter, Bouabid studied law in Paris and became an admirer of Léon Blum. Back in Morocco he became a founder member of Istiqlal, which fought France for the right for Morocco to emerge from protectorate to full independence. He was imprisoned in 1944 and 1952. On independence Mohamed V named him first ambassador in the French capital and he was later named economy minister. He launched the USFP in 1972. He was a firm opponent of any Moroccan withdrawal from the Western Sahara.

Michel Rocard, former prime minister of France, representing the Socialist International as well as the French Socialist party at the memorial meeting for Bouabid in Casablanca, said, 'He was a man of conviction, competence, courage and responsibility. He was a humanist and an immense fighter for human rights. I am convinced that the great stability that Morocco has long known - despite grave political and economic problems - owes much to him personally'.



■
PEOPLE
■

Gunnar Strang, 85, considered one of the architects of the Swedish model of social democracy, died in Stockholm on 7 March. The son of a manual worker, Strang went to work on a farm at the age of twelve. He first made a name for himself as a union organiser and he was called by Prime Minister Per-Albin Hansson to be junior agriculture minister in 1945. It was however as finance minister uninterruptedly from 1955 to 1976 that he achieved a place in the history books, shaping the economy of the welfare state.



Tom Kahn, a member of the National Committee of Social Democrats USA, died on 27 March. He was a leading member of SDUSA for more than 30 years and one of the party's main theoreticians. He began his professional career as assistant to Bayard Rustin during the civil rights protests of the 1960s. He subsequently worked for many years for the AFL-CIO and in 1986 was appointed director of international affairs. In that capacity he worked intensively in support of the emerging democratic trade unions in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe.

Johannes Mihkelson, honorary chair of the Estonian Social Democratic Party, died in February in Stockholm at the age of 85. Mihkelson, a well-known and colourful figure, was the last of the pre-war Baltic social democratic leaders.

He was born in Pärnu in southern Estonia, the son of a dockworker, and himself worked on the docks to finance his

secondary education. 'I was forced to play truant to earn money to go to school', he often joked.

In 1928, a branch of the Social Democratic Party was established for the first time in Pärnu, with Mihkelson as chair. He subsequently also became one of only two full-time officers of the Estonian trade union confederation, a post created through the assistance of the Swedish trade unions, and spent some time pursuing trade union studies in Sweden.

During the 1930s he was an active opponent of both fascism and communism and in 1936 was forced into exile, living for two years in Finland where he worked as a freelance journalist for the Swedish language press.

Back in Estonia, he was arrested by the occupying German authorities and detained in a concentration camp until 1943.

The following year he left for Sweden, where he lived for the rest of his life, working for the state labour authority on the resettlement of refugees, for the

social security administration, and for the cooperative movement.

Throughout his long years in exile, Johannes Mihkelson was a leader of the exiled Estonian Social Democratic Party and was actively involved in the Socialist International. At the end of his life he saw his party re-established in Estonia and the country's return to independence.



SUPPORT FOR AFRICAN SOCIALISTS

The fall of the communist system has opened up new political spaces in many African countries, including those which were previously marxist-leninist. At the same time, the failures and obstacles associated with structural adjustment programmes have led to doubts about the liberal model. Suffering caused by dictatorships and authoritarian governments has led to widespread disgust with such regimes. The rising influence of a younger generation eager for justice is a cause for hope if these young people can be united and motivated by an alternative vision.

There are, however, many serious dangers. The dictators could return, with renewed hope and invoking all their contacts and influence. Socialist movements in Africa are fragmented, whilst the ruling regimes - constitutionally legitimate or not - are closely linked in solidarity. The return of the right to power in certain countries like Sweden is a source of discouragement. The enormous resources of the dictatorships or governments in power is striking in the face of the dire poverty of socialists and real democrats. Opposition political groupings financed by conservative sources aim to isolate or exclude socialists. All the opposition parties are lacking in theoretical reflection, political strategy and training and their supporters are all too often hypnotised by the sole idea of power. The (classical) alliances between repented, or unrepentant, communists and the forces of the right which are being forged today in Africa aim to sweep away the

'common enemy' of the democratic socialist movement. The political friendships cultivated by African dictators in Europe, even with socialist parties, are a source of total confusion.

If socialists are swept aside in Africa now, key positions will be lost which at best will be very difficult to regain and at worst will be stamped out. If the right should prevail in Europe, they will have no compunction about helping to install their allies in power in Africa.

European socialists could surely do for Africa a little of what was done not long ago for Latin America. We are ready to fight, even though our resources are ten times smaller than those of our opponents. But can you just wait while we lead our comrades to the slaughterhouse?

Joseph Ki-Zerbo
General Secretary, FPV
Burkina Faso

The editor welcomes letters from readers. These should be kept to a maximum of 500 words and may be sent by telefax to: (010 44 71) 720 4448 or by mail to the Socialist International secretariat, see address inside front cover.

**FROM
THE
ARCHIVE****THE INVASION OF HUNGARY**

The Socialist International is following the events in Hungary with the deepest sympathy for the Hungarian people. It is profoundly shocked by the suppression of the freedom movement by the Russian military forces and full of admiration for the continued resistance of the Hungarian workers.

In the name of freedom-loving socialism, we solemnly protest against the Russian war against the Hungarian people. The action of the Soviet government is a brutal negation of the humanitarian and democratic principles of socialism ... The desire for freedom ... must not be drowned in blood by Russian tanks.

Resolution of the General Council of the Socialist International,
30 November 1956



Publisher and Editor
Maria Rodriguez-Jonas

WOMEN'S STAND IN EUROPE

Anita Gradin

We are all part of a decisive historic process, in Europe and in the world. The fall of communism and the rise of democracy in our part of the world give us great possibilities for shaping a brighter future for all people in Europe. But in all dramatic periods of change in history there is also great risk. Times are changing fast. It is our task as politicians to grasp the moment, to make decisions and take action at the right time. It is our task to cooperate with all like-minded people to create the political force necessary for the changes we want.

It is imperative that we, social democratic women from different parts of Europe, formulate our vision of Europe in the year 2,000. And we must direct all our political will and energy towards these goals.

We need a common vision for women of Europe. Our work should also serve as an important input for European socialists in their formulation of the political platform for the EC parliament elections in 1994.

We have political perspectives from different parts of Europe, hitherto parted by the Iron Curtain which has now rusted away. We do not wish to replace it by some Poverty Curtain or Gap. Our common vision for Europe is a Europe of peace and solidarity, of welfare fairly distributed among its people, of true democracy for both women and men.

Women's representation is a crucial issue. When we argue for more women in political

*Women represent half of the
labour force in Sweden today*



life, we do it along two parallel lines. Firstly, it is a matter of democracy. Women form half or little more of a country's population. Therefore, a fair distribution of seats in decision making bodies is an important matter of democracy. Secondly, the experiences of women and men are not the same. Society as a whole needs the full participation of both women and men. Experience shows that there is a feminist perspective on every political matter. Women can develop ideas in areas that are 'forgotten' in political life. Those members of parliament who raise questions on health care for mothers and children, of special opportunities for young women and so on - they are women.

As we formulate our common vision for Europe, it might be of some interest to share the experiences of Nordic women.

We consider the right of women to employment as a fundamental right. My own country shows evidence that this can be achieved: 83 per cent of women, including young mothers, are gainfully employed. Women form 48 per cent of the work force in Sweden. Denmark, Finland and Norway are also to be seen at the top of the list for women's employment.

Since the 1950s we have had close cooperation between the Nordic countries. Today it is quite natural for Nordic citizens to move from one country to another without a passport. You may live, study, work and vote in municipal elections in whichever Nordic country you choose. We have close cooperation in a wide variety of fields - and of course also on equality between men and women. In the action plan now going up to 1993 we concentrate on two topics: 'Women's role in economic development' and 'Combining family life with a job outside the home'.

Some common developments in the Nordic countries are strikingly obvious. The labour force has increased in size, as the public sector has simultaneously expanded. Major social reforms have influenced the composition of the labour force. Young persons are joining the labour force later than formerly. Education has been extended and the level of education has been raised, both for women and men.

The number of women in the labour force has risen steadily for many years, and women's percentage of the total has also consistently increased. Today women constitute almost half of the labour force, as compared with one third in 1960.

The percentage of women was for a long time greatest in Finland. Today it is greatest in Sweden, where 83 per cent of all women from the age of 20 up to pension age are in the labour force.

However, throughout the Nordic countries there is a sharp distinction between what is women's and what is men's work. In Finland and Norway about half of all women are in distinctly female-dominated jobs. In Sweden about four out of ten, and in Denmark about three out of ten have such jobs. At the most ten per cent of working women and men in the Nordic countries have a job where women and men are represented in about equal proportions.

Women's sphere of the labour market is characteristically related to providing services or taking care of people. Looking after the material world is largely regarded as a typical man's job. In other words, we have today the same pattern of division of labour as in pre-industrial society. What was formerly women's task in the home - the production of certain goods, care for and education of children, care for the sick, elderly, and disabled - has now to a great extent been taken over by the formal economy. Women today are employed and paid for tasks which they formerly performed without remuneration.

These days, with severe economic problems in many countries, attacks are aimed directly at such common services. This threatens not only women's jobs, but the very basis of women's employment and status in society. We as social democratic women must put strong political emphasis on the defence of the social security system that we have succeeded in building. Without a generally functioning system, based on public financing, we would not have the means to ensure women the same right to gainful employment as men.

Equal opportunities imply that both women and men are entitled to work that makes them economically independent. A very high percentage of women are in the labour market, but not on the same terms as men.

In the Nordic countries we no longer have separate salary or wage scales for women. But this does not mean that women and men have equal pay.

In manufacturing industry, the difference between women's and men's salaries has been gradually reduced in all five Nordic countries. In Finland women had by 1986 reached 80 per cent of men's salaries, in Denmark and Norway some 85 per cent and in Sweden around 90 per cent. However, this process came to a halt a few years ago, and now the gaps seem to be widening again. This is a matter of great concern to us. Of course women feel anger at being regarded as worth less than men. In June last year the Swedish



*Xenophobia in Europe:
hindering the chances for a
peaceful childhood*

Social Democratic government set up a special committee, which was given the task of surveying and analysing these differences. It will also compare different international instruments for job valuation.

Another important factor is the tax system. Sweden used to have what still exists in many European countries: joint taxation of married couples. That meant that the woman's income was added to the husband's income - and in a system of progressive taxes that meant that women had comparatively less left after taxation. 'It is not worth while for my wife to work' was a common male opinion. We changed this in Sweden in 1971 - and I consider that as one of the most important steps we have taken towards real equality. Today women are regarded also by the taxation system as economically independent.

Another most important reform is the introduction of parental leave, giving fathers the right to share time with a small child. Today parents in Sweden have the right to 12 months paid leave - related to their income and another three months with a guaranteed sum. A growing number of men take responsibility for their children. But it takes time to change opinions.

In 1983, when I was the Swedish Minister for Equality between Men and Women, I established a working party on 'Men's role in Equality'. I must admit, I had expected jokes and ridicule. I was both astonished and pleased to find a great interest among men. This was probably because men started to realise that they were the losers in contact with the children, that their concentration on a career gave them more gastric ulcers than happiness in life. And many men on an intellectual level, confessed to themselves that it was preposterous to let women bear a heavier burden than themselves.

This working party still exists, arranging seminars on men's topics, working for equality in the long term.

But times have changed. Today everything seems to concentrate on the market. The market seems almost to be a holy creature, not only in Sweden but everywhere. And markets do not care about equality or solidarity.

This is not grounds for pessimism. On the contrary. This absurd emphasis on the market makes it all the more important for us to set out the essential features of tomorrow's Europe.

In western Europe, not least within the EC, it has been the prerogative of men, industrialists, capitalists, to formulate goals and policies. In Sweden - and I am sure that this goes for many other countries - this has meant that discussion on Europe's future has been a discussion solely in economic terms, market shares, inflation rates and so on. Now, of course economy is the basis for the policies we wish to pursue. But for us Social democrats economic policy has to be combined with social policy for a fair distribution of opportunities.

We can see now, that this also is a growing concern in EC policy. The Maastricht Summit's firm decision to include social policy in the process - in the face of the stubborn, conservative, British resistance - gives hope for the European future.

What goes on within the European Community - the future European Union - is of great concern for all people in Europe. Of the Nordic countries, Denmark has for almost two decades been a member of the EC, Sweden applied for membership last summer, and we are, together with Finland, Norway and Iceland, members of the European Free Trade Association, which is now on the threshold of joining the European Economic Area together with the 12 EC member states.

WOMEN & POLITICS

Women in Europe

In my view, the EC is a reliable structure for ensuring peace among its members and associates. It is also a vital organ for cooperation in a number of fields.

In the Nordic countries, we have been in the forefront of environment policy and of public awareness of the problems. This is a growing concern in all parts of the world, marked by the important Rio meeting on Environment and Development later this year, among other things.

In the European context, we truly are interdependent also in the environmental field. The problems have to be solved through cooperation, both globally and, not least, regionally. It is a matter not only of solidarity between people now living, but also with future generations. If we do not find structures for sustainable development, we will be robbing the living conditions of our own children and grandchildren.

We regard ecology as an integral part of economics. You simply cannot waste resources that you have to live on!

I wish to highlight another common problem for Europeans, and that is the growing xenophobia and racism. Europe has a terrible history in this respect. Today, maltreatment and persecution of Jews, of people with different extraction or with skins of a different colour, of migrants and asylum seekers are like ghosts from the dark past. Discrimination against people goes hand in hand with elitist ideologies. There are imminent risks of such tendencies to being used by 'strong men', especially in times of social unrest, of poverty and uncertainty about the future. But no country today is free from these tendencies. It is vital for us as social democrats to defend the values of solidarity, human rights, and every individual right to be treated with respect. This is closely connected with our common endeavours to give women the same rights as men.

Finally, I return to the topic I started with - women and our influence in society.

As President of Socialist International Women, I want to focus on the important decision we took at our conference in Lima, Peru in 1986. There we launched a Socialist Decade for Women. At the same time, the Socialist International called upon its member parties to facilitate women's participation in political life on an equal footing with men, ensuring women's representation at all party levels, as candidates for local, regional and national elections, and on all delegations to meetings of the Socialist International.

Since then, the SI has invited its member organisations to work for the establishment of machinery, preferably a ministry or secretariat of state, for equality between women and men.

The Lima decisions were also followed up at a meeting in Paris two years later, where the Socialist International urged all socialists to aim at achieving equal representation (50-50) of women at all levels, national and local, both legislative and organisational, within the next ten years (that is, by 1998).

In a number of countries social democratic parties have now adopted quota systems. Norway has decided on a 50-50 quota, Denmark has a decision on 40 per cent, Spain 25 per cent, Switzerland 33 per cent, and Italy 20 per cent. There are also quota systems in countries like Iceland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and Austria. As for Sweden, the Social Democratic Women's Conference in 1987 decided to work for a 50-50 quota.

Quota systems can be forceful tools to ensure women's say in society. But, it is not enough to have a fair distribution of seats in elected assemblies. We also need women in all the rooms where decisions are made: in special committees, in working groups, in the administration.

We need close cooperation between social democratic women in all nations. Together we have to formulate policies and strategies for the future of our continent.

*Annita Gradin is Vice President of
the Federation of Social Demo-
cratic Women in Sweden, a
Member of Parliament and
President of Socialist International
Women.*



Fotostudio Haslinger

*In the planning stages
(the author is on the right)*

WOMEN PLAN THEIR CITY

Renate Brauner

On Women's Day 1991, the Viennese Social Democratic Women began a campaign which was designed to look into gender-specific issues in local politics. The Women Plan Their City campaign was intended to show that local politics involves gender-specific issues. It - also - was to prove that women are very active and committed in all community matters, an area which for women is a palpable every-day experience. For the launching of the campaign on that Women's Day 1991, women used symbols over large maps of Vienna to mark sites for the planting of trees, pedestrian crossings, merging of small backyards to create communal gardens, 'scare areas', installation of traffic lights, putting up of park benches, etc.

What we wanted to achieve was to give women in Vienna the chance to voice their needs and desires in the campaign. The Social Democratic Women's organisation in Vienna sent a very comprehensive questionnaire to all women citizens of the town. The questionnaire listed points of criticism, need and improvement in the following areas: transport, environment, child-care, safety and leisure time. Together with the list of questions, a brochure was sent out encouraging women to photograph Vienna as they saw it. The photos were shown in an exhibition of women's culture at a large festival later in the year. A mobile advice and counselling unit toured the town to interest women in the campaign and to help them fill in the questionnaire. Questions ranged from: 'what are the priorities for the area where you live?' to: 'do you have any suggestions for the improvement of this area?'. Details were requested on the ages of the woman's children; child-care used and why; means of transport used; what leisure facilities were available,



Fotostudio Haslinger

*Viennese women deciding
where to plant trees*

and in what adult education courses the woman would be interested. With a large variety of options to choose from and plenty of space for suggestions, we felt that the questionnaire was easy to fill in and gave space for creative answers.

The response to the questionnaire was very positive: 5,325 women sent their comments. And, if proof was needed, they showed that women are undisputed experts on the areas they live in. Where normally town planners are spending large sums of money on studies and expertise, women had to hand detailed information on traffic-light-phasing, dangerous crossings, playgrounds in unfavourable locations and pavements blocked by parked cars as listed on the questionnaire. Moreover, thousands of very detailed proposals for improvements were made.

When we looked at the answers more closely, we found that three specific areas were singled out by an overwhelming majority of women: transport, 'green' areas, and 'scare' areas.

The Social Democratic Women in Vienna touched a raw nerve in raising the issue of 'scare' areas. Many women described the areas where they felt unsafe and scared, and made a great variety of proposals for removing the danger in these areas. They demanded better lighting at bus stops and the installation of visible, transparent lifts in underground stations.

One aspect of the campaign we particularly enjoyed was that, of all the women who answered the questionnaire, more than half wanted to get involved beyond the initial stage. They showed interest in active cooperation in working groups and other initiatives.

The responses to the questionnaire were evaluated by a team which looked at them district-by-district. We presented the findings to the women's officers of the Social Democratic Party organisation and we made them available to all women citizens. We also invited all those who had participated to attend the presentation of the findings.

Now we have to make every effort to implement the proposals. Social Democratic Women on district councils are now attempting, together with those affected, to put into practice all the proposals wherever possible. We consider this to be the object of our campaign: to achieve improvements for women.

WOMEN & POLITICS

Women in Europe



One of the things women criticised was cars parked on pavements. This angered many who found walking difficult, particularly with push-chairs.

Cards adorned with a sweet, and - to attract more attention - a balloon, were attached to the windscreen wipers of offending cars. All participants in the campaign were sent five of these cards (plus the sweets) for use in their area. This good-humoured way of making our point was generally welcome and our point taken in many cases.

A further reason behind the 'Women plan their city' campaign was to draw more attention to the concerns of women in local politics.

Consciousness-raising on the political level was effectively carried out. On the administrative level we attempt to force those responsible to take women and their needs into consideration when making decisions. For the election campaign (municipal elections, November 1991), we used the results of our questionnaire in leaflets, information material, etc.

We stressed the fact that 65 per cent of those questioned supported giving precedence to public transport, even if this meant obstructing private vehicles; 49 per cent favoured the imposition of more 15 miles per hour maximum speed zones; 54 per cent thought that more green areas, trees and wider pavements should be provided even if that meant less parking spaces.

Around 50 per cent objected to cars parked on the pavements, and roughly the same percentage complained about the short timelapse on green pedestrian traffic lights and the lack of ramps to ease access for push-chairs; 30 per cent of women (depending on which area they lived in) wanted an increase in the number of child minders available. Generally speaking, we found that the majority of women use public transport for long distances, walk short ones and only use their cars for shopping or in the evening in order to avoid situations where they would be scared. Women want shops and doctors close to where they live.

We regard the establishment of a separate council to deal with women's issues as a successful step which demonstrates the enhanced status of women in the community. This council will be consulted on all decisions to be made in local politics. It will consist of women architects, doctors, social workers, craftwomen and urban planning experts.

We are sure that once women have a say in the planning of their city, the functioning of transport, housing, safety, will be more adequate to women's needs. As one sister in our organisation put it: 'An outing with a pram or a buggy will not be a steeplechase but a relaxing and pleasurable experience for us all'. We might have to consider the introduction of women's carriages on the underground and special spaces in public car parks. We will certainly have to respond to the demands and anxieties of women in our city. We will call for the introduction of self-defence courses for girls at school, of yet more women's refuges and counselling units.

For us, the Social Democratic Women's organisation, this campaign has had considerable impact, because we addressed new and interesting target-groups - it was mainly young working women with children who participated in the campaign. We face a challenge to the structures of our women's organisation.

We have started discussing changes and innovations in our organisational structures so as to make the political organisation of Social Democratic Women more accessible. At the same time we have an opportunity to develop new forms of political work which are more attractive to women.

Renate Brauner, born in 1956, an economist, active in the Socialist Youth and Student movements, since 1989 Secretary of the Vienna Social Democratic Women's Organisation, and elected to the Vienna Town Council in 1990.

WHY I SUPPORT A NEW PARTY

Ellie Smeal

Do we need a Third Party?

At its 1989 annual conference, the National Organisation for Women (NOW) voted unanimously for a resolution to establish a commission to explore the possibility of a new political party. The key word was *explored*. But all hell broke loose. Establishment politicians and pundits let loose a mighty howl. President Bush scoffed at the idea. Ron Brown, chair of the Democratic National Committee, attacked the move. Even leaders of other U.S. women's groups quickly distanced themselves from the announcement. 'Why now?' they asked, 'when we all need to be unified to fight for abortion rights?'

Editorial writers and cartoonists had a field day. So over-reactive was the response from political insiders that one 'reasoned' commentary by then *Washington Post* deputy editor (and former Carter appointee) Jodie Allen began simply, 'Somebody has to say it: Molly Yard, shut up. Please.' No doubt Allen's gender influenced her in adding the polite 'please'.

But the idea did not come from Molly Yard, president of NOW. It came from the delegates to the NOW conference - some 2,000 feminists from all over the country.

It started in a workshop chaired by Yard and myself titled 'Who's Invited to the Party?' We reviewed some basic facts: half of the voters are not voting, and when feminists and other progressives run for office, they frequently face entrenched opposition from their 'own' party. And we asked some basic questions: Were the parties merely incumbent protection clubs? How can we achieve a feminisation of power with equal representation of women, and with a feminist agenda?

We reviewed how feminists in (Western) Europe were increasing the numbers of women in various national parliaments. European Social Democratic parties have passed party rules requiring a floor for the least represented gender of 40 percent in Norway, 30 percent in (formerly West) Germany, 30 percent in France, 25 percent in Spain. The Green Party throughout Europe required gender balance in candidacies - 50 percent women and 50 percent men.

We discussed introducing such rules, for example, requiring the Republican and Democratic parties to gender-balance statewide tickets and nominations, at least for open seats. But the delegates could not visualise either major party backing up their platform *pledges* to increase the numbers of women candidates, let alone adopting and enforcing gender-balance rules for candidacies.

'We won the platform fight in the Democratic Party for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and abortion rights', some delegates were quick to say. But the ERA was defeated in *Democratically controlled legislatures*, and the *Democratically controlled Congress* will not even override a presidential veto of Medicaid funding for abortion in cases of rape and incest.

'No!' delegates shouted. 'We are locked out of the real power circles of both parties. The Democrats take us for granted; the Republicans often lead the fight against us. We need a new party. At least let us see if it is possible. Nothing will put more feminists on the ballot quicker - *and* push the Democrats and Republicans harder'.

Even though the 1990 elections provided some breakthroughs in key races, women remain only five percent of Congress and about 17 percent of the state legislatures. At this rate (the same as in the past 20 years), it will take another *two generations* until women

WOMEN & POLITICS

US party politics

52

How can a new party be competitive in fundraising? Feminists must fight for campaign spending limitations and candidate finance reform, no matter what. The independent commission initiated by NOW will explore not only the possibility of a new party, but consider major reforms for the system as it stands now.

Do not all the election rules favour incumbents and the existing major parties? Yes. Just to get on the state ballot is a major hurdle requiring thousands of registered voters' signatures; Democrats and Republicans are automatically on the ballot without signature-gathering. *But it can be done.* The New Alliance Party candidate was on all state ballots for the 1988 presidential election, and the Libertarian party is on nearly every state ballot. Both California and New York have regular third parties.

Furthermore, new parties have distinct advantages in our electoral system, often overlooked. For one thing, our simple plurality system requires that candidates with the most votes win. In most cases, winning does *not* require a majority. (That is how Governor-elect Weicker won with only 40 percent of the vote - as a new-party candidate). And small numbers of votes by the new party can affect the outcome of the election, even if the party doesn't win by taking away votes from another. This can be especially effective at local and state levels. Second, political parties have financial breaks. Once recognised, they can mail at a lower postage rate than political action committees, establish separate funds to accept gifts for 'party-building' activities, and receive larger donations (up to \$25,000 from an individual) than can PACs (up to \$5,000 from an individual); if a party runs a presidential candidate it could be eligible for significant public funding.

Wouldn't a new feminist party turn out to be a 'spoiler' for progressive candidates in a major party? No. A new party can endorse a candidate, woman or man, from a major party. In the D'Amato-Holtzman race, D'Amato was on the ballot three times, as the Republican Party, Conservative Party, and Right to Life Party candidate. Javits was listed as the Liberal Party candidate. Holtzman was on the ticket once - as the Democratic candidate; disaffected Democratic or Republican voters might have come through for her if she had also been the candidate of a 'right to choose' party. The new party could clarify who is the choice of feminists.

In politics, timing can be everything. Term limitation proposals have passed in Oklahoma, Colorado, California, and Kansas City, Missouri, in 1990. The S&L scandal is already affecting elections - and it has not peaked yet. Wait until the taxpayer gets the full \$800 or \$900 billion price tag. And *both* parties are being blamed. The public, in general, and feminists, in particular, are fed up with the current political establishment's lack of responsiveness to a host of social issues.

The kind of party the commission is exploring is not just a new party, but one dedicated to equality for women; an expanded bill of rights for the twenty-first century, including freedom from discrimination based on sex, race, sexual orientation or preference, religion, age, health condition or disability; the right to safe, legal, and accessible abortion and birth control; the right to adequate food, housing, health care, and education; to clean air and water; to a clean environment free of toxic waste; and the right to be free from violence.

Why - if the two-party system is so strong - all this worry about the possibility of forming a new, feminist party? Our 'two-party system' is neither healthy nor really two-party. Today, even with massive anti-incumbents sentiment in the electorate, incumbents win because many have *no* opposition. Maybe the resistance is because major national polls have shown that feminists are more than 50 percent of the U.S. public. According to a 1987 Times-Mirror poll conducted by Gallup, more people (both women and men) identified themselves as feminists or women's rights supporters (51 percent), than as Republicans (31 percent), Democrats (44 percent), liberals (34 percent), or conservatives (45 percent).

But right now, feminist votes are captive to an unresponsive, poorly performing system. If the existing parties won't include us as equals and address modern problems, perhaps we should form a new team.

Ellie Smeal is a former president of NOW and founder of the Fund for the Feminist Majority.

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LETTER FROM DENMARK

After reading the SIW Resolution on Women and Health in the last issue of 'Women & Politics' I was inspired to put down a few thoughts about women, health and environment in the industrialised countries: an exciting, but also rather difficult subject. My personal perspective besides that of my sex is from recently completed education as a doctor and 6 months' practice in a busy medical department in Copenhagen.

When speaking of health, it is impossible not to speak of illness. Both health and illness are badly defined concepts. Culture and personality are, for instance, important in what you understand by illness and health.

The World Health Organisation defines health as a condition of complete physical, psychological and social well-being - not just freedom from disease and disablement. This is a fairly ambitious definition. It also contains an important omission, as it indicates health as a static condition. On the contrary, the healthy individual is in my opinion a person who is able to react appropriately to life's different circumstances.

Especially as far as women are concerned, the industrial society has had a tendency to regard natural biological and social phases in a woman's life as disease. Births happen almost always in hospitals, and we have in recent years experienced a medicalisation of, for instance, the menopause. The aim is to remove the psychological, sexual and physical problems of the menopause seen from a purely biological point of view. By giving lifelong hormonal therapy it is possible to prevent some diseases and redress some physical problems, but the point is that this kind of treatment turns the menopause and the time after into a minus variant and a resource drain on society.

The spectrum of disease has changed in the industrialised countries concurrently with changes in lifestyle, environmental influence, changes in the organisation of work and progress of medical science. We have reduced the death-rate of children and mortality from infectious disease.

The big killer tuberculosis has almost disappeared and a disease like smallpox is declared eradicated. This development has happened because of the interplay of several factors: firstly, better sanitation and nutrition; secondly, the big vaccination programs, and finally the use of antibiotics.

Instead, we have seen that cancer and heart disease have become prominent in death statistics. In the case of women, breast, gynaecological and gastrointestinal cancers in particular are important. But during recent years pulmonary cancer has become much more prominent, probably because women have taken over smoking practices from men. In the United States, lung cancer is today a greater cause of death among women than breast cancer.

Another important disease among women in the industrialised world is heart disease which causes almost half of all deaths among women. But it is still considered a man's disease and very little research has been done on women and heart disease.

Even though we have not yet found the key to solving the mystery of cancer or the

final causes of heart disease, we do know that changing smoking and eating habits will bring down the number of deaths from these diseases to a much lower level.

54

Health and environment

There is no doubt that industrial pollution harms the health of the population. Our rising standard of living has had a price. I will give just a couple of examples. Since about 1950 there has been a huge increase in the use of fertilisers in agriculture, a practice that has not resulted in a comparable increase in yield. Fertilisers that permeate through the soil lead to an increase in the nitrate content of the soil water. Nitrate can change haemoglobin into methemoglobin, which unlike haemoglobin cannot carry oxygen, and this can lead to a lack of oxygen especially in children of less than six months old. Nitrate can also be converted into nitride which can cause cancer.

Another example is lead pollution. Lead has been added to petrol to improve acceleration. Unfortunately, it has been proved that lead in the atmosphere lowers the intelligence of children.

Health and working environment

Work has a high status in the life of people in industrialised countries. Through work we earn money to live, create contacts and define our position within society. The paradox is that people are falling ill both when they work and when they are unemployed. A number of factors in the working environment have a direct influence on health. We have known for many years that some materials and physical influences can cause diseases, for instance asbestos and radioactive radiation.

In many countries the acceptance that diseases are caused by some working conditions has led to a better working environment. But, new materials and working processes are still being introduced and the influence of shift work and general work-related stress is still not accepted.

Women suffer problems mostly with their backs and shoulders caused, for instance, by work in the textile industry. But this group of diseases has still not been accepted as being caused by the working environment. We also still know very little about the effects of working conditions on pregnancy.

Health in the future

I have mentioned several factors which influence the health of the population in industrialised countries: environment, working environment and life style. What has to be done and in what direction should we be moving, in order to improve health?

First of all I think that we have seen the worst when it comes to disease caused by life style and working environment. In the future, I think that diseases caused by the environment will be more important and naturally a disease like AIDS will be of great importance.

It is doubtful that we will obtain better health by building more hospitals. The key to better health lies outside the health sector, with such factors as better education, a cleaner environment, a changed life style, changing working conditions, better human relations and more research into the causes of stress.

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

AUSTRALIA

Labor NSW win

In a state by-election in mid-January, the Australian Labor Party, ALP, deprived the conservative Liberal-National coalition of its one-seat majority in New South Wales. The win left Labor and the ruling state coalition with 47 seats each, the balance of power remaining with five independents. At federal level, the result consolidated the position of the new ALP government under Paul Keating, who became prime minister in December (see 4/91, page 55).

The Keating government continues to press ahead with its urgent agenda of economic revitalisation and its longer-term programme of institutional reform. The economic priority, outlined in a policy statement on 26 February, is to address the ten per cent unemployment rate through controlled fiscal expansion. A major expansion in public works is the centrepiece of the government's assault on the 18-month recession, which some analysts say is now bottoming out. Also in February the Prime Minister rattled conservatives in Australia and in Britain by using the occasion of a visit by the British monarch Queen Elizabeth, who is also Australia's head of state, to reaffirm his party's commitment to introduce a republican constitution (see 2/91, page 53).

Hawke leaves politics

Former Labor Prime Minister Bob Hawke, a vice-president of the SI, announced on 20 February his decision to retire from parliament and from active politics. He said that he planned to work in the media, write his memoirs and spend more time with his ailing wife.

Hawke, 62, had been elected ALP leader in 1984, just three years after entering parliament for a working-class Melbourne constituency. He had previously been a trade union leader. He took Labor to an unprecedented four successive election victories, and transformed and modernised the Australian economy through his

successful partnership with Paul Keating, who was federal treasurer until his defeat by Hawke in the first of the two leadership contests in 1991 (see 2/91, page 53).

In a by-election held in April for Hawke's parliamentary constituency, Labor lost the seat to an independent candidate and local football hero, Phil Cleary.

AUSTRIA

SPOe seeks EC entry and peace dividend

A two-year government information campaign on the benefits of European Community membership was launched in January by the Austrian federal government, a coalition of the Socialist Party of Austria, SPOe, and the People's Party, OeVP. The campaign is intended to build on the pro-EC momentum created by Austria's formal application for membership submitted in mid-1989. Opinion polls showed 63 per cent of Austrians believing that EC membership would be in the country's best interests. Somewhat contradictorily, however, only 50 per cent said they would vote in favour of membership in a referendum, while 42 per cent would 'definitely or probably' vote against.



Addressing an SPOe information conference in Vienna in late January, Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, the SPOe chair, said that Austria's path to full EC membership would not be easy and that there would be drawbacks as well as advantages. But the bottom line, he felt, should be an 'unequivocal affirmation' of Austria's desire for accession.

Vranitzky said that the emergence of the world's largest single economic area, with a population of 320 million, and its activities in research and technology and other fields, were developments that would have a major impact on Austria. 'I cannot see any other way of doing justice to our responsibility as Austrians and our political obligations as social democrats than to participate in these developments', he concluded.

In another speech in February, Vranitzky made an interesting proposal for securing a 'peace dividend' from the end of the cold war in Europe and the collapse of the Soviet Union. He suggested that western countries should purchase nuclear weapons from the former Soviet republics, for 'mothballing' or decommissioning, and that the proceeds should be used by the new republics to finance much-needed imports and investment from the West.

Cabinet reshuffle

Rudolf Streicher, SPOe candidate for election to the federal presidency (see 4/91, page 44), resigned his ministerial post in April and his departure provided an occasion for a number of cabinet changes. Viktor Klima replaced Streicher as minister for public economy and transport, while Michael Ausserwinkler replaced Harald Ettl as minister for health. Brigitte Ederer, deputy chair of the SPOe parliamentary group, succeeded Peter Jankowitsch as secretary of state for integration affairs, a post which includes responsibility for the European Community question.

Franz
Vranitzky

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

56

BELGIUM

Socialists in new centre-left coalition

Both Belgian Socialist parties opted to join a reconstituted centre-left coalition with the two Christian Social parties, formed on 6 March after three months of difficult inter-party negotiations in the wake of early lower house elections in November (see 4/91, pages 55-6). In those elections all four coalition parties had lost ground to various fringe and extremist groups.

Headed by Jean-Luc Dehaene, a Flemish Christian Social, the new coalition commanded only 120 seats in the 212-member lower house, well short of the two-thirds majority required to enact further constitutional reforms. It nevertheless hoped to attract enough support from opposition parties to push through the next stage of the country's linguistic decentralisation.

The new government set itself only a limited programme and for that reason consisted of only 16 members (including Dehaene), half the usual complement. Socialists took nine portfolios, including two of three deputy premierships, namely Guy Coëme of the French-speaking PS and Willy Claes of the Flemish SP. Claes also became foreign minister.

Of the other Socialist ministers, three were newly appointed to government. From the SP, Freddy Wyllockx became pensions minister and Laurette Onkelinx social integration minister, while Jean-Maurice Dehousse of the PS took responsibility for scientific policy. The reappointed PS ministers were Philippe Moureaux (social affairs) and Robert Urbain (foreign trade and European affairs); those from the SP were Louis Tobback (interior and civil service) and Eric Derijcke (state secretary for development cooperation).

BULGARIA

BDSP stresses republican tradition

Following the re-election of the incumbent president, Zhelyu Zhelev, in the second round of presidential elections held on 19 January, the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, BDSP, which endorsed Dr Zhelev's candidature, stressed the party's support for the president's firmly republican stance.

The Social Democratic Party, which has a strong republican tradition, has opposed the apparently growing tide of support in the country for the restoration of the pre-war monarchy.

Not only leading figures within the ruling UDF, but also the leader of the 'Podkrepa' trade union grouping and the president of the significant political movement of the Turkish minority have recently made clear their wish to see King Simeon II restored to the throne.

The BDSP has warned that in these times of rapid change and social tension, and widespread disappointment with the policies of the UDF government (which the BDSP left last year), the return of the king 'on a white horse' as saviour of the nation could prove a seductive notion. The party has pointed out that, although in theory a constitutional monarchy, the Bulgarian monarchy has historically been associated with the suspension of political freedoms.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Dubcek to head Slovak party

At a special party congress held on 28 March in Bratislava to discuss its candidates and platform for the parliamentary elections to take place in June, the Slovak Social Democratic Party elected Alexander Dubcek as its new leader. Dubcek (see Profile, page 11) will lead the party's electoral list.

EL SALVADOR

Ceasefire takes effect

The peace agreement initialled in New York in December (see 4/91, page 57), and finalised at a ceremony in Mexico on 16 January, was implemented from 1 February with the declaration of a ceasefire between the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, FMLN, and the conservative government led by President Alfredo Cristiani.

The day of the ceasefire was marked with emotional scenes at ceremonies in San Salvador attended by FMLN guerrilla leaders, many just returned from exile or from the battlefield, and by government ministers and representatives of the opposition, the church and other social forces. Despite some localised fighting in February and March and a consequent delay in implementing withdrawal and troop concentration agreements, both sides remained optimistic that the agreement would be made to work.

In a statement released on 16 January the Socialist International heartily welcomed the signature of the Peace Agreement and stressed that the urgent priority was now to reconstruct the country's war-torn economy and to consolidate democracy.

The SI-member National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, was instrumental in the UN-sponsored pacification process which accelerated dramatically in the latter part of 1991. The MNR is now lending its support to a five-year, internationally funded programme of infrastructural repairs, social provision and economic development, co-ordinated by a Committee for National Reconstruction, CNR. The 12 years of war claimed an estimated 75,000 lives, the vast majority civilians, and the CNR has calculated the actual economic damage as US\$1 billion and the cost of reconstruction as \$1.8 billion.

The plan depends largely on the diversion of US aid, which has so far exceeded \$4 billion, from military to peaceful purposes. This in turn requires the reduction of the armed forces from the present

Greeting peace in San Salvador



SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

strength of over 60,000 to about 31,000 by 1994.

Simultaneously the various militarised police forces will be replaced by a civilian police service incorporating some of the demobilised FMLN fighters, and the military will be purged of human rights abusers, subordinated to the civil power and deprived of its internal security role. An amnesty declared on 24 January will cover all belligerents except those found guilty by due process of certain classes of war crimes.

The 8,000-strong FMLN is to disband its guerrilla forces gradually, completing the process by the end of October, and from 1 May it will have the option of transforming itself legally into a political party. Institutional changes will include modifications to the electoral and judicial systems and an extensive land reform in the war zones. The ceasefire and subsequent stages of the pacification programme will

be supervised by 1,000 United Nations observers.

MNR Council meets

In common with other Salvadorean political parties, the MNR, while participating in the pacification process, is gearing up for the presidential, legislative and municipal elections of 1994.

The party's National Council, established by a resolution of its congress in August 1991 (see 3/91, page 57), held its inaugural meeting on 12 January. The meeting finalised the structure of the party executive, planned the creation of departmental committees in the five administrative departments (out of 13 in El Salvador) where the party was not yet established, and agreed the broad thrust of its coalition-based electoral strategy.

The government installed a new five-member Supreme Electoral Tribunal in February in accordance with the peace

agreements. For the first time in the country's history, the left is represented in the electoral authority, which will be responsible for regulating the entire process of nomination, voting and counting. One of the five places was allocated to the Democratic Convergence, the coalition to which the MNR belongs.

Víctor Valle, leader of the MNR, said in February that his party would support the formation of a broad opposition front, including the party to be formed by the FMLN, to challenge the ruling right-wing Nationalist Republican Alliance, Arena, in the 1994 polls. Arena's strenuous efforts to moderate its image were boosted by the death from cancer on 20 February of its founder, Roberto D'Aubuisson, who was regarded as the brains behind the ultra-right death squads of the early 1980s, but who had subsequently lent his support to the pacification process.

Steve Smith/Andes Press



ESTONIA

ESDP holds congress amid government crisis

The Estonian Social Democratic Party, ESDP, held its second congress in Tallinn on 11-12 January, as a major government crisis developed because of a rapid deterioration in economic conditions in the republic.

The congress conducted a review of the party's activities over the previous momentous year, during which Estonia achieved full independence. It also considered the ESDP programme for forthcoming parliamentary and local elections.

The delegates elected a new ESDP vice-chair in the person of Vello Saatpalu, head of the party's Tallinn organization and a member of the local council of Estonia's capital city. It was decided that he would supervise the party's external relations and the finalisation of its new programme and statutes.

The congress took place as unprecedented shortages of oil, grain and raw materials caused a crisis of confidence in the government of Edgar Savisaar.

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

58 Having failed to persuade the Estonian parliament to implement a state of emergency, Savisaar resigned on 23 January and was replaced by a caretaker administration led by Tiit Vahi.

FRANCE

Regional setback for Socialist Party

The ruling French Socialist Party, PS, suffered a setback in regional elections on 22 March, recording its lowest percentage in a countrywide poll since the party's rebirth in 1969. One consolation was the limited advance of the extreme right-wing National Front, FN, despite general predictions beforehand that the party was set for a major victory in these contests.

The PS went into the elections with a new first secretary in the person of Laurent Fabius, the former prime minister (see 4/91, page 43). Despite this change, opinion polls in early 1992 showed low ratings for both government and presidency.

In one national and five local by-elections in late January and early February, PS support slumped well below its previous levels, amid an FN upsurge. The first round of voting for the Lille parliamentary seat on 26 January gave the PS candidate under 13 per cent, compared with over 30 per cent in 1988. The FN candidate took second place and went forward to the second round, in which the centre-right candidate prevailed.

The regional elections, held under a system of proportional representation, gave the PS a national vote share of 18.3 per cent, compared with its 35 per cent showing in the 1988 parliamentary elections. But the FN advance was much less than had been predicted, to 13.9 per cent overall, only four points up on its 1988 general election showing. Although in Paris and some other regions the NF outpolled the PS, its particular aim of becoming the dominant formation in south-east France did not materialise.

The Gaullist-UDF alliance, UPF, took 33 per cent of the vote

overall. Although not remarkable by comparison with 1988, this performance enabled the centre-right to maintain its dominance of the regional councils, most of which had been under their control before the elections.

Significant gainers were the two ecologist formations, which took just under 14 per cent in aggregate, well up on their 1988 performance. The Communist Party, declining to change its name in the manner of fraternal parties elsewhere in Europe, showed unexpected resilience by winning 8 per cent, only three points down on 1988.

New Premier

On 2 April President François Mitterrand appointed Pierre Bérégovoy, 66, the finance minister, to succeed Edith Cresson as prime minister. Immediately after his appointment Bérégovoy suspended French nuclear testing in the Pacific and pledged to bring work or training opportunities to 900,000 long-term jobless in the next six months.

Bérégovoy himself left school at 15 with only a metalworker's certificate. He worked his way up to be a director of Gaz de France. He was an architect of President Mitterrand's presidential victory in 1981. After becoming Mitterrand's chief of staff he moved to the social affairs ministry in 1982 and to the finance ministry two years later.

The cabinet announced by the new prime minister was reduced from 30 to 26, but with many senior posts unchanged. Michel Sapin, previously junior justice minister, took over the finance ministry. The foreign minister, Roland Dumas, and defence minister, Pierre Joxe, were among those who retained their posts. Culture Minister Jack Lang was given additional responsibility for education, while prominent industrialist Bernard Tapie entered the government as urban affairs minister. The secretary of state for humanitarian action, Bernard Kouchner, was promoted to minister, with added responsibility for health. Ségolène Royal replaced the Green Party's Brice Lalonde as



Popperfoto

Minister for Environment. Philippe Marchand, interior minister, and Henri Nallet, justice minister, left the cabinet and were replaced by Paul Quilès, formerly transport minister, and Michel Vozel, formerly presidential spokesman, respectively. The other notable departure was that of Lionel Jospin, former Socialist Party first secretary, following the amalgamation of his education portfolio with that of culture.

Pierre Bérégovoy

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

GREAT BRITAIN

Disappointment for Labour

The United Kingdom's 14th general election since 1945 was at last called by the Conservative government for 9 April, almost at the very end of the five-year term of the parliament elected in June 1987. The opposition Labour Party, led by Neil Kinnock, was seeking a return to government after being in opposition since 1979.

Labour based its campaign on the issues of individual liberty, economic recovery, improved public services and full participation in the European Community. Central planks in the party's programme were plans for greater investment in education, training and industrial regeneration and for reversing Conservative neglect of the National Health Service.

In its manifesto published on 17 March, Labour gave its basic economic aim as being to 'ensure that the market works properly'. Public utilities would be regulated to stop 'excessive price rises', the electricity grid and water supply would be renationalised, and

British Rail would remain under public ownership. A Labour government would adopt the European social charter (from which the Conservative government has opted out).

On constitutional matters, Labour promised to create a home rule parliament for Scotland and devolved assemblies for Wales and the English regions. The House of Lords would be replaced by an elected second chamber and fixed-term parliaments would be introduced. A Labour government would continue talks on Northern Ireland with the aim of a unified Ireland if the Northern majority so wished. There would also be a Bill of Rights and a Freedom of Information Act.

The manifesto also pledged that nuclear power stations would be phased out but that Britain would retain its nuclear deterrent 'until elimination' of all nuclear weapons.

To overturn the Conservative majority of about 100 seats in the House of Commons, Labour needed a record swing of 8 per cent throughout the country. As the campaign got under way, most opinion polls were giving Labour considerable reason for hope, amid much evidence of economic recession which the government could not disguise. However, an unexpected and disappointing result saw the Conservatives returned to power, with a much reduced majority, for a record fourth successive term.

A final swing of 3.7 per cent to Labour gave the Conservatives 336 seats (down 40 on the last general elections in 1987) and Labour 271 seats (up 42), while the Liberal Democrats took 20 seats (up 1) and others 7 seats.

Kinnock resigns

Labour Leader Neil Kinnock announced a few days after the election that he would resign. Deputy Leader Roy Hattersley also tendered his resignation. A new leader and deputy will be elected at an extraordinary party congress to be held in July. The strongest candidate for leader is thought to be John Smith, the widely respected shadow chancellor of the exchequer. Neil Kinnock has said that he intends to retain his seat on the party's national executive.

Far right:
Björn Engholm

Neil Kinnock



GERMANY

Engholm ready to lead SPD in elections

In a surprise announcement on 20 January, the chair of the opposition Social Democratic Party, SPD, Björn Engholm, declared his candidacy for the role of SPD 'chancellor-candidate' in the federal German elections due in 1994. The decision on who will



lead the SPD in the next elections is not due to be taken until a party congress in late 1993.

Under SPD practice when in opposition, the party's candidate for the federal chancellorship (head of government) can be someone other than the party chair or parliamentary leader (posts which themselves are usually held by different persons). In the December 1990 'unity' elections the SPD was led, unsuccessfully, by Oskar Lafontaine, minister-president of Saarland.

Confirmed as SPD chair in May 1991 (see 2/91, page 58), Engholm had encountered increasing press speculation as to his intentions, particularly after the election of Hans-Ulrich Klose as SPD parliamentary leader in November 1990 in succession to Hans-Jochen Vogel (see 4/91, page 44).

SPD wants EMU veto

In a statement issued on 9 March, the SPD presidium demanded that

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

60

parliament should have the final say on whether Germany should join in the third stage of the European Community's plan for economic and monetary union, EMU, adopted at the Maastricht summit in December 1991.

Involving adoption of a common currency by participating countries, the third stage of EMU is scheduled to begin in 1999 at the latest.

Outright opposition to the EMU plan has been led within the SPD by Lafontaine, who has claimed that it would be as damaging as the 'premature' economic union between East and West Germany in 1990. The presidium statement represented a compromise under which the SPD would not block ratification of the Maastricht agreement (which required a two-thirds parliamentary majority) provided the government agreed to seek certain 'improvements'.

In particular, the SPD asked for a guarantee from the chancellor that the move to the third EMU stage would be submitted for approval by both houses of parliament on the basis of an inter-party agreement.

Improvements to the Maastricht agreement desired by the SPD included the dropping of the UK opt-out on the European social charter and greater legislative powers for the European Parliament.

State polls

Polling took place on 5 April in two German states or *länder*. Both the SPD and the ruling Christian Democratic Union, CDU, suffered setbacks in Baden-Württemberg. The former dropped from 32 to 24.4 per cent, while the latter lost nearly 10 percentage points to finish at 39.6 per cent. In Schleswig-Holstein, where Björn Engholm is the state premier, the SPD pushed its vote up marginally to 33.8 per cent and remained in office. In both *länder* the far right made large gains.

GREECE

PASOK calls for elections

The Panhellenic Socialist Movement, PASOK, called for the holding of a general election in the aftermath of the acquittal of PASOK leader and former prime minister, Andreas Papandreou, on three corruption charges. The ten-month trial of Papandreou ended on 17 January when the High Court returned a verdict of not guilty on all counts.

Papandreou was sufficiently confident of his acquittal to boycott the court hearings, even declining legal representation. He consistently maintained that the prosecution of himself and three former cabinet colleagues - initiated in 1989 by a curious parliamentary coalition of communists and conservatives - was politically motivated. The case arose from the US \$200 million Bank of Crete



embezzlement scandal, which PASOK's political opponents turned to their advantage in the June 1989 elections which ended Papandreou's eight years of government. No concrete evidence was produced against the Socialist leader to support the charges of bribery, profiting from a crime and 'breach of trust', other than documents proven to be forged and oral evidence from the prime suspect in the swindle.

PASOK, in demanding fresh elections, asserted that the conservative New Democracy government had achieved its narrow parliamentary majority through a conspiracy to smear the socialists, to destroy Papandreou's political and moral standing and to abuse the legal process. The case had seriously distorted political debate and had been the

central issue in three successive elections, the last of which gave New Democracy a two-seat lead. The socialists also protested at the conviction of two of Papandreou's co-defendants, including ex-finance minister Dimitris Tsovolas, on relatively minor breach-of-trust charges upheld by a majority of the 13 judges in the case.

By-election win

Evidence of PASOK's continuing popularity was provided by the party's overwhelming victory in a by-election held on 5 April in the Athens B district, the country's largest constituency. PASOK increased its vote by some 33 per cent over the national elections of 1990.

GUATEMALA

Peace talks

The coalition government which includes the Democratic Socialist Party, PSD, continues to strive for the pacification of the country through negotiations with the left-wing guerrillas of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union, UNRG. The conflict in Guatemala is the oldest, and is now the last, of Central America's guerrilla wars, with a death toll of over 100,000 in 31 years.

The talks, which started tentatively in 1987 and entered their sixth substantive round in February, have already produced a first draft of a political settlement (see 3/91, page 58), and recent advances in relation to the protection of human rights. Although the involvement of the United Nations had previously been limited to observing the talks rather than active mediation, the negotiators have now agreed on a more prominent role for the organisation including the establishment in Guatemala of a UN task force to monitor breaches of human rights.

The government has appointed a human rights ombudsman, and has brought in some institutional reforms, notably in setting up an independent electoral commission. The low-intensity war has, however, continued.

Left: Andreas Papandreou

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

HAITI

Restoration in doubt

After continual stalling by the military regime which seized power in Haiti last September (see 3/91, page 36) on implementation of the agreement negotiated in



PANPRA
Leader Serge
Gilles

January and February through the Organisation of American States, OAS, whereby Fr Jean-Bertrand Aristide was to be restored to the presidency and René Théodore, a moderate communist, to be installed as prime minister of a transitional government, the Haitian supreme court dashed international hopes at the end of March by declaring the agreement illegal.

The *de facto* regime, fronted by Joseph Nérette, an elderly judge, had been keen to delay the return of Aristide, who remained in exile in Venezuela, as long as possible and to secure for itself immunities from prosecution and some key positions in the transitional cabinet. Aristide had publicly opposed any amnesty for 'common criminals', including coup leader General Raoul Cédras, and was unhappy with a condition of the settlement permitting Cédras to remain as head of the army.

The SI's consultative member, the Revolutionary Progressive Nationalist Party, PANPRA, has called on the international community to maintain its vigilance for human rights and its support for the return of democratic rule in Haiti.

Notwithstanding its political differences with the president, the party recognised the legitimacy of Aristide's landslide election victory in December 1990 (see 1/91, page 58). More than 1,500 civilians, including some PANPRA supporters, have been killed by the army since the coup. Evidence presented to the United Nations in February by local human rights organisations detailed thousands of serious abuses.

In common with other Haitian parties, PANPRA has opposed any foreign military or police intervention to enforce the settlement.

ISRAEL

Rabin leads Labour quest for power

Yitzhak Rabin was elected chairman of the opposition Israel Labour Party on 19 February, shortly after general elections to the 13th Knesset had been called for 23 June. Rabin, a former prime minister, won the top post in the first round of party elections, defeating Shimon Peres, who had held the post since 1977 (see *People*, p. 39).

The results of the ballot of some 150,000 Labour members showed that about 108,000 had voted, of whom 40.6 per cent supported Rabin, who thus won outright with over 40 per cent in the first round. Peres received 34.8 per cent; Israel Kessar (secretary-general of the Histadrut trade union federation) 18.8 per cent; and Ora Namir (chair of the Knesset's social affairs committee) 5.4 per cent.

After congratulating his successor, Peres pledged full cooperation with Rabin in the forthcoming election campaign. Even before the final results were declared, all four candidates met in the office of the Labour Party secretary general, Michael Harish, to plan election strategy.

The elections were called after Yitzhak Shamir's right-wing Likud-led coalition had finally lost its parliamentary majority as a result of the defection of two small far-right factions. They withdrew their support in protest against the government's

submission of Palestinian autonomy proposals within the framework of the Middle East peace conference.

Labour remains committed to the 'land for peace and security' platform, drawn up at the party's fifth congress in November 1991 (see 4/91, pages 59-60). This envisages that Israel would agree to withdraw from part of the occupied territories in return for peace treaties with its Arab neighbours.

As regards public perception of Labour's peace policy, party strategists attach importance to the fact that Rabin's public image is more hawkish than that of Peres. The new leader, it is hoped, will attract back middle-of-the-road voters who have been lost to Likud in recent elections, in part because of doubts about security questions.

MAPAM joins pact

The United Workers' Party of Israel, MAPAM, held its 11th congress at Kfar HaMacabiah in Ramat Gan on 1-3 February and decided to join a 'peace list' with two other smaller parties, namely the Civil Rights Movement (CRM) and Shinui ('Change'). Currently holding 10 seats in the 120-member Knesset (five for the CRM, three for MAPAM and two for Shinui), the new alliance aims at capturing at least 15 seats in the June elections. It would thus form a powerful pro-peace faction in the Knesset and could be instrumental in denying the hardline Likud a further term as the dominant government party.

Until the formation of the Labour-Likud national unity government in 1984, MAPAM had for many years formed an electoral alliance with Labour, its fraternal party within the Socialist International.

A MAPAM proposal in 1991 that Labour should join a four-party alliance with itself, the CRM and Shinui was not taken up by Labour leaders, although bilateral Labour-MAPAM cooperation remained a Labour objective.

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

62

ITALY

Government loses majority

Italy's 49th post-war government, which had lasted, with just one reshuffle, since 1989, has ended following the general elections held on 5 and 6 April.

Although the Christian Democrats have been the largest party in every Italian cabinet since the second world war, they have depended for most of that period on the support of ministers from the two SI member parties, the Italian Socialist Party, PSI, and the Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI.

The election results showed a loss of support for all the main parties, with growing votes for far-right and other 'protest' parties. The CDU vote fell to 29.7 per cent, from 34.3 per cent in 1987, while the PSI vote fell to 13.6 per cent from 14.3 per cent in 1987. The PSDI vote also dropped to 2.7 per cent from 3 per cent in 1987, while the Liberals registered a small gain to 2.8 per cent from 2.1 per cent in 1987. The coalition of Christian Democrats, Socialists, Democratic Socialists and Liberals thus lost its overall majority. Of the opposition parties, the former communist Democratic Party of the Left, PDS, dropped to 16.1 per cent from 26.6 per cent in 1987. Meanwhile the regional leagues, Neo-fascists, Republicans, as well as the Greens, the 'Communist Refoundation' and other small groups all did better than expected.

Negotiations to form a new coalition government continued as Socialist Affairs went to press. PSI approaches to the PDS on the question of the latter's possible entry to the coalition had not led to any agreement.

Electoral reform

This was the first election to be fought under a new system which limits party headquarters' control over candidate selection. The PSI had opposed that electoral reform (see 2/91, page 60) but are actively promoting other constitutional changes designed to discourage the proliferation of small parties and the formation of broad-based, but inherently weak and unstable,

coalition governments (see 3/91, page 59). The PSI proposes that parliamentary representation should be dependent on a party obtaining a defined minimum percentage of the national vote, whereas the Christian Democrats want a system giving extra seats as a premium for the largest party. Agreement on electoral reform is seen as a high priority in the wake of this latest indecisive election result.

JAPAN

Opposition surge

Joint opposition candidates standing on an anti-corruption ticket scored stunning victories in successive upper house elections in February and March. The results further weakened the ruling Liberal Democrats, LDP, and increased the prospects of the main left-wing formations agreeing a slate of joint candidates for forthcoming upper house elections.

The first contest was in Nara prefecture in western Japan on 9 February, when a candidate backed by both the Social Democratic Party of Japan, SDPJ, and the Democratic Socialist Party, DSP, won almost 245,000 votes against 178,000 for the LDP. The second opposition victory, in the northern Miyagi prefecture, was narrower but still convincing. LDP spokesmen conceded that the results reflected widespread public disquiet over continuing disclosures about corruption in ruling circles. This verdict was echoed by SDPJ and DSP leaders, who joined with the Shamiren Social Democratic Federation in discussing a stepping-up of cooperation between the opposition parties.

Significant policy differences between the SDPJ and the DSP mean that agreement on Shamiren's proposal for a full merger is unlikely, at least in the near future. Nevertheless, there appeared to be good prospects of a collective assault on the LDP's remaining upper house seats in the partial elections due in July.

LATVIA

LSDSP congress

The Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party, LSDSP, held its 22nd congress in Jelgava on 28-29 December, the party's first since Latvia achieved full independence earlier in the year.

The congress re-elected Uldis Berzins as LSDSP chair and also reformed the party's structure to distance it from the old communist model. Only the central committee remained of the old structure, composed of nine members elected by the congress, the remainder being elected by party districts and members outside Latvia (notably in Sweden).

At its first session the new central committee resulting from the congress elected Berzins and six others as members of the LSDSP executive committee. The party then turned its attention to the parliamentary elections due in autumn 1992, becoming the first Latvian formation to start campaigning.

As discussed by delegates at the congress, the party faced a situation in which the term 'socialism' was identified in many Latvian minds with the old Soviet regime. The party also suffered from the continuing power of elements of the old state apparatus to control the media and to distort the message of democratic socialism.

The LSDSP therefore set itself the task of mounting an information and publicity campaign to give a higher profile to democratic socialism.

MALTA

Labour narrowly defeated

An early general election held on 22 February left the Malta Labour Party, MLP, with a narrow defeat almost as frustrating as the one-seat margin of 1987. The result confounded party leaders who were expecting both a Labour win and a low turnout (which in the event was 96 per cent).

The MLP lost 10 of its sitting

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

MPs but made gains in some of the 13 electoral districts, ending up with 31 seats compared with 34 in the 1987 election. It won 114,889 first-preference votes, or 46.3 per cent, which was 3.4 points down on 1987. The slide was partly accounted for by the emergence of a new-left environmentalist party, Democratic Alternative, AD, which secured 1.7 per cent but lost the two seats it had held through defections from the MLP. There was also a slight increase in the vote-share of the ruling Nationalist Party, PN, which scored 51.5 per cent but emerged with 34 seats, one fewer than in 1987.

Only one woman was elected to parliament, for the christian democratic PN. Under Malta's complex electoral system the final makeup of parliament will be determined by by-elections necessitated by some individual MPs winning seats in more than one district. There is no need, however, to fill additional seats to give the government a working majority, a constitutional provision which had to be implemented after the close-run 1987 poll.

The result was a severe disappointment for the MLP, which had ruled Malta for 16 years until 1987. It had campaigned on the basis of a radically revised manifesto (see 2/91, page 61) and opposition to electoral boundary changes which it believed were politically inspired. It also attacked the government's economic record, particularly in relation to public-sector borrowing and the trade deficit, and opposed plans to deregulate the economy in furtherance of the 1990 application for EC membership, which the MLP regarded as premature.

The MLP has subsequently elected a new leader, Alfred Sant.

MOROCCO

Opposition figure jailed

Noubir Amaoui, a prominent trade union leader and a member of the political bureau of the Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP, a consultative member party of the Socialist International, was sentenced on 17 April to two years in prison on charges of 'insulting and slandering' the government of Morocco.

Amaoui was arrested after the publication of an interview with the Spanish newspaper, *El País*, in which he was fiercely critical of the present government. The case came at a moment when a general strike was threatened in response to government economic policy and opposition parties, of which the USFP is the largest, were also pressing strongly for constitutional reform in the run-up to the national elections which have been postponed for two years in the hope of a settlement of the Western Sahara question and are now promised for Autumn 1992.

NEPAL

Congress Party conference

The ruling Nepali Congress Party, NCP, held its eighth conference in Jhapa district (eastern Nepal) on 13-15 February, more than 30 years after the last such gathering in 1961, shortly before the suppression of democracy by King Mahendra.

Held in one of the NCP's rural strongholds, the conference was the first since the country's return to constitutional rule in 1990 and the Congress victory in the May 1991 general elections (see 2/91, page 62).

Opposition protests

The governing Congress party, which is a consultative member of the Socialist International, faced serious difficulties in April when protests against government economic policy led to violent

confrontations with police resulting in deaths and injuries amongst both demonstrators and police. A year after the Congress election victory, Nepal is facing severe economic problems, with restructuring and privatisation policies causing hardship. Prime Minister G P Koirala spoke of his regret that the necessary modernisation of an economy 'in ruins' was causing suffering to those very people who had placed so much hope in the new democratic government. He deplored the role in the recent demonstrations of the communist UML, the main parliamentary opposition party.

NEW ZEALAND

Nationals alienate voters

The New Zealand Labour Party, NZLP, has found an unusual ally in its attacks on the National Party government's reforms of social welfare and labour law. Sir Robert Muldoon, a former National Party prime minister regarded in his time as an arch-conservative, announced in December that he was resigning the parliamentary seat he had held for 31 years to register a personal protest at his party's capture by radical right-wing zealots.

The resulting February by-election saw the seat fall to the candidate of a leaderless four-party opposition coalition, the Alliance. Given the ideological disparity of the Alliance parties, which include a Maori leftist movement, ecologists and a Labour splinter group, the vote was widely interpreted as a rejection of the government's abolition of free hospital services just two weeks before polling.

Fifteen months after the 51-member NZLP lost power, and despite the damage inflicted on the trade union movement by the Employment Contracts Act (see 2/91, page 62), Labour's commitment to the restoration of New Zealand's pioneering welfare system looks set to restore it to government in the general election due in 1993. Country-wide opinion polls rate the National Party at less than 30 per cent, compared with its 49 per cent share in the 1990 election (see 4/90, page 66).

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

64

NORTHERN IRELAND

SDLP supports talks

As inter-party talks on the future of Northern Ireland looked set to re-start after the United Kingdom general election on April 9 (page 59), the position of the Social Democratic and Labour Party, SDLP, remained that it was willing to talk to its political opponents at any time, and without pre-conditions such as the unionist parties have often required. Unionist opposition to the 1987 Anglo-Irish Agreement, which has in the past led to their refusing to participate in negotiations, is now accommodated by the formal bilateral declaration of 'gaps' between meetings of the Anglo-Irish intergovernmental conference which operates the Agreement.

The SDLP gained a significant victory in the elections to the Westminster parliament, when their candidate ousted Gerry Adams, leader of Sinn Fein, which is sympathetic to the Irish Republican Army, IRA, from his West Belfast constituency.

NORWAY

Labour debates EC

Intensive debate within the ruling Labour Party, DNA, on whether Norway should apply for membership of the European Community, EC, is scheduled to continue until the party congress in November. Meanwhile, the prime minister, Gro Harlem Brundtland, and other senior Labour leaders have indicated their support for EC membership, which would have overwhelming parliamentary support and also, according to the opinion polls, majority public backing.

Of Norway's non-EC Nordic partners, both Sweden and Finland have opted to apply for Community membership. Moreover, of the non-Nordic members of the European Free Trade Association, EFTA, Austria has already set its sights on Brussels, and Switzerland is

expected to follow suit soon. This would leave only Norway and Iceland as an EFTA rump outside the EC.

The DNA's insistence on thorough party examination of the EC issue before a final decision is taken reflects Labour's traumatic experience in 1972 when Norway



last moved to join the Community. Then a Labour government which had actually signed an accession treaty with Brussels was rebuffed by the people in a referendum, which caused deep divisions within the party.

In major statements in January and April, against a background of economic problems, including unemployment of 8 per cent, Brundtland made it clear that she favoured EC membership from a foreign policy and national security point of view.

A leading Labour proponent of EC entry is Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg. In February he told parliament that Norway either should decide to participate fully in EC decision-making or it would find itself having to adapt to decisions taken by others.

Noting that European defence and security cooperation was increasing in organisations to which Norway did not belong, Stoltenberg added: 'If we are to uphold Norway's postwar security anchorage, it must be effected through membership of the EC and the WEU, as well as in NATO.'

PERU

García in hiding after coup

President Alberto Fujimori of Peru closed down the congress and dismissed the judiciary on 5 April in a military-supported coup d'état in which he gave himself supreme powers. The coup took place the day before congress was to reconvene, with Alan García, the former president, in his new role as general secretary of the opposition Peruvian Aprista Party, the largest political party in Peru and a consultative member party of the Socialist International.

A number of PAP leaders, including former interior minister Agustín Mantilla, the party's recently appointed national organiser (see People, page 38), were arrested. Former President García, forced into hiding, appealed in a clandestine radio broadcast for opposition parties to act together in defence of democracy.

Democratic governments in Latin America and around the world condemned the coup. In a statement issued on 6 April, the Socialist International called for the immediate re-establishment of constitutional order in Peru and the release of PAP leaders and others detained.



Left:
Prime minister,
Gro Harlem
Brundtland

Alan García

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

PORTUGAL

Congress renews leadership

A new leader was elected at the tenth congress of the opposition Socialist Party, PS, which took place in Lisbon on 21-23 February.

António Guterres (see People, page 39), former national organiser and parliamentary leader of the PS, was elected general secretary of the party in succession to Jorge Sampaio. The leadership contest had opened in November, a month after the PS had performed worse than expected in a general election (see 3/91, page 62).

The contest, however, was not so much about the party's electoral performance in 1991 as about competing visions of its future: whereas Sampaio sought reforms to strengthen the authority of the leader, including direct election by the membership, Guterres favoured decentralisation and the creation of new strategic alliances between the party and other social and political forces.

Both candidates campaigned through the party journal and in nationwide meetings, and it was clear even before the congress opened that Guterres had carried the majority with him. There was little support for two other candidates. The contest closed as courteously as it had been conducted, with both men pledging their support for the party and for the concept of a united struggle against the Social Democratic Party government.

Sampaio, a party veteran who became general secretary in 1989, had taken the PS into European, regional and parliamentary elections in each of which it increased its share of the vote by up to a third. Guterres, one of a younger generation of socialists who came to the fore after the restoration of democracy, pledged to build on those advances and to lead the PS in active and constructive opposition.

ROMANIA

NSF in retreat

In Romania's first local elections since the December 1989 revolution, held on 9 and 23 February, the ruling National Salvation Front, NSF, of President Ion Iliescu suffered heavy overall losses to the Convention for Democracy, CD, an opposition umbrella organisation.

The much-delayed elections involved about 16 million voters throughout the country. Some 120,000 candidates were contesting 40,174 local council seats and a further 12,000 candidates were seeking 2,951 mayoralties. Not since before World War II had these positions been filled by democratic election.

The CD links 14 democratic parties of various types, including the Romanian Social Democratic Party. According to the CD, the NSF is dominated by former communists and its methods since its victory in the May 1990 general elections have been little different from those of the Ceausescu regime.

While the NSF largely held its ground in the countryside, the CD scored a series of major victories in the cities and urban areas, notably Bucharest and Timisoara. The opposition's advances were seen as marking the real end of one-party rule in Romania and as indicating the NSF's likely fate in general elections due later this year.

SPAN MARINO

Socialists in ruling coalition

The San Marino Socialist Party, PSS, has four of the ten cabinet posts in the new Christian Democratic-Socialist coalition which came into being on 19 March. The party's general secretary, Antonio Volpinari, became minister of the interior. Emma Rossi, PSS president, is minister for education and culture and procurator, while Fiorenzo Stolfi, the party's international secretary, is minister for industry and crafts

and Augusto Casali is minister for tourism, sport and telecommunications.

The new coalition reflects a realignment of political forces in San Marino - governed for the last six years by an alliance of Christian Democrats and Communists - following the unification last year of the country's two socialist parties.

SPAIN

Elections in Catalonia

In elections to the autonomous parliament of Catalonia held on 15 March the ruling nationalist Convergence and Union, CiU, of Catalan President Jordi Pujol strengthened its position, polling 46.4 per cent of the vote to obtain 71 seats (up from 45.7 per cent and 69 seats at the last elections in 1988). The Catalan Socialist Party, PSC-PSOE, whose leading figure is Spanish Vice-Premier Narcis Serra, saw its vote drop slightly to 27.3 per cent and 39 seats (29.7 per cent and 42 seats in 1988). A significant gain was registered by the Catalan Republican Left, ERC, which gained 8 per cent of the vote and 11 seats (4.1 per cent and 6 seats in 1988) and appeared to have taken votes from both the Socialists and the former communists. The right-wing People's Party, PP, raised its vote marginally to 6 per cent and 7 seats, from 5.3 per cent and 6 seats in 1988, while the centrist CDS lost the 3 seats it had previously held.

Pujol welcomed the rise in the overall nationalist vote, but distanced himself after the elections from the pro-independence ERC. Whilst pushing for changes in the fiscal policies of the Spanish government led by Felipe González, the Catalan president has stressed his wish to continue constructive cooperation with central government.

TURKEY

Kurdish strains

The new coalition government formed in November 1991 (see 4/91, page 63) quickly came under strain over the Kurdish question. Headed by Suleyman Demirel's True Path Party, DYP, the coalition includes the Social Democratic Populist Party, SHP, an SI member party.

The new government undertook to recognize the 'Kurdish reality' in Turkey and to grant more local autonomy and cultural rights to Kurdish areas. This change reflected the influence of the SHP, a quarter of whose parliamentary deputies were Kurds of the allied People's Labour Party, HEP, the first Kurdish formation to achieve parliamentary legitimacy.

As serious unrest persisted in Turkey's Kurdish-populated south-eastern region, government forces launched a new offensive early in 1992 against strongholds of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party, PKK, the militant Kurdish guerrilla movement. Kurdish militants responded by mounting terrorist attacks in Ankara and other Turkish cities. The stated aim of the Demirel government was to eradicate the PKK military presence in order to create the conditions for progress on



legitimate Kurdish rights.

On 30 March, 14 HEP members of parliament resigned from the SHP bloc and the coalition in protest at government policy. The Kurdish MPs stressed their opposition to violence and support for any government initiative in furtherance of a peaceful solution to the continuing unrest.

VENEZUELA

Rebellion overcome

The social democratic government led by President Carlos Andrés Pérez, elected in 1988, survived an attempted military coup on 4 February. Forces loyal to the Democratic Action, AD, government fought off rebel troops in bloody clashes in three western cities and in the capital, Caracas.

Some 19 people, including policemen and civilians, were reported killed and 61 injured in the fighting, many in an armoured assault on the presidential palace in which President Pérez narrowly escaped assassination. More than 1,000 of the rebels were arrested when the coup collapsed within a few hours, and on 18 February treason charges were laid against 33 middle-ranking officers.

International condemnation of the attempt to overthrow Venezuela's 34-year-old democracy included a strongly-worded statement, and subsequent delegation, from the Socialist International (see SI News, page 29). The putsch was also condemned by US President George Bush and by American and European states.

Speaking soon after the restoration of order, Pérez thanked the international community for its solidarity. He reiterated his government's intention to tackle the underlying causes of the economic crisis regarded as a principal motive for the coup attempt, which was also attributed to dissatisfaction within sections of the military over the government's determination to resolve peacefully a boundary dispute with Colombia. The ideological orientation of the coup plotters was unclear from a vague populist manifesto invoking the memory of the independence-era hero Simón Bolívar.

During February and March the Pérez government announced a number of measures aimed at alleviating the social cost of the necessary economic reforms, and increasing popular confidence in the government. Price controls were reimposed on some basic items, the minimum wage was



President Carlos Andrés Pérez

increased, and for the longer term, anti-inflationary initiatives were being studied and the constitution was to be reformed to allow for frequent referendums on major policy areas. The AD government subsequently announced details of a US\$4 billion increase in social welfare spending. The recent fall in oil prices had severely affected the government's revenue base, leading to budget cuts days before the coup. The shortfall is now likely to be offset by an accelerated programme of privatisation of state companies, with additional finance possibly coming from a new sales tax.

A number of ministerial changes were also announced, in a process aimed at broadening the base of the government. The new ministers included two from the Christian democratic opposition party, COPEI, as well as several independents. A further significant appointment was that of Luis Pinerua, a leading Democratic Action figure, as minister of the interior. The judiciary and other institutions were also to be reformed. Pérez hoped to have most of the reforms in place before the end of his term of office in 1994.

Far left: Erdal İnönü



*'The only weapon
I have is
persuasion.'*

UN Secretary-
General Boutros
Boutros-Ghali

*'I am a free man - I feel
as light as a feather.'*

Former UN Secretary-
General
Javier Pérez de Cuellar

*'Real socialism is inside man.
It wasn't born with Marx.
It was in the communes of Italy
in the Middle Ages.'*

Italian dramatist
Dario Fo

*'I've just come back from Mississipi
and over there when you talk
about the West Bank they think
you mean Arkansas.'*

US presidential challenger
Pat Buchanan

*'In Belgium they have just calculated the GNP.
If in Brussels now twice as many people use their
cars to go to work, and if the problems are such
that they take twice as long to get to their jobs,
you will see that next year Belgium will appear to
have got richer because it used more petrol, the
people used their cars more ... but every Belgian in
that situation will have lost one hour of his life
each time, and that is not counted.'*

EC Commission President Jacques Delors

*'Jesus Christ and Winston Churchill
together couldn't get a president
elected under these conditions.'*

President Vaclav Havel on the forthcoming
elections in Czechoslovakia

L'EXPRESSION DU RACISME OU DE L'ANTISEMITISME EST UN DELIT.

LA LOI PUNIT :

- l'injure raciale publique : 6 jours à 6 mois d'emprisonnement - 150 à 150 000 F d'amende.
- la diffamation raciale publique : 1 mois à 1 an d'emprisonnement - 300 à 300 000 F d'amende ;
- la provocation à la discrimination, à la haine ou à la violence raciale ou religieuse : 1 mois à 1 an d'emprisonnement - 2.000 à 300.000 F d'amende ;
- la contestation de l'existence des crimes contre l'humanité : 1 mois à 1 an d'emprisonnement - 2.000 à 3 000 F d'amende ;
- l'apologie des crimes de guerre, des crimes contre l'humanité ou des crimes de collaboration avec l'ennemi : 1 à 5 ans d'emprisonnement - 300 à 30.000 F d'amende ;

Le Ministre de l'Intérieur peut interdire la circulation, la distribution ou la mise en vente en France des publications étrangères ou de provenance étrangère en raison de la place faite à la haine ou à la discrimination raciale. Cette infraction peut entraîner saisie administrative et poursuites pénales.

ELLE PUNIT AUSSI :

- le refus par un particulier, personne physique ou morale, de fournir un bien ou un service en raison de l'ethnie, de la nationalité, de la race ou de la religion du demandeur : 2 mois à 1 an d'emprisonnement - 2.000 à 20 000 F d'amende ;
- le comportement d'un particulier, personne physique ou morale, qui aura contribué à rendre plus difficile l'exercice d'une quelconque activité économique en raison de l'ethnie, de la nationalité, de la race ou de la religion du demandeur : 2 mois à 1 an d'emprisonnement - 2.000 à 20.000 F d'amende ;
- le refus par un fonctionnaire ou agent public du bénéfice d'un droit à une personne en raison de sa race ou de sa religion : 2 mois à 2 ans d'emprisonnement - 3 000 à 40 000 F d'amende ;
- le comportement d'un fonctionnaire ou agent public qui aura contribué à rendre plus difficile l'exercice d'une quelconque activité économique à une personne en raison de sa race ou de sa religion : 2 mois à 2 ans d'emprisonnement - 3 000 à 40 000 F d'amende ;

Loi du 29 juillet 1881 complétée notamment par les lois des 1^{er} juillet 1972, 31 décembre 1987 et 13 juillet 1990
Code pénal complété notamment par les lois des 25 juillet 1985, 30 juillet 1987 et 13 juillet 1990

LES HOMMES NAISSENT ET DEVIENNENT LIBRES ET EGAUX EN DROIT

Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen - article Premier

'Expressing racism or antisemitism is a crime'
Poster from the French Ministry of the Interior