


SOCIALIST AFFAIRS

100 YEARS
OF STRUGGLE
FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM



TOWARDS A NEW CENTURY

THE 18TH CONGRESS
OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL
STOCKHOLM
JUNE 20-22 1989

- **Willy Brandt • Ingvar Carlsson**
- **Congress resolution**
- **SI's new declaration of principles**
- **Congress voices**

**Pierre
Mauroy**
on the French
Revolution



CONTENTS

Index

Number 1-2/89

FOCUS on the SI Stockholm Congress

The will for a new age Willy Brandt	6
Ideas of the future Ingvar Carlsson	10
Congress voices	15
Congress resolution	20
Declaration of principles	28

SI NEWS

Forward to the future	37
Towards a new approach on debt and trade	42
SICLAC meets in Kingston	45
SI watches Paraguay poll	46
Violence overshadows El Salvador elections	47

HORIZONS

Half-baked solutions Joel Freedman	48
Hopes of the revolution Pierre Mauroy	54

SI WOMEN BULLETIN

Child labour in India Nic Nilsson	59
Women in Brazil Ligia Doutel de Andrade	63
Women in the news	66
Journey to the South Pacific Maria Rodríguez-Jonas	67
SIW in Paris	71
General secretary's report	72

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK 75

THE LAST WORD 94

Connections	51
Books	58
Retrospective	53

FOCUS

Evaluating past work and setting the agenda for future initiatives, the triennial Congress of the Socialist International is one of the most important events in the organisation's calendar.

But the eighteenth SI Congress, held in Stockholm, Sweden on 20-22 June, was of particular historical significance, as hundreds of democratic socialists from around the world adopted a new radical platform for action to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century.

One hundred years after the founding of the Second International in Paris in July 1889, there could not have been a more symbolic moment to do so.

The Focus section of this issue of SOCIALIST AFFAIRS is entirely devoted to the SI Congress.

Willy Brandt and Ingvar Carlsson reflect on the challenges facing democratic socialists in the period ahead. Pages 6-14

Congress voices: excerpts of some of the major speeches at the meeting. Pages 15-19

We also reproduce the main resolution of the Congress and the SI's new declaration of principles. Pages 20-36

Plus a detailed report in SI News, pages 37-41

SI NEWS

Reports on missions to El Salvador and Paraguay, an SI meeting on the world economy in Lausanne, Switzerland, and on the SI Committee on Latin America and the Caribbean meeting in Jamaica in May. Pages 42-47

HORIZONS

After Brady: it's time for a rethink on third world debt, argues Joel Freedman. Pages 48-53

And Pierre Mauroy looks at the lasting values of the French Revolution. Pages 54-57

SI WOMEN BULLETIN

Child labour (page 59) is highlighted in this issue. The other main features are reports by the general secretary to our fourteenth Conference (page 72) and on a visit to the South Pacific (page 67), together with an article on women in Brazil (page 63)

Socialist Affairs

Maritime House
Old Town
Clapham
London SW4 OJW
United Kingdom

Telephone (44 1) - 627 4449
Telex 261735 SISEC
Telefax (44 1) - 720 4448/
498 1293
Cables INTESOCON LONDON SW4

Publisher and editor
Luis Ayala
Editor's assistant
Jon Barnes

Socialist International Women Bulletin

Publisher and editor
Maria Rodriguez-Jonas

Annual subscription rates
(4 issues)
United Kingdom £12
United States, Canada \$25
Other countries £15 or US\$25

Subscription enquiries
United States and Canada
Socialist Affairs
280 Albert Street
Ottawa
Ontario K1P 5G8
Canada

All other countries
Longman Group
(Subscriptions)
Fourth Avenue
Harlow CM19 5AA
United Kingdom

**Publishing and
advertisement enquiries**
Longman Group
Westgate House
The High
Harlow CM20 1NE
United Kingdom
Telephone (44 279) 442601

Design
Archetype

Colour origination
Reflex

Printing
Devonshire Press

*Signed articles represent the
views of the authors only,
not necessarily those of
SOCIALIST AFFAIRS or the
Socialist International.*

We welcome unsolicited
manuscripts. Articles should be
between 2500-3000 words, and
accompanied by the author's
biography.

© 1989 Socialist International

All rights reserved. No part of this
publication may be reproduced, stored in
a retrieval system or transmitted in any
form, or by any means, electronic,
mechanical, photocopying, recording or
otherwise, without the prior written
permission of the copyright owner.
ISSN 0049-0946

Comment

Ingvar Carlsson



The challenge of change

The environment in which we live is the common responsibility of all citizens, authorities, companies, public bodies, organisations and popular movements. It is something that affects us all.

Industry and agriculture must reduce emissions to harmless levels and move away from production methods that pollute the lakes and seas; traffic must be made to respect the environment and cannot remain a law unto itself; and energy systems must become compatible with both the protection of the environment and efficiency . . .

But as Chernobyl, the acidification of soil in south Sweden, algal flowering in the sea and damage to the Rhine all show, the destruction of environment knows no boundaries and cannot be solved through the action of a single country alone.

Detente between East and West has a crucial bearing on the environment, since resources could be transferred from weapons production to environmental protection.

Developments in the third world have a bearing on the environment, since poverty leads to environmental destruction, as the Brundtland Commission has shown.

The earth's resources must be shared fairly; only then can the environment of the poor countries be saved.

Democratic socialists must therefore put the environment at the forefront of their concerns, be this in Europe or elsewhere in the world.

To succeed we will need both optimism and faith in the future. For in spite of widespread pessimism, events do not have to be predetermined. There is no reason why we should be condemned to living in the shadow of environmental destruction.

What is needed is a rigorous strategy over the environment. That means knowledge, provided by research; the introduction of legislation to promote the development of new technology; new forms of social and economic organisation to provide the appropriate context for alternatives; and economic development to provide the resources required.

Ignorance, blind hostility to technology, economic stagnation and zero growth will not save the environment.

The new challenge facing democratic socialists — to create a society in which human life is in harmony with nature — will clearly involve sacrifices.

Less resources will have to go on consumption and more on investment in environment-friendly technology. There will be a price for cleaner air, purer water and living forests. Some of our comforts will have to be sacrificed.

We will have to think before we act. Our whole way of life and the way society is organised is in question.

But we should not be deterred from making the change. For in the final analysis, a sound environmental policy is about creating a society in which the quality of people's lives is enhanced.

Towards a new Century

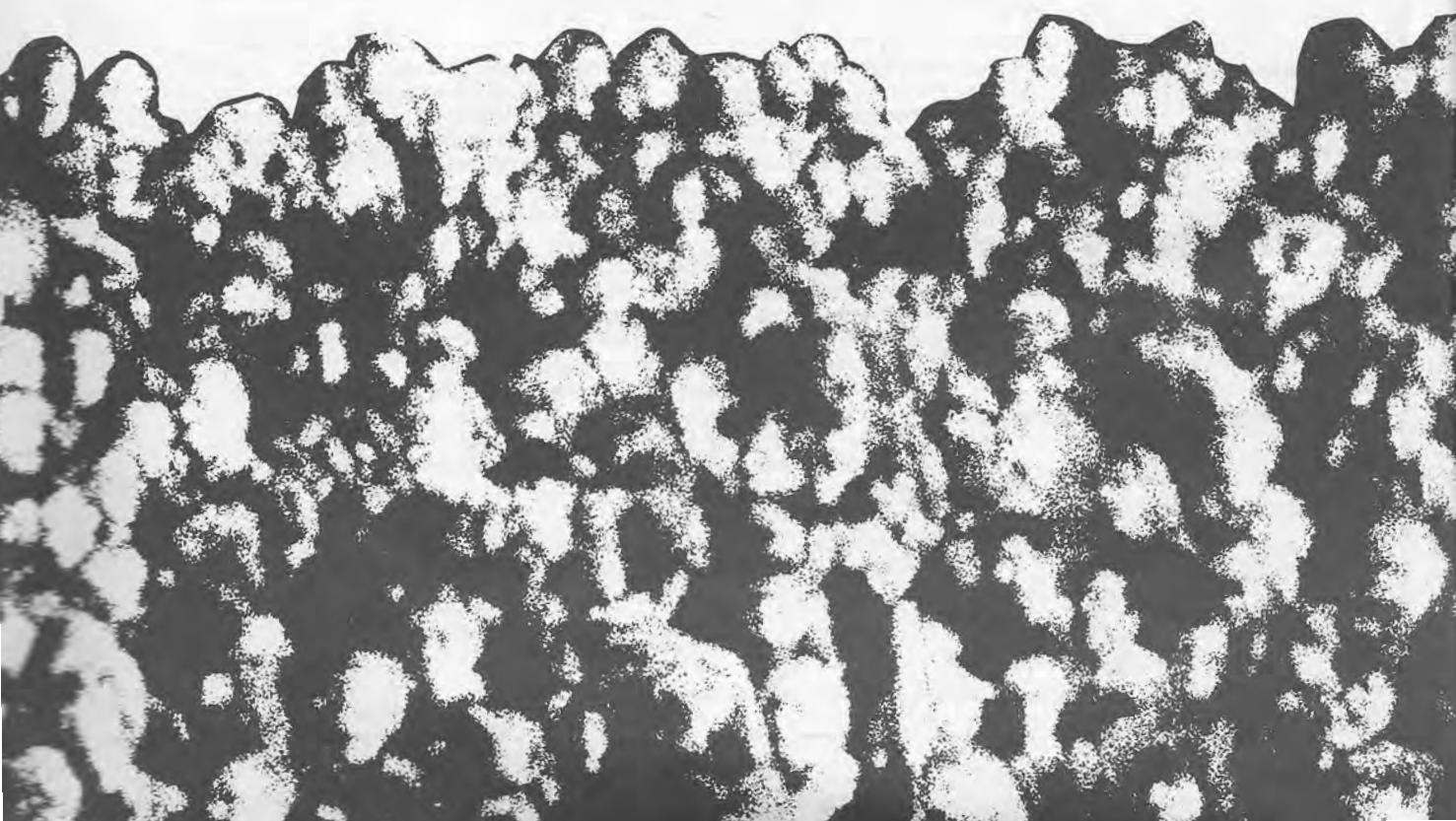
The eighteenth Congress of the Socialist International (SI) in Stockholm on 20-22 June was a historic meeting. Held almost one hundred years after the founding of the Second International in Paris in July 1889, it marked the first centenary of the international socialist movement.

But this was no nostalgic celebration.

Called with the theme of 'One Hundred Years of Struggle for Peace and Freedom — Towards a New Century', the Congress not only discussed the achievements and traditions of democratic socialism worldwide.

It also carried out a thorough analysis of the changes that have occurred in the world in recent decades, addressing the challenges faced by democratic socialists as they stand on the threshold of the twenty-first century.

Reflecting such deliberations, the Congress adopted a new platform of action in the form of the Declaration of Principles of the Socialist International.



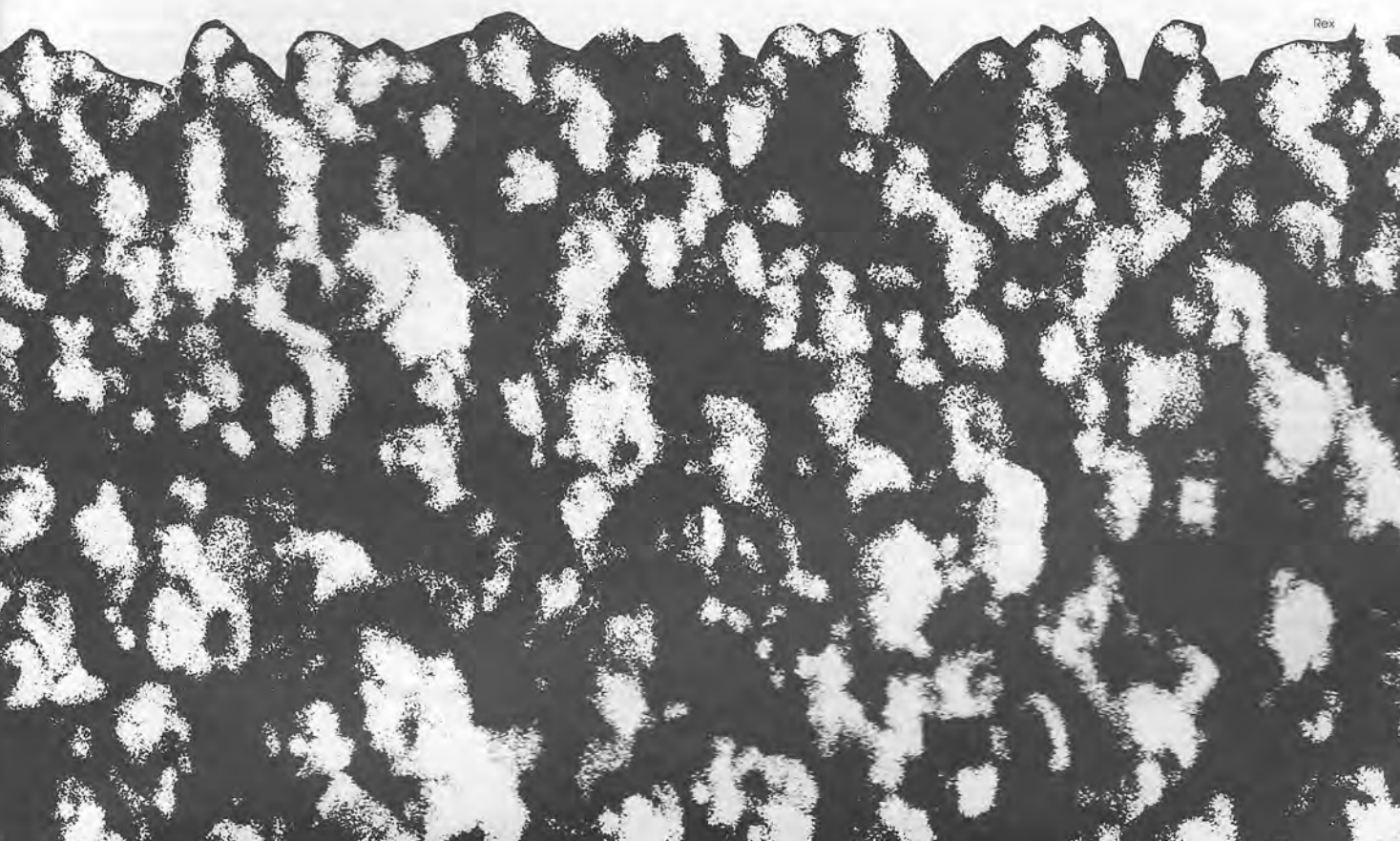
After years of rigorous discussion and preparation, the new declaration supersedes the Frankfurt Declaration of 1951. We reprint the document in full.

From the struggle for peace and human rights to the international economy and a strategy for environmental survival, the Stockholm Congress had a wideranging agenda. It has not therefore been possible to include every contribution within the scope of this Focus. The meeting was attended by SI member parties, guests and observers from over 100 countries.

But to give a revealing insight into the debates which took place, this Focus carries edited versions of two key speeches: one by Willy Brandt, the SI president, and the other by Ingvar Carlsson, the prime minister of Sweden and chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Party (which hosted the Congress).

We also carry selected extracts of speeches made by SI leaders and guests, and reproduce the final resolution of the Congress on the current world situation.

The challenges facing the democratic socialist movement as it moves into a new age are without doubt daunting. But the mood at Stockholm was one of optimism. As SI President Willy Brandt said: 'It is hope rather than resignation that is the driving force of our movement; and that is why we will succeed.'



SI Congress Stockholm

The will for a new age

Addressing the eighteenth Congress of the Socialist International in Stockholm on 20-22 June — 100 years after the founding of the Second International in 1889 — SI President **WILLY BRANDT** set out the challenges facing democratic socialists in the period ahead.

As humanity stands on the threshold of the new millenium, who can tell what the world will look like in the years to come? Who can safely predict, at this time of rapid and contradictory change, what will remain from the present age to accompany humanity into the future? Where will the answers to the challenges ahead come from?

With over 100 years of solid traditions and practical experience to its name, democratic socialism is hardly the worst alternative on offer. On the contrary, in many areas of the world increasing importance is attached to the contribution that our movement can make. Cries the world over for peace, freedom and justice mean that our efforts must last for more than a century; and the concrete tasks of international cooperation — aimed at easing the strain of many people's lives — represent a new challenge every day.

Socialism and democracy

Even in countries where such a claim was fanatically denied, it is now being realised that socialism without democracy does not work. Indeed, that it is not actually socialism at all. This does not necessarily herald the beginning of a new era; but it does mark the passage from one chapter to another, especially when those willing to turn a new page in the other half of Europe are looking for points of reference.

They know that bureaucratic planners have failed to keep up with technological change; that spoon-feeding from the top suffocates individual creativity and initiative; and that political and cultural pluralism and a more market-oriented economic approach will have to be allowed. But many are afraid of the consequences of giving the individual more freedom to choose. The dilemma facing the reformists in communist countries is obvious: they do not know if it is possible to do what is necessary,

particularly when stubborn 'hard-liners' never step aside voluntarily.

No one has a magic formula for achieving social change without conflict. And nor do democratic socialists. We know how difficult it is to ensure social justice in a market economy and how much strength it takes to preserve and develop democracy and the rule of law. Thus, while democratic socialists are willing to offer our considerable experience to those who look to us as points of reference, we cannot offer ready-made recipes.

The challenge for democratic socialists is to remain alert and open-minded. Some of those who have been kept apart from us may soon return to their place in our ranks, thus creating opportunities for cooperation that were simply not there in the past. We are prepared to cooperate in all kinds of ways, providing that initiatives are useful, sincere and realistic. However, it would be an illusion to believe that this can develop smoothly without setbacks.

Today, there is much talk about a new approach to peace negotiations, both in Europe and on a global scale. But the Socialist International (SI) has been instrumental in this process, promoting initiatives that could become practical policies in the years to come. We should not be afraid of claiming credit for this. It was Olof Palme (and the international commission he chaired) who was a major pioneer of the concept of 'common security'.

The role of the SI

Moreover, the SI has triggered off developments which go way beyond the confines of Europe and have improved international cooperation.

The contact in recent years between the SI's member parties in

Europe and Latin America and the Caribbean has been particularly important in this respect. The role of Latin America in the SI is in no way inferior to that of Europe, and our support for the consolidation of democracy in the continent must continue, as must our solidarity with those countries that are denied the right to self-determination.

The SI has also developed closer relations with Africa, both with comrades in West Africa and friends from North Africa. The latter are involved in efforts to find a solid peace settlement in the Middle East and we will be forging closer mutual ties in the future. Then there are our fraternal relations with the Frontline States and the ANC and Swapo liberation movements in Southern Africa. The SI sticks to the words of Olof Palme: 'Apartheid cannot be reformed; it must be abolished.'

Be it Africa, Asia, Latin America or anywhere else in the world, the SI is open to political cooperation, provided that we share roughly the same aims. And as I stated earlier, this certainly applies to that part of the world where grey uniformity now has the chance to be replaced by colourful pluralism.

The international democratic socialist movement has had a long history and various organisational forms. But we are far from the end of the road. In fact, we are just at the *beginning* of what we want to accomplish internationally.

At the SI Congress in Geneva in 1976, three initiatives were launched: one for peace, the second for the reconciliation of interests between North and South, and the third for human rights. We have done our best in all areas. We have pinpointed the interdependence between disarmament and development; and we have finally devoted proper attention to environmental issues, the subject of the highly regarded report by Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway. But the bulk of the work still lies ahead.

Given the region's increasingly important role in the world, the SI must develop closer links with progressive forces in Asia and Oceania over the next decade. Indeed, the thrust of economic development in the area is bound to shift the balance of the world economy more than it has already. And the countries have a great cultural heritage. All this means that the highly populated countries in Asia will be expressing themselves with increasing self-confidence in world politics in the coming decades. The Pacific Rim will be a major challenge.

Whatever the tasks that lie ahead, however, the SI has at least made some progress. As an alliance of independent parties which share common ideals and work on the principle of



Fighting proposals: SI president, Willy Brandt

consensus, we continue to be taken seriously as a political force; and if we have managed to be opinion leaders on key issues that are now on the world agenda, there is no reason why this should not be the case tomorrow.

Global problems

World problems increasingly affect all of humanity. As such, they can only be solved by a 'world politics' that goes way beyond the limited horizon of national borders. But many governments are reacting to this challenge at less than a snail's pace and persist in the pursuit of narrow individual interests.

Democratic socialists, on the other hand, are aware of the global nature of these problems. We want to remove the



Frank Spooner

Reforming framework?: United Nations secretary-general, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar

differences between the rich and the poor, both *within* countries and *between* nations. We are against the cynics who wish to undermine the welfare state wherever it exists, and for whom international solidarity is a swear-word. For them, foreign policy should focus on a few economically or politically 'strong' countries, with the rest of the world being offered modest development assistance. In the pursuit of Thatcherism on a global scale, welfare is reduced to charity, both nationally and internationally.

As well as the moral objections and the dangerous economic and political consequences of this approach, its disastrous long-term ecological effects must also be pointed out. The magnitude of the problem is illustrated by the damage to the ozone layer.

The threat to the environment everywhere has led to a late but explosive change in public awareness. A growing realisation

'The next decade will be dominated by efforts to bridge the gap between different political and economic systems, since the problems facing humanity cut right across them.'

exists that ecological disasters are not the unfortunate result of mismanagement or faulty production, but rather of particular forms of development. And since further attacks could be fatal for thousands if not millions of people, it is crucial that the political will to overrule such short-term and short-sighted economic interests be mobilised worldwide. There is probably not much time left to change behaviour patterns before it is too late.

The next decade will be dominated by efforts to bridge the gap between different political and economic systems, since the problems facing humanity cut right across them.

'... gone are the days when the two dominant powers could set the international "rules of the game". As the era of bipolarity gives way to a multipolar world, new centres of gravity are forming.'

Multilateral cooperation

The normalisation of east-west relations and the emergence of new superpower leaderships have finally opened up new opportunities for multilateral cooperation.

However, the superpowers are less and less in a position to shape the world all by themselves. They could end the arms race. (Long since an SI demand, this would be of major importance in that it would release funds for international development.) They could end their involvement in regional conflicts in the third world. (There are signs that this is happening.) But gone are the days when the two dominant powers could set the international 'rules of the game'. As the era of bipolarity gives way to a multipolar world, new centres of gravity are forming.

But what forms could and should multilateral cooperation take, given the number of assertive players involved? One of the major issues of the 1990s will be over the powers that should be conferred on international and regional institutions. The debate is already underway over environmental and development policies. But it is equally necessary in the case of arms control; and in other important fields, such as business and finance, and therefore law and social security. The 1990s could be a decade of negotiations and democratic socialists should give more thought to which problems should be tackled internationally.

It is also time to examine thoroughly the ability of the current institutional framework to provide effective multilateral action. Set up in the wake of the horrors of the second world war, it was a milestone of progress at the time. But as conditions have changed, it has become an obstacle to advance. It is therefore both useless and naive for democratic socialists to continue directing our recommendations for solutions to world problems to the same bodies, even though it would appear that the great powers of the 1960s and 1970s have to a large extent now lost their power to act. Meanwhile, those who could make an important contribution are reluctant to do so because they are still treated like secondary players.

It is time that an international commission was set up to take a completely fresh approach to the world, the aim being to design a new institutional framework for the 1990s and beyond.

Democratic socialists have made no end of contributions to creating awareness on issues such as security, development and ecology. But our approach to the institutional and legal reforms required to implement our proposals has been far too conventional. We must have the courage and imagination to make fundamental changes, similar to the steps taken by the founding fathers of the Bretton Woods framework, where figures like Keynes were the driving force.

The old right of veto, for example, must be challenged and regional and international bodies must be strengthened by the extension of their monitoring powers. We clearly need a more effective organisation to deal with ecological problems — an ecological security council, for example.

All changes and reforms will require a new understanding of sovereignty if the aim of a democratic world society of truly united nations (in outlook and practice) is to be achieved. We must examine how governments can be made responsible for the international effects of national decisions they take. The implementation of agreements reached at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe could offer some ideas in this respect.

Democratic socialists have always been against domination;

and while the SI supports autonomy, it wants democratic structures and effective policies in international affairs.

Optimism of the will

The long-term trend towards a 'world domestic policy' approach will require SI member parties to gain a new understanding of internationalism. Common problems call for coordinated policy responses. Moreover, the decreasing scope for manoeuvre at the individual, national level makes international coordination crucial, particularly when those bent on a world based on anything but solidarity are stepping up their level of 'internationalisation'. While imperative, however, finding consensus is no easy task (it is not even easy in the Socialist Group of the European Parliament). But progress can be made if particular interests are held back, at least to some extent.

The challenges facing democratic socialists represent a qualitative leap in comparison with the past. The tasks and problems involved are daunting. But it is hope rather than resignation that is the driving force of our movement; and that is why we will succeed. As Leon Blum, the French Socialist leader between the two world wars, said: 'I think so because I hope so.'

Mending fences?: Hungarian troops remove border barriers with Austria

Frank Spooner



Ideas of the future

Welcoming hundreds of delegates from around the world to the SI Congress in Stockholm, **INGVAR CARLSSON**, the prime minister of Sweden and chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, reflected on the growing influence of democratic socialist thought.

Two hundred years ago the Bastille was stormed and the French Revolution was a fact. Since then, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the principles of liberty, equality and fraternity have influenced political life everywhere.

One hundred years ago the Second International was founded and the socialists who met in Paris in 1889 were clearly influenced by the ideas of 1789. So too were those who called for freedom, justice and solidarity in Stockholm in April 1889 and formed the Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP).

Having worked for these values for a century, the democratic socialist movement is the most lively political force in the world today. This is the result of hard work, both by the individual member parties of the Socialist International (SI) and by the SI itself.

But above all it is due to the weight that our ideas have carried — ideas which reflect the hopes and wishes of millions of citizens; which have successfully stood the test of free and democratic elections; and which have inspired and promoted the peaceful reform of outmoded systems. There can be no doubt that without our movement we would be living in a more insecure and unjust world.

The SI's traditional base of support was the European labour, social democratic and socialist parties. The oldest of them all, the Social Democratic Party of Germany, has been a source of inspiration for the SAP from the very beginning. But today, the SI is much more than it used to be. Representatives of 69 parties are attending this Stockholm Congress, either as full SI member parties or as parties with consultative status. And with observers and guests, more than 100 nations are represented. Delegates

have come from all parts of the world, from North and South, from Europe and the Americas, and from Africa and Asia.

The expansion of the SI is a sign that the ideas of democratic socialism are those of the future. But it is also a tribute to the efforts of the SI president, Willy Brandt, who has dramatically transformed the SI from a relatively weak political organisation to a large, powerful body of international repute.

The key theme of the SI's history has been the need to cooperate to solve common problems. Indeed, cooperation was our natural point of departure. Whether as union leaders or party organisers, our predecessors met powerful resistance. They realised, from the very birth of the labour movement, that working together and solidarity were the only way of achieving results.

The problems now facing democratic socialists also require us to work together, but not just in our own separate countries. The world economy is becoming increasingly interwoven and this means that international cooperation and joint action, both between our parties and with our friends in the trade union movement, are crucial if we are to achieve our goals.

Four tasks

The challenge of coordination is at the heart of the four most important political tasks on our agenda: to fight unemployment, to seek common security, to promote economic justice and to save the environment.

The right to work is a fundamental human right that must be fought for at all levels, both for the sake of the individual and for



Platform for progress: Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson

society as a whole. Unemployment is such a terrible waste when there is so much that needs to be done in every country. It is a social and economic evil that means human suffering for the persons directly affected and their families. And it is a threat to democracy. For if a society cannot even provide its citizens with the opportunity to work, then respect for society and its institutions will be lost.

The right to work has been, and always will be the starting point for the economic policy of our movement. There can be no more fundamental objective for the international labour movement than to eliminate unemployment. The recent report of the Kreisky Commission makes many detailed and constructive proposals in this respect. Full employment creates welfare and promotes greater equality.

The second major task facing democratic socialists today is to work for disarmament and common security. The prospects for disarmament are probably better now than they ever were. But the threat to our very existence is still there.

In the first part of this century, none of our predecessors could have imagined what we know today: that, for the first time,

humankind is in danger of obliterating itself, nature and the future of life on earth. This presents a challenge to every inhabitant on the planet. Whatever our political beliefs, we share a common interest in saving human civilisation and should therefore be united in the struggle for survival.

The age of nuclear weapons has forced us to rethink old doctrines, such as mutual deterrence. As Olof Palme said in the report of his commission on disarmament and security issues, wars cannot be won with nuclear arms and must never be fought. For once such weapons are used, everyone's survival is at stake.

Even the superpowers seem to have realised this. It is time, however, that they put their words into action — without delay — by keeping to their promise to sign a treaty reducing strategic nuclear arms by half. The need for nuclear disarmament and to transfer resources from military to civilian purposes is urgent: while annual military expenditure amounts to US\$800 billion, every third adult in the world is illiterate, and every fourth goes hungry. The ranks of the poor in the world continue to rise.

The third political priority is to work for international economic justice and to bridge the gap between poor and rich countries. Developing countries need external finance to develop, but the flow of resources from the North to the South has actually decreased in the 1980s. We are therefore facing a *development* crisis as well as a debt crisis. The situation is dramatic in Latin America which has become a net exporter of capital. Over \$120 billion have left the continent in the last five years — more than twice the size of the whole Marshall Plan.

This is not just a problem for the developing countries, or for debtor nations, but for all countries and peoples. As the Brandt Commission on international cooperation and development first showed, one country's development is linked to that of others; and seeing to the needs of the third world and developing its potential are absolutely essential

to achieving sustainable development in all nations.

The problems are interlinked and so are the solutions. That is the lesson that we democratic socialists must remember in our efforts to restore stable growth in the world economy and trade and to deal with the debt crisis. Bold political decisions will be required, as the SI Committee on Economic Policy chaired by Michael Manley has clearly demonstrated. Less protectionism, increased development aid and concrete measures to ease the debt burden are just a few examples of what is needed. The rich industrialised countries must give their assistance and share joint responsibility with the South for the debt crisis.

The fourth priority is to safeguard the very basis of our continued existence on earth: the environment.

Until recently, most people did not even know what the ozone layer was, still less that human activity was leading to its depletion and threatening our very existence. Nor were we aware of the dangers of devastating the rain forests with industrial precision and efficiency. But the alarm bell has now rung and in many countries the issue has shot to the top of the political agenda.

The challenge of salvaging the world environment is a huge and urgent one, comparable to the the labour movement's fight against poverty and unemployment or to the liberation struggle against colonial oppression. If the environmental crisis is not reversed, it is not just the possibility of economic development that could be destroyed, but the future of the planet itself. As the

'... changing the way decisions are reached is a much more effective way of exerting popular control over the means of production than changing formal ownership.'

Our Common Future report of the World Commission on the Environment and Development chaired by Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway has clearly demonstrated, a strategy of sustainable development is needed.

Such a solution must include policies which are guided by solidarity, both within each country and between countries, since a nation cannot solve its environmental problems by itself. Indeed, environmental destruction knows no boundaries, as the Chernobyl disaster, the acid rain affecting large parts of Europe, the algal flowering in the seas, and the desertification in Africa all show.

The environment can be saved and guaranteed for future generations. But democratic socialists will have to use all their knowledge and courage to make dreams of a 'common future' come true.

Democratic potential

The world *has* been changing in recent years and the international climate has considerably improved (in spite of the shameful violence of the present rulers of China). War and confrontation have been replaced by ceasefires and dialogue in a number of regional conflicts. The United Nations has become a real centre of world politics. The superpowers have signed one important disarmament treaty and are negotiating others. Peace researchers report that world military expenditure is now actually decreasing. And the number of wars has fallen.

Meanwhile, in Latin America and Eastern Europe repressive dictatorial rule is gradually giving way to more democratic ideas and prospects. In the Soviet Union, a remarkable process of reform has been set in motion under the bold leadership of President Gorbachev.

A key feature of the current world situation is that both capitalism and communism are facing major ideological problems. This presents the democratic socialist alternative with an unparalleled opportunity for a major new breakthrough. Indeed, our ideas for reform are now proving attractive in countries where they had generally been treated with hostility. Our thinking is clearly that of the future.

A fundamental principle for democratic socialists is that democracy — the right to influence and participation — must extend to all aspects of social and economic life. Thus, if a fully democratic society is to be achieved, the issue of how economic production is organised cannot be left out.

In early socialist thought, changing the system was synonymous with a change in formal ownership, in which private owners were replaced by the state or workers' collectives. This was natural at the time, since political power was reserved for owners of land or capital. And owners had almost unlimited power to determine



the use of production facilities, regardless of the social consequences.

But circumstances changed with the advent of universal suffrage and political democracy. Political power became linked to citizenship rather than ownership and popular demands for social change could be made through the democratic process. At the workplace, trade unions grew stronger and were increasingly able to defend the interests of wage earners. The position of consumers was also strengthened. Thus, while private ownership remained, the context in which production was organised changed, as decision-making power moved towards citizens.

In other parts of the world, such as Eastern Europe, private



Controlling forces?: foundry workers in Birmingham, England

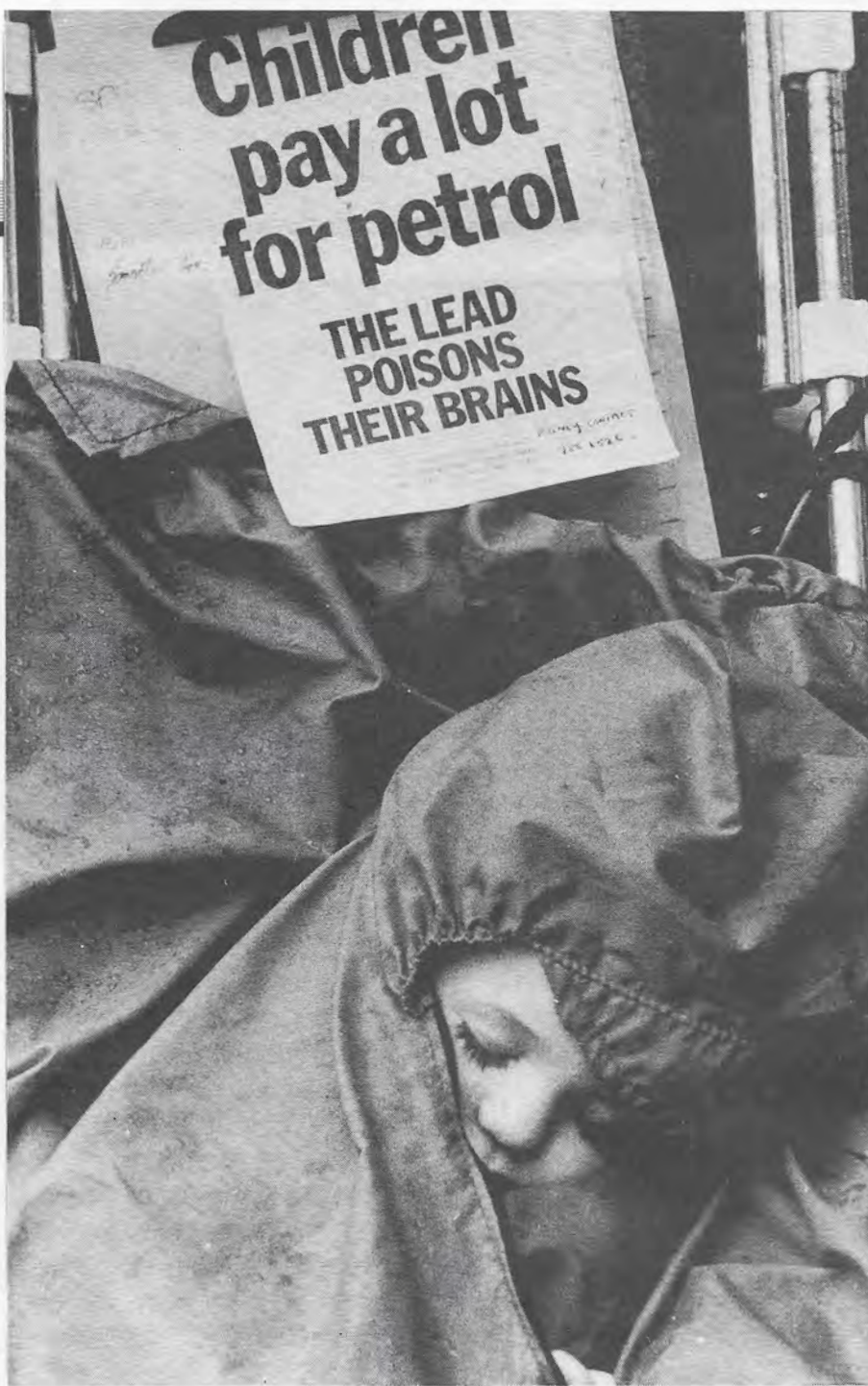
Format

ownership of the means of production was transferred to the state. But this change in ownership did not mean a greater say for citizens, workers or consumers. Nor did it lead to the achievement of socialist goals such as freedom, equality and solidarity.

Under communism, as under unbridled capitalism, people are subordinated to power groups over which they have no control and are exploited for goals that they have not set themselves. This now seems to be becoming clear to many political leaders in Eastern Europe, though obviously not all.

Democratic socialism, on the other hand, represents another way. We want the right to decide how production is organised and to determine the distribution of what is produced. But we want to exercise these rights in many different ways. Indeed, changing the way decisions are reached is a much more effective way of exerting popular control over the means of production than changing formal ownership.

This does not mean that all problems are solved, of course. Creating an economic system which functions in total harmony



Topham

Rude awakening: child on anti-pollution demonstration in London

is impossible. And in order to maintain the dynamism of the system, it is crucial that conflicting forces should be allowed to work simultaneously. All that really matters is that the system be guided by the public interest and the popular will. We seek to place citizens' rights over that of ownership, workers' rights over those of capital, and consumers' rights over those of producers.

To replace the old economic power structure, dominated by a minority, with a new order in which everyone has a say in both production and distribution is a crucial aspect of democratic socialism. Our movement started with the struggle for political democracy; it continued with the struggle for social justice; and now it is increasingly concerned with the need for democratic control of the economy.

Only in a democratic society can the ideas of freedom, equality and solidarity be fully realised. Only in a democratic society is the citizen free to create his or her own future, to develop freely

as an individual, and to seek solutions to common problems on an equal footing with other citizens.

But people are not free to develop as individuals and shape their own destiny if major aspects of their everyday life, such as work conditions and the way the workplace is organised, are completely outside their control and decided by others; if they have no chance to define their own job and are expected merely to obey orders. People cannot work together to solve common problems if they are forced to compete against each other for their own individual welfare by the rules of economic life. The achievement of democracy in society means the extension of democracy to *all* areas of life.

This is a major ideological challenge, both to the democratic socialist movement and to others. And if we approach this task with enough tenacity, we could help shape the direction of political reform in countries where the SI has not been represented.

Congress voices

SI leaders and guests carried out a rigorous analysis of the world situation at the Stockholm Congress — from the struggle for peace and human rights to the international economy and a strategy for environmental survival. We reprint below some of their reflections.

WILLY BRANDT, president of the SI:

'The long-term trend towards a "world domestic policy" approach will require SI member parties to gain a new understanding of internationalism. Common problems call for coordinated policy responses.

'Moreover, the decreasing scope for manoeuvre at the individual, national level makes international coordination crucial, particularly when those bent on a world based on anything but solidarity are stepping up their level of internationalisation.'

INGVAR CARLSSON, prime minister of Sweden and chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Party:

'Democratic socialism . . . represents another way. We want the right to decide how production is organised and to determine the distribution of what is produced.

'But we want to exercise these rights in many different ways. Indeed, changing the way decisions are reached is a much more effective way of exerting popular control over the means of production than changing formal ownership.

'This does not mean that all problems are solved, of course. Creating an economic system which functions in total harmony is impossible. And in order to maintain the dynamism of the system, it is crucial that conflicting forces should be allowed to work simultaneously.'

MICHAEL MANLEY, prime minister of Jamaica and president of the Peoples' National Party:

'The 1980s were the time of the triumph of the radical right. The radical right produced a world of exclusion in which economic

power did not include millions in Europe or hundreds of millions in the third world.

'Let us make sure that we make the 1990s the decade of inclusion of all people in the benefits of prosperity.'

MICHEL ROCARD, prime minister of France:

'The crisis of Keynesianism was supposed to be the death-knell for democratic socialist policies. Yet the countries that have best withstood the crisis are those that have preserved their social cohesion: Sweden and Austria, for example.

'Policies can fail of course. But wherever governments have enjoyed the confidence of workers and have combined sensible fiscal and incomes policies . . . they have successfully checked unemployment and maintained a high level of social protection.'

FRANZ VRANITZKY, chancellor of Austria and chairman of the Socialist Party of Austria:

'Neither the United States nor Japan will exert their influence to bring about a new world order . . . Today the forces of change are in Europe . . . The democratic socialist movement . . . has a special responsibility . . .

'The reform process in the Soviet Union . . . has led to a reassessment of its security requirements and its role as a major power in international relations . . . East-west relations and the power struggle with the United States are no longer the overriding issue. As much, if not more emphasis is placed on the importance of international cooperation to solve . . . global issues . . .

'This reassessment has given rise to a number of stunning [disarmament] proposals . . . which have already led to the first meaningful successes. We cannot afford to waste this singular opportunity . . . to ensure its continued success. After all, it was

the international socialist movement which first formulated the concept of common security.'

OLIVER TAMBO, president of the African National Congress:

'The moral and political support of the SI for the struggle of our people is a reflection of the commitment that you share with us to eliminate racism and apartheid.

'We bring you greetings from the struggling people of South Africa, fully aware that we are saluting a progressive movement . . . among whose leaders are statesmen and stateswomen of world renown.

'It is only proper that we pause to remember that resolute and outstanding statesman, the late Olof Palme, whose life and work at the helm of his party and country remain a source of great enlightenment to us all.'

HANS-JOCHEN VOGEL, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany:

'In this age of radical change, democratic socialism is becoming increasingly influential and attractive. Many people are turning

to democratic socialism and expect answers that the systems under which they live have not been able to give them.

'Based on our experience spanning more than 100 years, we must concentrate all our energy on developing these answers — answers that will last into the next century.'

JULIUS NYERERE, chairman of the South Commission:

'The SI . . . should cooperate with the nations of the South in their efforts to tackle the problem of underdevelopment . . .

'There will inevitably be short term conflicts of interest and different priorities between the countries of the North and the South, whoever is in power. Such differences are the stuff of politics and can be dealt with if all involved are prepared to discuss them on equal and cooperative terms and with a will to finding mutually acceptable solutions.'

PIERRE MAUROY, first secretary of the Socialist Party, France:

'Our responsibility is from now on to found a socialism which clearly affirms the values of justice and liberty and which has the



capacity for renewal to meet the great world challenges of the twenty-first century.

'In the year of the bicentenary of the French Revolution, it is time for the spirit of 1789 to take the place of that of 1917; and for us to be the initiators of this renewal of values.'

JOSE FRANCISCO PEÑA GOMEZ, leader of the Dominican Revolutionary Party, Dominican Republic:

'If any region has made a decisive contribution to the growth of the SI, it is Latin America . . .

'Just 18 months ago at the SI Council meeting in Dakar, we predicted a series of spectacular victories by SI leaders from Latin American and the Caribbean. The predictions have come true. Rodrigo Borja, Carlos Andrés Pérez and Michael Manley have won power in Ecuador, Venezuela and Jamaica. And in Bolivia, Jaime Paz Zamora has just won a considerable share of the vote . . .

'Our next electoral battle will be in Brazil. The victory of Leonel Brizola and the Democratic Labour Party in the largest nation in Latin America would be the culmination of democratic socialism's ideological rise in the continent.'



BETTINO CRAXI, general secretary of the Italian Socialist Party:

'The SI has not been absent from any of the major democratic battles in the world . . .

'We must now continue with the internationalisation of the SI, enlarging its representation so that it becomes the rallying point for democratic and progressive forces in continents where the European socialist tradition has shallow roots, but where the cause of peace, equality, solidarity and progress is just as present.'

LEONEL BRIZOLA, leader of the Democratic Labour Party, Brazil:

'The economic model has favoured a minority in Brazil and has left the country in a scandalous situation of external debt. This has meant huge sacrifices for millions of our people . . .

'Countries like Brazil and Argentina cannot continue as they are . . . That is why the solidarity and support of the SI is so important. We urgently need to construct an alternative.'

WIM KOK, leader of the Labour Party, Netherlands:

'The real challenge we now face is the implementation of the concept of sustainable development. Environmental policy has to move from pious words to practical, comprehensive and consistent policies. And it is democratic socialism that will have to bear the responsibility for the implementation of such policies. The free market has meant ruthless exploitation and will not bring us a clean environment . . .

'Sustainable development requires drastic changes in what we produce, in how it is produced . . . and in how we live and consume.'

GUILLERMO UNGO, leader of the National Revolutionary Movement, El Salvador:

'In Central America, the question of elections is becoming an ambivalent issue . . . There are elections for peace and elections for war. There are elections for democracy and elections for the consolidation of dictatorship.

'The SI should forge a consistent strategy over the elections, so that they do not become yet another battleground for foreign intervention.'

NEIL KINNOCK, leader of the Labour Party, Great Britain:

'It is good to be alive when those who are unlocking the shackles of totalitarianism are recognising that the shift they want to make is not from communism into unregulated, uncontrolled and unaccountable capitalism, but to the distinctive, practice, human and challenging values of democratic socialism . . .

'Would it not be the most terrible irony if, by their inactivity and resistance, conservatives in the West . . . avoided the new opportunities and gave prolonged life and power to the conservatives in the East? What an unholy alliance that would be.'

LUIS ALVA CASTRO, general secretary of the Peruvian Aprista Party:

'Let's begin in the 1990s with a final solution to the debt problem.'

This means debtors and creditors making a joint effort and taking decisive, firm action.

'A solution to the debt problem should be one of the most important priorities for our movement in the period ahead. The SI must make concrete proposals and take permanent action to ensure that they are implemented.'

SVEND AUKEN, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, Denmark:

'The international movement of the social democratic and socialist parties is the movement of the future. People all over the world have lost faith in established doctrines, whether they are conservative capitalist or conservative communist doctrines. People want solutions that are effective and just . . .

'The future points towards us. No other political force can lead the world through the enormous problems of nuclear annihilation, overpopulation, mass unemployment, environmental damage, gross social inequalities and the widespread suppression of freedom and national rights.

'Are we up to this challenge? I would like to give a clear yes. But there is a risk of complacency . . . Sometimes I feel we all live . . . on top of an undetonated powder keg.'

ANDIMBA TOIVO JA TOIVO, general secretary of the South West Africa People's Organisation:

'The SI has been striving for peace for 100 years and it has not been an easy task. We salute this important organisation in its endeavours . . .

'When Namibia becomes independent, we shall do our best to contribute to that goal in our humble way . . .

'Our struggle has been long and bitter. But now the war is coming to an end and UN resolution 435 is being implemented . . . Let us forget the past and look ahead to a better future.'

KAREL VAN MIERT, European commissioner, SI vice-president and former chairman of the (Flemish) Socialist Party, Belgium:

'The industrialised nations have had a free ride, imposing costs which they have so far not been required to pay. Should it be a surprise that the Brazilians turn to us in amazement when we tell them to stop cutting down their rain forests . . . ?

'Today, carbon dioxide emissions from fossil fuels are three times higher than those from the burning of the rain forests and such emissions are still overwhelmingly produced by the economies of the industrialised world.

'Who destroyed the ozone layer? Not the Chinese. Not the Indians. Not the Africans. It was us who destroyed the ozone layer with our hairsprays, fridges and air-conditioning units.

'Yet we turn round and tell the Chinese, whose per capita use of fridges is a thousand times less than ours, that fridges are off the menu!'

ENRIQUE SILVA CIMMA, president of the Radical Party, Chile:

'In spite of innumerable obstacles, the Chilean opposition has managed to advance. Our victory in the plebiscite last October showed that our movement was ready for action. The SI was there to give us support. Terror, violence and intimidation were unable to break our unity.

'We shall remain united for the elections in December and have picked a consensus candidate. The next president of Chile

will be a member of the opposition.'

JORGE SAMPAIO, general secretary of the Socialist Party, Portugal:

'It would be unfortunate if the effectiveness and positive nature of the intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) agreement were to be reduced by the modernisation of other weapons . . .

'The approach of democratic socialists is for an ambitious disarmament process based on the principle of security for all.'

MARIO SOLORIZANO, general secretary of the Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala:

'We must demand seriousness from the United States in a possible change of its policy towards Central America.

'But we must also remain firm in our search for a political solution . . . after ten years of war, the United States is now moving towards the arguments that the SI and its member parties have been putting forward.

'That's why it's important for the SI to monitor events and maintain a presence in Central America. The SI has already played a crucial role in containing the expansion of war in the region. And now that we've achieved the beginning — albeit precarious — of a new phase, we cannot begin to flag.'

GUY SPITAEELS, chairman of the (Walloon) Socialist Party, Belgium:

'For democratic socialists the environment is not a question of fashion . . . But let's not allow our proposals to become a mere list of pious vows or merely put the more marginal ones into action . . .

'It's not endless international conferences that will change the course of events, but the decisions that we take . . . in our respective countries.'

ERDAL INÖNÜ, chairman of the Social Democratic Populist Party, Turkey:

'We have entered a period in which people are struggling for peace and in which attempts are being made to resolve long-standing problems between nations through negotiation . . . I do not believe that this is temporary . . . the rapprochement between the superpowers is something that will remain.'

KALEVI SORSA, SI vice-president:

'Democratic socialism has a historical opportunity that we must not miss. This is the time for change, not only for others but for ourselves too, as indicated by our new declaration of principles.

'It is the time for open dialogue . . . We must listen to each other instead of making statements for the record . . . Democratic socialists . . . and other other movements of social progress need meaningful fora for active debate and critical discourse.

'Time is running out. We should start the work now. Not for a long time has the situation been so challenging and encouraging for the ideals and principles of democratic socialism. Whether we will be able to pioneer the new era is up to us.'

ANITA GRADIN, president of Socialist International Women and SI vice-president:

'It is not an individual act of violence that kills 10 million infants in the third world every year; that condemns hundreds of millions

to absolute poverty; or that places women in a subordinate position in society . . .

'The causes are all structural . . . human rights, equality between men and women, development and peace are all interdependent . . . The struggle for human rights is an essential feature of socialist identity.'

DANIEL ODUBER, national director of the National Liberation Party, Costa Rica:

'We have recently gained the impression . . . that the policy of the United States is changing — that a political solution to the conflict in Central America is becoming possible, along the lines of the Esquipulas peace accord.'

'After years of subordination to the wishes of an extra-regional capital, the five presidents of Central America showed that they were able to seek peaceful solutions. And we continue to do so.'

'But we have not lowered our guard. The policy of the United States could change back at any time and we would face military solutions once again.'

'As Olof Palme used to say: "Democracy can never be achieved through oppression . . . Nobody from the outside should be able to force another country to adopt a particular form of government . . . The right of the people to self-determination is a basic precondition of democracy . . ."

Opening gesture: SI president, Willy Brandt, with Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson

ED BROADBENT, leader of the New Democratic Party, Canada:

'As democratic socialists, we are well equipped to promote the cause of common security. Our belief in community, cooperation, equality and internationalism is inextricably linked with this approach.'

' . . . in addition to promoting . . . arms reductions, we must also strive for security in the broader sense . . . Together we must address the environmental problems which threaten to destroy our planet . . .

'Together we must take the one trillion dollars presently spent on arms each year and meet the needs of feeding, clothing and housing the world's poor. Together we must work for a solution to the international debt problem [and] for greater respect for human rights.'

ANTONIO CARIGLIA, general secretary of the Italian Democratic Socialist Party:

'The SI must make every effort to achieve world peace, but not a peace that depends on the tutelage of the superpowers . . . all peoples should have the right to decide their own destiny . . . The aim of democratic socialists is to unite the world, not see it divided into two sides . . .

'We are faced with a huge task in this regard: to eliminate the eyesore of a world divided between the wealthy nations and the poor countries on the verge of famine.'



Congress resolution

We reprint in full the text of the main resolution adopted by the eighteenth SI Congress on 22 June

The Stockholm Congress of the Socialist International is, at once, the celebration of two great anniversaries and the starting point for a new era of historic opportunity.

Two hundred years ago, in 1789, the people of France proclaimed their aspirations to liberty, equality and fraternity. A century later, in 1989, the Second International gave new strength to the socialist vision of freedom, justice and solidarity as working people joined forces to secure social and economic progress throughout the world. Our international movement today still draws strength from those historic inspirations.

The past two centuries have left to democratic socialism a legacy of great and positive achievements. In the developed world, we have seen the assertion of the right to work, the emergence of the welfare state, the creation of firm institutions of democracy, and the acceptance by governments of social responsibility. Basic rights have been enshrined in national laws to the real benefit of ordinary men and women. In developing countries, democratic socialists have contributed greatly to the struggle for national liberation and to economic and social development, and in this way have established the aspirations and values which inspire today's continuing struggle for democracy and progress.

Now, in 1989, we shall see the achievements of the past two centuries as the starting point for our advance into a new century. And, conscious of the particular challenges of the world today, we should add to the inspirational watchwords of the past those of peace and environment.

Drawing strength from the achievements and heritage of the past 200 years, our movement looks forward to meeting and overcoming the challenges of the last decade of the twentieth century. Our new declaration of principles, agreed here in Stockholm, sets out just what that involves, and shows how democratic socialist ideals are more than ever relevant and vital today. Today's is a fast-changing world where new technologies offer new opportunities and also threaten our survival; where economic relations become ever more international in scope, and

where the achievements and values which we uphold have been challenged. But it is increasingly clear, even after a decade of the so-called revolution of the new right, that people remain convinced that their governments should accept responsibility for economic and social affairs, that they reject social fatalism and the uncontrolled play of the markets — in short that they do not wish to see the real achievements of the past century scrapped in favour of a return to the divisiveness of another era.

What is crucial is the application of the idea of fraternity or solidarity, so much ignored in today's world but so urgently relevant. The young people of today see this most clearly as they seek genuine opportunities both to develop as individuals and to contribute to society and to the wider world. They are increasingly conscious of the emergence of the special problems of affluence — ecological neglect, divisions in society between regions or between the majority and poorer or excluded groups, loss of vital community bonds — and of the menace of racism and xenophobia. They are seeking appropriate solutions and recognise that these must lie in cooperative and participative action.

Another great change has taken place in international relations. In the past, each country's foreign policy was concerned primarily with its relations with other sovereign states. Today, the policies of individual states are increasingly concerned with common global problems — political, economic or ecological — the solutions to which can only be found through joint action by groups of states or international agencies. The interdependence to which the Brandt, Palme, Brundtland, and Kreisky Commissions have drawn attention is becoming ever deeper in the face of these challenges.

This is the new context of global politics — one that holds out a real prospect of progress for democratic socialist ideals as more and more people realise that it is only through policies based on the values of justice, equality and solidarity that we can truly tackle our contemporary global problems. As the world becomes ever more complex the number of these problems grows.

North-South relations remain a key priority while underdevelopment cuts our world in two. Problems of relative affluence in some developed countries must not obscure the scale of suffering elsewhere. Millions of children today suffer from nutritional deficiencies that could stunt their mental and physical development or even kill them. The achievements of the past two centuries in the more prosperous countries remain in the realm of aspiration or despair for many people in the South, for whom freedom, equality and solidarity must become a reality before they can be fully or conscientiously enjoyed by any.

Other issues too, call for the application of democratic socialist values and commitment. On the positive side, prospects for international peace, disarmament and cooperation are better now than at any time since 1945, with the real prospect of agreements being reached on strategic and conventional forces and in many regional conflicts, diminishing the threat of nuclear holocaust. The UN has been restored to its rightful place at the centre of world politics.

Less positively, we live today under the new threat of environmental degradation which is undermining the life-sustaining systems of the planet. As always poor people and poor countries are worst hit. Without urgent and global responses the very survival of humankind is at stake.

One great social and economic problem facing both developed and poorer countries is protracted unemployment. Even the prosperous European Community has 16 million out of work today, with millions more living below the poverty line. To the long-standing difficulties of many weaker economies in providing jobs there has been added the very negative impact of conservative economic policies which have destroyed millions of jobs without adequate replacement and which have misdirected the great potential of new technologies.

And democratic socialists must assess the impact of new technology. Information and broadcasting technology may open up new prospects for communication, education and understanding between peoples, but it carries with it the potential for cultural domination and commercial or political exploitation. Policies are needed which secure the positive benefits of new technology — for example, through programmes for literacy, continuing education and enhanced cultural participation — but without threatening cultural identity and diversity.

So it is that the catalogue of challenges and problems is long and urgent; the search for peace and disarmament; the environmental challenge; the crisis in the South; the deep-seated unemployment problem and the fight back against the new right.

Human rights, too, are a priority issue for democratic socialists, at a time when torture and illegality remain the rule in many countries. Women's rights must be fully respected in future. And action is needed to tackle regional conflicts — often the result of exploitation and injustice or of the regional pretensions of the superpowers — which threaten peace, development and human welfare.

PEACE AND DISARMAMENT

Since our last Congress in 1986, there has been considerable progress towards peace and disarmament. The outcome of the Stockholm Conference in 1986, the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty of 1987 and the progress achieved in settling regional conflicts have all played their part. The Vienna



negotiations on Confidence- and Security-Building Measures (CSBM) and on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) demonstrate continued political will in the disarmament process.

Despite these achievements, we still face an enormous task. The arms race poses a formidable threat which must be reversed by new policies and new actions. We need a fundamental reassessment of security policies and doctrines. The achievement of common security, the respect for human rights and the promotion of economic development must go hand in hand.

The Socialist International welcomes the proposals made by President Gorbachev at the UN in December 1988 and the initiative of President Bush at the Nato summit in May 1989.

The 1990s should see a full implementation of defensive military postures and doctrines and the principle of common security in partnership. Our goal is deep cuts in both conventional and nuclear weaponry. As a general rule, the notion of a 50 per cent cut should be progressively applied to both conventional and nuclear weapons. Confidence- and security-building measures should be further developed and be extended to air and naval operations as well as land forces. A verification and information system should be established in order to guarantee speedy and accurate information on force levels, military equipment, movements and events.

European disarmament must take as a starting point the principle of stability at balanced and much lower levels of forces and armaments on both sides. The principle of stability includes the need to rectify existing asymmetries and imbalances. True stability also presupposes defensive military postures and doctrines and implementation of the principle of common security based on close interdependence. There should be a widening of the mandate for the CFE negotiations after 1992 to include all European states.

Battlefield nuclear warheads and dual-capable systems such as artillery should be reduced in parallel with conventional reductions in a way which at any time contributes to stability in Europe. The Socialist International believes that early negotiations should take place on tactical nuclear weapons with a range below 500 kilometres. We oppose measures including so-called 'modernisation', which would amount to compensation for the elimination of intermediate-range missiles or a circumvention in spirit or letter of the INF Treaty. We wish to reach the situation where conventional stability enables both alliances to abolish all non-strategic nuclear weapons.

The Socialist International calls for speedy results in the strategic arms negotiations (Start) concerning a 50 per cent cut in strategic nuclear forces. The Start negotiations should include restrictions on long-range cruise missiles. We call for strict adherence to the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty and for a convention banning all space-based weapons. Progress in this regard will aid the efforts to conclude a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). We call on all governments to intensify their efforts in this respect. A CTBT would be an effective means of stemming the process of nuclear modernisation. We call for positive results at the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) review conference in 1990 to reaffirm and strengthen the non-proliferation regime beyond 1995. Nuclear weapons states should meet their obligations to act in good faith to secure real measures of nuclear disarmament. There should also be new obligations on both nuclear and non-nuclear weapons states to curb the transfer of weapons and arms technology. The question of the naval arms race should be put on the disarmament agenda.

All states should refrain from producing and deploying new chemical weapons. The Socialist International calls for a convention banning production, stockpiling or proliferation of chemical weapons to be finalised as soon as possible. We call for strict adherence to the 1972 convention prohibiting the production and stockpiling of biological weapons.

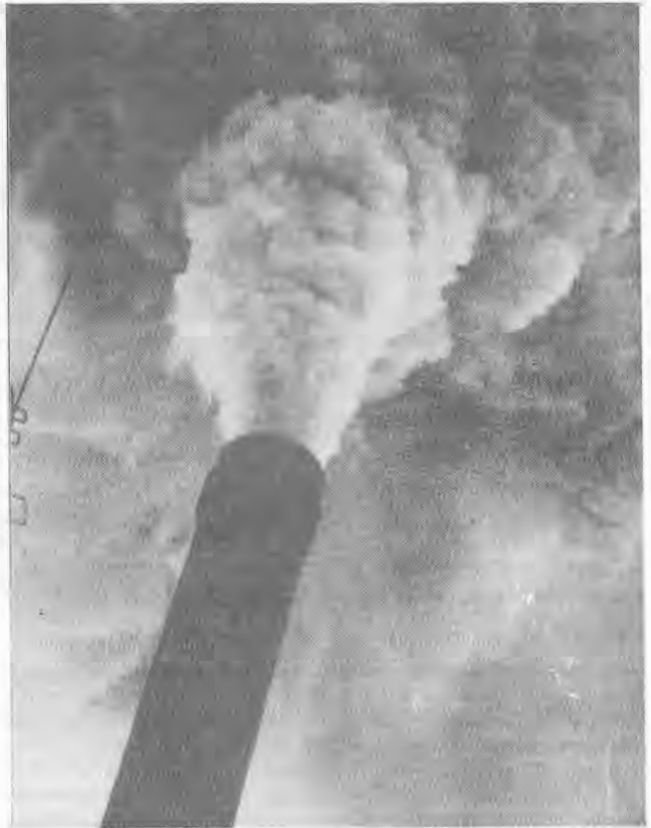
We strongly urge the development of regional disarmament proposals and measures, and further progress in the settlement of regional conflicts. These should be pursued with a view to achieving lasting political and social solutions to the problems facing many parts of the world. Security cannot be confined to particular regions. It is a global concern. For this reason the UN has a particularly important role in international peace-making as well as international peace-keeping.

The growing prestige of the UN is one of the most encouraging recent international developments. The UN should continue to take a more central role in conflict resolution, and could also help, for example, in the monitoring and verification of disarmament treaties or in the registration of arms transfers. Its peace-keeping operations also need a more secure financial framework.

Humanitarian principles and rules applicable in armed conflicts should be strengthened and strictly implemented.

Terrorism must be resisted wherever it occurs. That requires effective cooperation between national authorities and police forces within an acceptable legal framework. It also needs determined action to tackle the root causes of violence, such as injustice, poverty and the abuse of human rights.

Weapons cannot solve the problems of our planet. Our aim remains the goal of general and complete disarmament of



conventional weapons as well as weapons of mass destruction, under effective international verification.

THE ENVIRONMENT

Like the threat posed by armaments, today's environmental crisis knows no international boundaries. Our whole planet is threatened by climatic changes, such as global warming, by the depletion of species and by widespread pollution. As human beings, we are both the agents and the victims of environmental degradation. Political action is needed urgently to channel the drive of all human beings for the creation of a worthy human environment.

Joint goals and strategies, for example, must be agreed by governments to tackle ecological problems like climatic change, depletion of the ozone layer, deforestation and desertification, the loss of biological diversity, and pollution of the air, sea and land.

For the future, a genuine redirection is needed in our way of life and work. Effective policies for the environment must be integrated into overall economic strategies. Future economic growth and technology must be environmentally sustainable. Only growth can create the capacity to solve our environmental problems, especially in the poorer countries, yet only a healthy environment can sustain growth in the long term.

Environmentally sound technologies must form the basis of all policies on food and agriculture, energy, transport, industry, urban development and working conditions. These policies must

be consistent with long term human needs and with the survival of humanity itself. All groups in society must be fully involved in developing and implementing these policies.

The Socialist International works for international agreements containing precise timetables for action, for substantial transfers of financial resources to developing countries to defeat the poverty which is the greatest threat to the environment and for the transfer of environmentally sound technology to countries of the South as they work for their own development. The findings of the Brundtland Commission represent our guidelines for the future.

DEVELOPMENT IN THE SOUTH

The need for development continues to demand urgent action — both to tackle deprivation and to build on those more positive trends which have emerged in some regions. Present improvements in the global political climate could offer positive opportunities provided there are appropriate changes in policies and institutions.

All developing countries need the chance to evolve and pursue their own strategies for economic and social progress. There must be room for different models of development based on different values and different objectives in individual countries. That diversity should be understood and recognised as valuable by international development agencies.

Indebtedness is the most critical problem facing developing countries today, threatening the financial security and economic

prospects of developed and developing countries alike. It needs more than short term solutions. Long term solutions to global indebtedness must be sought and found, through a programme for international recovery aimed at expanding both trade and income. Structural adjustment programmes should focus less on deflationary strategies and more on initiatives to build up the human resources of developing countries — through education, health and nutrition. The official debts of the poorest countries should be converted into grants; commercial debts should be rescheduled and the burden of debt service reduced by an imaginative programme of international action. The whole should be linked to a renewed commitment to an expansion in international aid, including a commitment by industrial countries to the United Nations target of 0.7 per cent of GNP.

Other new initiatives should include:

- action in the Gatt round to stimulate world trade and to open up new markets for products from the South — with particular benefits for the least developed countries;
- a north-south summit to relaunch dialogue on the issues of debt, trade and the environment, and to bring about a new UN development strategy;
- action to protect the environment in the South, with a new role for the UN Environment Programme;
- successful renegotiation of the Lomé Convention with a stronger emphasis on market access and regional cooperation;
- enhanced South-South dialogue and regional cooperation to stimulate growth and develop markets;
- greater accountability of the world financial institutions — the IMF, the World Bank — within a new international monetary agreement.



UN



UNEMPLOYMENT

Unemployment remains at crisis levels in both developed and developing countries, in some cases threatening the survival of democratic politics. Unless young people can see a prospect of work they may lose faith in the democratic process and in democratic political parties. Recent elections in Europe have seen the emergence of a new extremism arising from persistent social problems, including unemployment.

Action to combat unemployment demands a comprehensive, planned and sustained programme at global, regional and national levels, concentrating on the generation of sustained and qualitative growth through cooperative effort to increase demand; stimulation of trade relations — East-West, North-South and South-South; control of inflation; an active labour market policy; policies for job creation and for regional development; and provision of training and continuing education. It will also be necessary to develop participatory structures to involve social partners — at company, sector and national levels — in planning for progress and for jobs.

In developing this programme specific attention must be directed to the supply side in a number of key areas for action where job opportunities can be created at the same time as major economic and social issues are tackled, for example: protection of the environment; creation of necessary infrastructures; research on technology and innovation and on their practical applications; designing programmes of education and training to encompass cultural as well as purely technical aspects; and provision of information services. In this connection the recommendations of the Kreszky Commission provide important guidelines for action.

HUMAN RIGHTS

The right to work is just one of the basic social and human rights widely transgressed in today's world. After 40 years the Universal Declaration of Human Rights continues to set global standards for the protection of basic rights and freedoms, to inspire resistance against injustice, intolerance and oppression. But enjoyment of these rights and freedoms remains a distant dream for many. All too few of us live in countries whose governments truly respect human rights. Torture, capital punishment, 'disappearances' and bannings, ill-treatment of minorities, discrimination against women, racism and xenophobia — all of these contribute to repression and injustice which deny millions of men, women and children their basic dignity. Amnesty International's campaign against the death penalty highlights a major area of concern and demands a positive response from all democratic socialists.

Part of our response to this situation must be a campaign to secure wider ratification of international human rights agreements, including conventions against torture and discrimination, the forthcoming children's rights convention and the ILO labour standards. But ratification alone is insufficient. New supervisory bodies are needed to ensure that rights are respected, conventions implemented and governments' conduct kept under review. Our proposals along these lines can be found in the new statement on human rights, agreed by this Congress.

We place particular emphasis on the fundamental rights of workers and of their trade unions. The right to organise and to withdraw labour, the right to negotiate freely, the right to information and to participation must all be seen as the common heritage of all workers and fully respected.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The rights of women in particular need special attention. Our long-standing campaign on women's rights will go forward with renewed vigour in the 1990s. Our agenda includes provisions on working conditions and equal treatment, family and child care facilities, the elimination of sexual harassment and sexual violence, and positive discrimination in certain key areas where women are disadvantaged.

Equality between women and men is a basic socialist and democratic value. To ignore women's full participation in the decision-making processes endangers democracy. The Socialist International reaffirms the aims of the Socialist Decade of Women announced in Lima in 1986, and demands that all socialists should aim to achieve equal representation (50/50) of women at all levels, national and organisational, within the next ten years. Member parties will also strengthen the organisation and financial status of their women's organisations.

REGIONAL ISSUES

Many regional conflicts and developments demand the attention of the world community. While there has been progress in some areas, like the Gulf, since our last Congress, new crises have arisen threatening life and liberty, and some old ones continue to cause us concern.

In various parts of the world situations exist in which the values and aspirations espoused by the Socialist International are called into question, and where peace and disarmament are far from achievement. For example, Afghanistan continues to be a factor

for instability, and the persecution of Kurdish minorities remains a tragic fact. In Cambodia the search for a settlement which will ensure both self-determination and human rights remains a priority. In the Horn of Africa the struggle of the Eritrean people for liberation continues. In Cyprus we give our backing to the efforts of the UN to bring about a just and lasting settlement. And in the Western Sahara we equally support the UN and OAU efforts for peace.

As democratic socialists, we will do our utmost to promote the peaceful settlement of regional disputes, and we welcome the renewed strength and influence of the UN in this regard.

Four regions in particular concern us and have been the subject of sustained attention by the Socialist International:

Southern Africa

South Africa's apartheid regime continues to oppress the black majority in South Africa itself, and to destabilise its neighbours. The new white leadership must be urged to change course and to discuss their country's future with genuine opposition leaders. Political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, must be released without preconditions.

Democratic socialists throughout the world will continue to demand meaningful change in South Africa. Until that happens, international pressure must be maintained through comprehensive and mandatory international sanctions against the South African regime and through the action of individual states and groups of states.

The agreement on independence for Namibia is to be welcomed

and all necessary steps must be taken to guarantee free and fair elections this year. The Socialist International deplors the confrontations which took place following 1 April, and calls upon the UN to ensure that Untag has the full resources needed to carry out its task.

All governments should increase their support for the Frontline States, helping them to overcome South African destabilisation, and to achieve autonomous development. The Socialist International will continue its close relations with the governments and liberation movements in the region.

The Middle East

In the Middle East prospects can be discerned which justify some hope of a peaceful, negotiated solution in accordance with the principles of common security.

The PLO in its declarations of the last few months has recognised Israel's right to exist and, with Yassir Arafat as its chairman, is undertaking an attempt at a negotiated solution. The United States has commenced talks with the PLO. The Soviet Union is endeavouring to play a more active role in solving the conflicts in the Middle East.

There is a tendency in the world for detente and a solution of regional conflicts. The Middle East should not be left out of this process.

The intifada has once again brought the attention of world opinion to the situation in the occupied territories. The plan proposed by the Israeli government which foresees negotiations



ILEA

between Israel and Palestinians to be elected in the occupied territories, would a few months ago have been unthinkable.

The Socialist International supports the following principles for the solution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict:

— There must be a peaceful political solution. This solution must be based on the right of the state of Israel to exist within secure and recognised boundaries and the right to self-determination for the Palestinians. The obvious goal should be the mutual recognition of each other by Israelis and Palestinians.

— For this an international peace conference under the auspices of the UN Security Council is urgently needed in which all parties and States involved in the conflict in the region should participate. The PLO should take part in the peace process in the region.

— Member states of the EC, and other European States, the United States, the Soviet Union, and the international community as a whole, should continue to urge the PLO to reject terrorism. Similar pressure should be placed on Israel to stop violations of human rights in the occupied territories and immediately open schools and universities.

The international community must grasp this opportunity to secure a solution to the conflict. Without quick steps forward showing some success in the 'negotiating position', the danger of violence will increase.

The Socialist International will continue its efforts to further the peace process in the region through contacts with all the parties involved.

Lebanon

The Socialist International deplores the present serious crisis in Lebanon and recognising the urgent need for constitutional reforms, calls for all countries to respect the integrity of a united, independent and democratic Lebanon, free from all foreign occupation.

Latin America

Democracy and democratic socialism have made decisive advances throughout Latin America and the Caribbean with successes by several Socialist International member parties. The historic campaign to end the Pinochet tyranny has opened the way for democratic elections, while in Paraguay the longest dictatorship in Latin America came to an end.

But serious concerns remain with the debt crisis threatening the re-emerging democracies. In Central America intense efforts are needed to secure the implementation of the Esquipulas II agreements and to ensure self-determination and non-interference by external forces. The conflict in El Salvador and the constant violation of human rights demand a negotiated political solution. The people of Nicaragua have our support for their advance in the democratic process. In Guatemala the constitutional order is under threat and human rights abuses persist.

We condemn the manipulation of the electoral process in Panama and demand that the democratic will of the people is respected. In Haiti the transition to democracy has been slowed down and the people's misery continues. We welcome the US initiatives towards a political solution in Puerto Rico and we support the principles of sovereignty and self-determination for the Puerto Rican people.

The Socialist International reaffirms its continuing commitment to the people of Latin America and the Caribbean in their struggle for democracy, economic development, and social justice.

DEVELOPMENTS IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD

Central and Eastern Europe

The Socialist International, basing its position on the principles of Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik, has for many years sought a new framework for relations with the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

Now, under the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev, the remarkable changes under way within the Soviet Union, and largely as a consequence, in some Central and Eastern European countries, are to be welcomed and supported insofar as they hold out the prospect of political and economic transformation.

Every advance towards democracy — and thus towards freedom of conscience, expression and movement — is of paramount importance. Opportunities of contact, exchange of ideas and practical help or support must be seized by democratic socialists who can make a special contribution to the reshaping of societies where socialist ideals have been for so long tragically distorted by communist ideology. Practical support is essential in order to assist in giving permanence to today's dramatic but still fragile initiatives and changes.

In dealing with this situation it is essential to recognise the fact that Central and Eastern Europe is not a monolithic bloc. Each of the countries has always been different and, at the present time, these differences are becoming more and more obvious.



In some cases the promise of economic policy changes has had a major impact, as in Hungary. In others, the motor for change is political development as in Poland, or national aspirations as in the Baltic republics. Elsewhere, traditional structures are still very much in the ascendancy and the Gorbachev reforms are viewed with suspicion, as in Czechoslovakia and the GDR. In Bulgaria, where positive trends may be detected in the economic sphere, the treatment of the Turkish minority must be condemned. And in Romania a ruthless dictatorship remains in power with tragic consequences for both economy and society.

The Socialist International supports the struggle in Central and Eastern Europe including the Baltic, for self-determination, democracy and economic and ecological recovery. Our approach to contact with and support for change in central and eastern Europe is a logical continuation of the Ostpolitik and of the increasingly successful CSCE process. The opening of economic and trade relationships and new links between the EC and Comecon hold out the prospect of greater mutual understanding.

The Socialist International will place a special priority on encouraging and facilitating dialogue on the widest range of political and economic issues, and with all the relevant interests — with the governments, ruling parties, opposition parties, academic circles, representative groupings and with the emerging political forces, including the new popular fronts.

China

The Socialist International deplors and condemns the bloody repression of peaceful and spontaneous demonstrations calling for freedom and democracy in China. The savage actions of the Chinese leadership against the students are all the more tragic given recent moves towards greater openness in all aspects of Chinese society. The world community must unite in condemnation and in taking all appropriate steps to impress upon the Chinese authorities the necessity to recognise the democratic hopes and aspirations of the people, and to stop all killings and reprisals.

CONCLUSION

The Socialist International goes forward from Stockholm determined that the 1990s will become the decade when development and peace become a reality.

The experience of the 1980s have shown the incapacity of the free market to provide full employment in the North as well as in the South or to end poverty in even the richest countries. Centralised planning has been seen to prevent economic and social development. Environmental degradation threatens the quality of life and even life itself. And, it has become clear that no individual country can solve its problems alone.

Policies of cooperation for common prosperity offer the real alternative in the 1990s, while the success of common security in international relations provides a unique opportunity to strengthen institutions of cooperation for development. The choices are there to be made.

We can choose to seize today's opportunities for disarmament and peace. We can assert the necessity of democracy and human rights. We can choose to divert resources from weapons to economic development. We can choose to take joint responsibility for the transformation of the debt crisis. We can choose to apply our technological capacity to help the nations of the South to



leapfrog over entire stages of polluting growth and we can choose a sustained expansion of the international economy. We can choose the course of solidarity and participation in the face of the divisiveness of the new right.

Common economic responsibility presupposes the genuine common security which the Socialist International seeks to promote around the world. The Socialist International has continued a dialogue between poor and rich countries which is essential to international recovery. Democratic socialist parties represent the common interest in employment and development. Cooperation is a daily reality for democratic socialists and it can become a reality for all countries in the 1990s.

Declaration of Principles of the Socialist International

I. GLOBAL CHANGE AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

1. The idea of socialism has caught the imagination of people across the world, promoted successful political movements, decisively improved the lives of working men and women, and contributed to shaping the twentieth century.

However, justified satisfaction about the realisation of many of our goals should not prevent us from clearly recognising present dangers and problems. We are aware that essential tasks still lie ahead which we can master only through common action since human survival increasingly depends upon the joint efforts of people around the world.

2. Current economic, technological, political and social changes reflect a profound transformation of our world. The fundamental issue we now face is not whether there will be change in future years, but rather who is going to control it and how. The socialist answer is unequivocal. It is the people of the world who should exercise control by means of a more advanced democracy in all aspects of life: political, social, and economic. Political democracy, for socialists, is the necessary framework and precondition for other rights and liberties.

3. All the peoples of the world should be involved in the process of transforming our societies and promoting new hope for humankind. The Socialist International calls on all men and women committed to peace and progress to work together in order to translate this hope into reality.

4. The challenge of global change opens up enormous possibilities:

- The internationalisation of the economy and wide-spread access to information and new technologies can, if brought under democratic control, provide a basis for a world society better suited to cooperation. It is obvious that a world family is no longer a utopian dream, but, increasingly, a practical necessity.
- The technological revolution can and should be used to preserve the environment, create new employment and pro-

vide the means to liberate people from routine work rather than ruthlessly impose unwanted idleness.

- On the basis of suitable and humane democratic structures, freedom, equality, security and prosperity can be achieved within the framework of a democratic world society.

5. However, many current trends also give rise to unprecedented threats:

- Proliferation of the technologies of destruction promote a precarious balance of terror where there are inadequate guarantees for the security of humankind.
- The physical conditions for life on the planet are threatened by an uncontrolled urban and industrial expansion, the degradation of the biosphere, and the irrational exploitation of vital resources.
- Hunger, famine and death threaten whole regions and communities in the South, even though the world has enough natural and technical resources to feed itself.

6. This transformation of social and economic structures is at least as dramatic and far-reaching as the transition from *laissez-faire* to the corporate capitalism and colonialism of pre-World War I days. The social cost of these transformations - unemployment, regional decline, destruction of communities - has affected not only the very poor but also working people in general.

7. The rapid process of internationalisation and interdependence in the world economy has given rise to contradictions within existing political, social and national institutions. This growing gap between an international economy and inadequate international political structures has been a contributory factor to the poverty and underdevelopment of the South, as well as to mass unemployment and new forms of poverty in many areas of the North.

8. Real progress has been made since World War II in vital areas such as decolonisation, the growth of the welfare state and, more recently, disarmament, where the first hopeful steps have been taken. However, age-old injustices remain. Human rights

Declaration of Principles

are still violated, racial and sex discrimination are rife, and individual opportunities in life are still determined by the region and class in which people are born.

9. Faced with such crucial issues, the Socialist International reaffirms its fundamental beliefs. It is committed, as ever, to the democratisation on a global scale of economic, social and political power structures. The same principles and political commitments which socialism has always held have to be attained in a world that has changed radically since the Frankfurt Declaration of 1951.

10. The Socialist International was founded a hundred years ago in order to coordinate the worldwide struggle of democratic socialist movements for social justice, human dignity and democracy. It brought together parties and organisations from different traditions which shared a common goal: *democratic socialism*. Throughout their history, *socialist*, *social democratic* and *labour* parties have stood for the same values and principles.

11. Today the Socialist International combines its traditional struggle for freedom, justice and solidarity with a deep commitment to peace, the protection of the environment, and the development of the South. All these issues require common answers. To this end, the Socialist International seeks the support of all those who share its values and commitment.

II. PRINCIPLES

Freedom, Justice and Solidarity

12. Democratic socialism is an international movement for freedom, social justice and solidarity. Its goal is to achieve a peaceful world where these basic values can be enhanced and where each individual can live a meaningful life with the full development of his or her personality and talents and with the guarantee of human and civil rights in a democratic framework of society.

13. *Freedom* is the product of both individual and cooperative efforts – the two aspects are parts of a single process. Each person has the right to be free of political coercion and also to the greatest chance to act in pursuit of individual goals and to fulfil personal potential. But that is only possible if humanity as a whole succeeds in its long-standing struggle to master its history and to ensure that no person, class, sex, religion or race becomes the servant of another.

14. *Justice and Equality*. Justice means the end of all discrimination against individuals, and the equality of rights and opportunities. It demands compensation for physical, mental and social inequalities, and freedom from dependence on either the owners of the means of production or the holders of political power.

Equality is the expression of the equal value of all human beings and the precondition for the free development of the human personality. Basic economic, social and cultural equality is essential for individual diversity and social progress.

Freedom and equality are not contradictory. Equality is the condition for the development of individual personality. Equality and personal freedom are indivisible.

15. *Solidarity* is all-encompassing and global. It is the practical expression of common humanity and of the sense of

compassion with the victims of injustice. Solidarity is rightly stressed and celebrated by all major humanist traditions. In the present era of unprecedented interdependence between individuals and nations, solidarity gains an enhanced significance since it is imperative for human survival.

16. Democratic socialists attach equal importance to these fundamental principles. They are interdependent. Each is a prerequisite of the other. As opposed to this position, Liberals and Conservatives have placed the main emphasis on individual liberty at the expense of justice and solidarity while communists have claimed to achieve equality and solidarity, but at the expense of freedom.

Democracy and Human Rights

17. The idea of democracy is based on the principles of freedom and equality. Therefore, equal rights for men and women – not only in theory, but also in practice, at work, in the family and in all areas of social life – are part of the socialist concept of society.

18. Democratic socialists strive to achieve equal rights for all races, ethnic groups, nations and denominations. These rights are seriously in question in many regions of the world today.

19. Forms of democracy of course may vary. However, it is only possible to speak of democracy if people have a free choice between various political alternatives in the framework of free elections; if there is a possibility for a change of government by peaceful means based on the free will of the people; if individual and minority rights are guaranteed; and, if there is an independent judicial system based on the rule of law impartially applied to all citizens. Political democracy is an indispensable element of a socialist society. Democratic socialism is a continuing process of social and economic democratisation and of increasing social justice.

20. Individual rights are fundamental to the values of socialism. Democracy and human rights are also the substance of popular power, and the indispensable mechanism whereby people can control the economic structures which have so long dominated them. Without democracy, social policies cannot disguise the dictatorial character of a government.

21. There can be no doubt that different cultures will develop their own institutional forms of democracy. But whatever form democracy assumes – nationally or internationally – it must provide full rights for individuals and for organised minority opinions. For socialists, democracy is of its very nature pluralist, and this pluralism provides the best guarantee of its vitality and creativity.

22. Freedom from arbitrary and dictatorial government is essential. It constitutes the pre-condition whereby peoples and societies can create a new and better world of peace and international cooperation – a world in which political, economic and social destinies will be democratically determined.

The Nature of Socialism

23. Democratic socialists have arrived at the definition of

Declaration of Principles

these values in many different ways. They originate in the labour movement, popular liberation movements, cultural traditions of mutual assistance, and communal solidarity in many parts of the world. They have also gained from the various humanist traditions of the world.

But although there are differences in their cultures and ideologies, all socialists are united in their vision of a peaceful and democratic world society combining freedom, justice and solidarity.

24. The national struggles for democratic socialism in the years to come will show differences in policy and divergences on legislative provisions. These will reflect different histories and the pluralism of varied societies. Socialists do not claim to possess the blueprint for some final and fixed society which cannot be changed, reformed or further developed. In a movement committed to democratic self-determination there will always be room for creativity since each people and every generation must set its own goals.

25. In addition to the principles which guide all democratic socialists, there is a clear consensus among socialists on fundamental values. Despite all diversity, it is common ground that democracy and human rights are not simply political means to socialist ends but the very substance of those ends – a democratic economy and society.

26. Individual freedom and basic rights in society are the pre-conditions of human dignity for all. These rights cannot replace one another, nor can they be played off against each other. Socialists protect the inalienable right to life and to physical safety, to freedom of belief and free expression of opinion, to freedom of association and to protection from torture and degradation. Socialists are committed to achieve freedom from hunger and want, genuine social security, and the right to work.

27. Democratic socialism also means cultural democracy. There must be equal rights and opportunities for the different cultures within each society as well as equal access for everyone to the national and global cultural heritage.

III. PEACE

Peace – A Basic Value

28. Peace is the pre-condition of all our hopes. It is a basic value of common interest to all political systems and necessary for human society. War destroys human life and the basis for social development. A nuclear holocaust could spell the end of human life as we know it.

29. A lasting peace cannot be guaranteed through nuclear deterrence nor through an arms race with conventional forces. Therefore disarmament and new models of common security are imperative.

30. What is now essential is the achievement, not merely of military stability at the lowest possible level of defensive weapon systems, but also a climate of mutual political confidence. This can be developed through cooperation on projects for our common future and a new emphasis on peaceful competition between societies with different political, economic and social structures.

31. Peace is more than the absence of war. It cannot be based on fear or on ephemeral goodwill between the superpowers. The fundamental economic and social causes of international conflict must be abolished by the achievement of global justice and by the creation of new institutions for the peaceful resolution of conflicts around the world.

32. The establishment of a new international economic and political order is an essential contribution to peace. This should involve respect for national sovereignty and the right to national self-government, negotiated settlement of conflict, and suspension of arms supplies to the parties in conflict. There must be both global and regional systems for cooperation and peaceful conflict resolution in all parts of the world. These could be brought about through the action of the UN, complementing agreements between the superpowers.

33. Peace is equally a necessity within nations. Violent ways of handling conflicts destroy opportunities for development and human rights. Education for peace and disarmament must be intensified.

34. The militarisation of relations between nations of the South has become a serious threat to the future of humanity, as are the tensions between East and West. In some cases the major powers, with their tendency to globalise conflict, have engaged in proxy struggles in countries of the South. In others, the arms merchants of both East and West have contributed to raising the level of violence in the South as they sought political advantage or profit. It is undeniable that every war in the past four decades has been fought in those regions of the world. Social, economic and other causes of conflict in the South must be eliminated.

Initiatives for Peace

35. Democratic socialists reject a world order in which there is an armed peace between East and West but constant bloodshed in developing countries. Peace-keeping efforts must focus upon putting an end to these confrontations. Europe has a unique role in this process. For decades it has been the most likely battlefield for armed conflict between East and West. Europe can now become the area in which a new climate of mutual trust and restraint can develop and grow.

36. Initiatives for peace require that different socio-economic systems and nations cooperate with one another on projects for confidence building and disarmament, justice in the South and protection of the planet's biosphere. At the same time, they should engage in peaceful competition in the fields of wealth creation, welfare and solidarity. Societies should be prepared to learn from one another. It must become the norm for the different systems to trade, negotiate and work together. There should also be a place for frank and open exchange of views, in particular where issues of human rights and peace are at stake.

37. East-West cooperation in the common struggle to close the gap between North and South and for the protection of the environment are perhaps the areas of greatest potential for fruitful action to build human solidarity regardless of frontiers and blocs.

IV. NORTH AND SOUTH

Globalisation

38. Recent decades have been characterised by an accelerating internationalisation of world affairs, or globalisation. Oil shocks, exchange rate fluctuations and stock market crashes are directly transmitted between the world's economies, North and South. New information technologies disseminate a mass culture to every corner of the world. Financial decisions by multinational corporations can have far-reaching effects overnight. National and international conflicts are generating huge and growing refugee movements of continental and intercontinental dimensions.

39. Further, globalisation of the international economy has shattered the bipolar division of the world which dominated the era of the Cold War. New industrial powers have emerged in the Pacific Rim and, until recent setbacks, the rapidly developing Latin American nations. There are also new international forces such as China and the Non-Aligned Movement. Interdependence is a reality. It is more important than ever to establish multilateral institutions with a more equal role for the South under the aegis of the UN.

40. At a global level, economic crisis and conservative deflationary policies have brought the return of mass unemployment to many of the advanced economies. They have also had a destructive effect on poor countries. They have wiped out export markets, sharpened the debt crisis and undone progress already made. At the same time, such regress in the South, combined with the necessity to service enormous debts, closed huge potential markets to the North. Thus the declining living standards of the debtor nations became a factor promoting unemployment in the creditor nations.

41. A transformed global economy must involve the growth centres of the South in a radically new way if it is to advance the development of either South or North. Programmes to stimulate economic and social development in the South can and must become a vehicle for stimulating the world economy as a whole. Such issues must feature as integral parts of global macro-economic strategies.

42. In Africa, the continuation of the apartheid regime in South Africa is not only a crime against the majority of the people of that nation but has subverted the economic efforts of the Front Line States and had a negative impact throughout the entire continent. There, as elsewhere, the fight for human rights and democracy goes hand in hand with the battle for economic and social justice.

43. Africa and Latin America are in particular faced with an intolerable debt problem which precludes the investments and imports which are needed to ensure development and provide jobs for rapidly growing populations. Global action to alleviate the debt burden is a pre-condition for progress. It must be a central goal of East-West cooperation in the common search for North-South justice.

The Environmental Challenge

44. A critical and fundamental challenge of worldwide di-

mensions is the crisis of the environment. In both the North and the South, the ecological balance is jeopardised. Every year, animal and plant species are being exterminated while there is increasing evidence of a depletion of the ozone layer. In the North, irresponsible industrialism destroys forest areas; in the South, the rain forests which are vital to the survival of the whole world are shrinking with alarming speed. In the rich countries, soil pollution is increasing. In the poor countries, deserts are encroaching upon civilisation. Everywhere clean water is in short supply.

45. Since environmental destruction extends across national frontiers, environmental protection must be international. It is, above all, a question of maintaining the relations between natural cycles, since ecological protection is always more economical and more responsible than environmental renovation. The best and cheapest solutions to the crisis are those that change the basic framework of production and consumption so that environmental damage does not occur in the first place.

46. We advocate joint international efforts to replace all environmentally damaging products and processes by alternatives which enhance nature. The transfer of technology from North to South must not be allowed to become a matter of exporting ecologically unacceptable systems, or the toxic wastes of rich economies. Renewable energy sources and decentralised supply structures should be encouraged in both North and South. Moreover, there must be an international early warning system to identify environmental threats and catastrophes which cross national frontiers.

47. These environmental problems affect the whole world community as well as doing harm to the developing countries. Without multilateral assistance and cooperation, poor nations cannot solve them. For these reasons it is crucial to achieve a substantial transfer of resources through development aid.

48. Such policies are compatible with qualitative economic growth, in the North and South, in order to meet the social and economic responsibilities of the future. Social investment in ecological reconstruction – which many experts count as an expenditure without benefits and which is not computed as part of the Gross National Product – is one of the most positive investments a society can possibly make.

Social Control of Technological Development

49. The technological revolution which has already begun in the advanced industrial economies will profoundly change the conditions of the environment and resource management within the life-time of the present generation. Moreover, the impact of this change will be experienced worldwide. Micro-electronics, robotics, weapons technology, bio-engineering – plus innovations which are not yet dreamed of – will transform the circumstances of both individuals and the structures of society in the world as a whole.

50. Technology is not simply a matter of objective science or inanimate machines. It is always guided by particular interests and designed according to human values, whether implicit or explicit. It has to be brought under social control in order to use the positive opportunities offered by new technologies for humankind, to minimise the risks and the dangers of uncontrolled

Declaration of Principles

developments and to prevent socially unacceptable technologies.

51. Social progress requires, and inspires, technological progress. What is needed is technology appropriate to the different conditions, experiences and levels of development prevailing in the North and in the South. There must be a substantial transfer of suitable technology – and of basic technological know-how – between North and South. The North has much to learn from the experience of the South, especially its use of low-waste technologies. There should be social dialogue, and democratic political control of the context in which new technologies are introduced. This should ensure that their availability

- contributes to autonomous development in the countries of the South, mobilising their resources rather than wasting them, and creating new jobs rather than increasing unemployment;
- humanises labour, promotes human health, and enhances safety in the workplace;
- facilitates economic rights and increases the scope for popular decision-making in working life.

52. In order to ensure that these standards are met throughout the world there must be institutions and procedures for assessment of technology. Innovation should be introduced in accordance with social needs and priorities as expressed through democratic debate and decision-making.

53. Manipulation of human genetic material and exploitation of women through new reproductive technologies must be prevented. Likewise ways must be found to protect humanity from nuclear danger and chemical risk.

Disarmament and Development

54. Disarmament agreements between the superpowers will do more than remove the threat of annihilation from the planet. With such agreements in place, many of the resources now wasted on thermo-nuclear, chemical, biological and conventional weapons could be released for investment in economic and social development programmes in the South. Disarmament between the East and West should be linked with programmes for justice between the North and South.

55. A proportion of the substantial funds which the highly industrialised countries of the West and the East would save as a result of negotiated disarmament should be utilised to create a multinational fund to promote a secure and sustainable development in the countries of the South.

V. SHAPING THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Political and Economic Democracy

56. Recent events have made the achievement of political, economic and social democracy on a world scale more feasible than ever before. Democracy represents the prime means for popular control and humanisation of the otherwise uncontrolled forces which are re-shaping our planet without regard for its survival.

57. Human rights include economic and social rights; the right to form trade unions and to strike; the right to social security and welfare for all, including the protection of mothers and children; the right to education, training and leisure; the right to

decent housing in a liveable environment, and the right to economic security. Crucially, there is the right to both full and useful employment in an adequately rewarded job. Unemployment undermines human dignity, threatens social stability and wastes the world's most valuable resource.

58. Economic rights must not be considered as benefits paid to passive individuals lacking in initiative, but as a necessary base from which to secure the active participation of all citizens in a project for society. This is not a matter of subsidising those on the fringe of society, but of creating the conditions for an integrated society with social welfare for all people.

59. Democratic socialism today is based on the same values on which it was founded. But they must be formulated critically, both assimilating past experience and looking ahead to the future. For instance, experience has shown that while nationalisation in some circumstances may be necessary, it is not by itself a sovereign remedy for social ills. Likewise, economic growth can often be destructive and divisive, especially where private interests evade their social and ecological responsibility. Neither private nor State ownership by themselves guarantee either economic efficiency or social justice.

60. The democratic socialist movement continues to advocate both socialisation and public property within the framework of a mixed economy. It is clear that the internationalisation of the economy and the global technological revolution make democratic control more than ever important. But social control of the economy is a goal that can be achieved through a wide range of economic means according to time and place, including:

- democratic, participative and decentralised production policies; public supervision of investment; protection of the public and social interest; and socialisation of the costs and benefits of economic change;
- worker participation and joint decision-making at company and workplace level as well as union involvement in the determination of national economic policy;
- self-managed cooperatives of workers and farmers;
- public enterprises, with democratic forms of control and decision-making where this is necessary to enable governments to realise social and economic priorities;
- democratisation of the institutions of the world financial and economic system to allow full participation by all countries;
- international control and monitoring of the activities of transnational corporations, including cross-frontier trade union rights within such corporations.

61. There is no single or fixed model for economic democracy and there is room for bold experimentation in different countries. But the underlying principle is clear – not simply formal, legal control by the State, but substantial involvement by workers themselves and by their communities in economic decision-making. This principle must apply both nationally and internationally.

62. In societies structured in this fashion, and committed to genuine economic and social equality, markets can and must function as a dynamic way of promoting innovation and signalling the desires of consumers through the economy as a whole. Markets should not be dominated by big business power, and manipulated by misinformation.

63. The concentration of economic power in few private

Declaration of Principles

hands must be replaced by a different order in which each person is entitled — as citizen, consumer or wage-earner — to influence the direction and distribution of production, the shaping of the means of production, and the conditions of working life. This will come about by involvement of the citizen in economic policies, by guaranteeing wage earners an influence in their workplace, by fostering open and accountable competition both domestically and internationally and by strengthening the position of consumers relative to producers.

64. A democratic society must compensate for the defects of even the most responsible market systems. Government must not function simply as the repair shop for the damage brought about by market inadequacies or the uncontrolled application of new technologies. Rather the State must regulate the market in the interests of the people and obtain for all workers the benefits of technology, both in work experience and through the growth of leisure time and meaningful possibilities for individual development.

Culture and Society

65. Education is crucial for the development of a modern, democratic and tolerant society. The goals of education which we advocate, are:

- information, learning and knowledge;
- the passing of a spiritual and cultural heritage from generation to generation;
- the preparation of the individual for life within society on the basis of equal opportunity for all;
- helping each individual to develop his full personal potential.

66. The values of freedom, social justice, solidarity and tolerance must be central messages in the process of education.

We advocate tolerance and cooperation between different groups in multicultural societies. Cultural diversity enriches rather than endangers our societies. Cultural uniformity is a threat to freedom and democracy.

67. Special attention must be given to the relations between different generations. Elderly people in particular need the respect and support of the young. They need a guaranteed income through social security and public pensions, homes and nursing in the community, room for cultural and social activities, and the right to live their old age in dignity.

The Role of Men and Women in Modern Society

68. Inequality between men and women is the most pervasive form of oppression in human history. It may be traced almost to the origin of the species itself and has persisted in almost every socio-economic order to the present time.

69. Recent years have seen a new surge of feminist consciousness, both within and outside the socialist movement, leading to the emergence of one of the most important social movements of our time. In part, the renewal of feminism occurred as the women of the most advanced welfare states came to realise that, despite the progress made in many fields, they were still often relegated to subordinate positions in occupational and political structures.

70. The social costs of economic crises, at national and international levels, have been borne to a disproportionate degree by women. Poverty, unemployment, homelessness and low-wage exploitation have all contributed to this effect. In some areas of the South, the overcoming of patriarchal attitudes is a fundamental precondition for both the vindication of the rights of women and the achievement of sustainable economic development.

71. The Socialist International supports the struggle of women for equal rights and opportunities everywhere in the world. In some countries there has been progress, while in others the struggle for equality is only beginning. Equality and justice for women is a crucial element of a just and peaceful world. The UN has played an important role in facilitating the emergence of a global feminist consciousness which links the women of the South and the North.

72. The Socialist International specifically endorses the following measures:

- legislation and positive action programmes which guarantee full equality between men and women;
- support for programmes to promote education, vocational training and professional integration for girls and women;
- legislation to ensure equal pay for work of equal value;
- dissemination of information and practical assistance for family planning;
- good facilities for child care;
- public backing for full and equal participation of women in the social and political activities of every country by positive steps which ensure women's representation at all levels of decision-making.

73. Women constitute slightly more than half of the population on our planet. Justice and equality for them is a *sine qua non* of international justice and equality.

A New International Culture for Political Dialogue

74. The increasing interdependence of the world leaves little space for fundamentalist controversies and hostilities. Common survival and development demand both cooperation and civilised forms of dispute even between antagonistic political forces and ideas. We therefore reject and condemn any form of religious or political fundamentalism.

75. Communism has lost the appeal that it once had to parts of the labour movement or to some intellectuals after the October Revolution or during the struggle against fascism.

The crimes of stalinism, mass persecution and the violation of human rights, as well as unsolved economic problems, have undermined the idea of communism as an alternative to democratic socialism or as a model for the future.

76. The Socialist International supports all efforts aimed at the transformation of communist societies through liberalisation and democratisation. The same support must apply to the development of decentralised market mechanisms, struggles against bureaucratisation and corruption and, above all, the realisation that human rights and political openness are important elements of a dynamic and progressive society.

77. Detente, international cooperation and peaceful competition create an atmosphere in which the most promising of the

Declaration of Principles

present initiatives may prosper. The Socialist International wants to promote a culture of international dialogue. All sides must cooperate in mutual trust where there are basic common interests, and argue openly and frankly where the commitment to human rights, democracy and pluralism is at stake. Socialists want to play a prominent role in that dialogue.

A New Model for Growth

78. In order to generate employment and prosperity all across the world, there is a need for ecologically balanced development. Growth which is not designed to meet ecological and social imperatives runs counter to progress, since it will cause environmental damage and destroy jobs. The market system alone can never ensure the attainment of the social goals of economic growth. It is the legitimate function of democratic economic policy to promote development which opens up future opportunities while improving the quality of life.

79. To achieve these objectives on a global basis, it is imperative to establish a genuinely new international economic order. This must reconcile the interests of both industrialised and developing countries. A fundamental reform of financial relations must create the conditions for international economic cooperation. A more equitable international economic order is necessary not only for reasons of solidarity, but also in order to create a more efficient, productive and balanced world economy.

80. The priority in the case of international debt must be to write down, write off or capitalise the debts of the poorer countries. Institutional arrangements are needed to stabilise both the terms of trade and the export earnings of the countries of the South by establishing internationally supported commodity funds. The North must open its markets to the products of the South, and end its policy of subsidising exports from the North.

81. As productivity rapidly increases due to new technologies, also it is necessary to redefine working life. The aim must be to humanise working conditions by both appropriate production technologies and workers' participation. Employment should be created by investment in social services and in environmental reconstruction, as well as by public spending on the development of new technologies and on improving infrastructure. By contrast, conservative economic policies in many industrialised countries have allowed for mass unemployment, thus jeopardising social justice and security, and giving rise to new manifestations of poverty in the rich world. It is of paramount importance that governments take on in practice their overall responsibility to provide for full employment.

82. In many cases, a reduction of working hours can help achieve a fair distribution of both paid jobs and work at home between men and women. It also increases the leisure time of workers, farmers and employees, thus giving them more time for other activities.

Solidarity between North and South

83. Economic development is unquestionably a priority for the South. This is not to say that there is a simple formula for ending poverty in the developing countries, be it socialist in origin or not. Economies need a reduction in trade barriers, improved access to markets and the transfer of technology. They need the opportunity to develop their own scientific resources – for example, in the area

of biotechnology – and to end dependence on second-hand technologies.

84. Where the poorer countries are concerned, traditional development assistance remains vital. Many of them, in different regions of the world, need land reforms, incentives to farmers to achieve a sustained food supply, and support for cooperative traditions within their rural cultures. But increased food production alone will not end hunger and famine. Sadly, in some cases, an increase in export agriculture can destroy traditional patterns of food supply, at one and the same time adding to farm output and hunger. It must be the task of the political system to guarantee both the right to food and employment.

85. The debt crisis has led to a net financial flow away from developing countries to industrialised ones. The UN development target of 0.7% of GNP in official development assistance, which is twice the current rate, must be achieved without delay. Internationally coordinated efforts are urgently needed to alleviate the burden of the external debt of developing countries.

86. Programmes of cooperation with the South must support development goals which relate to economic growth as well as a fair distribution of income. Aid programmes must focus on the development of the poorest groups. They should help to transform stultifying social structures and improve the situation of women in society. Specific programmes for children are of the greatest importance. Assistance through cooperatives and popular movements serves to promote democratic development.

87. A broadly based approach to development is also an important factor in stemming the massive tide of migration to the big cities of the South, many of which are threatened by uncontrolled population growth and are becoming huge megapolitan slums.

88. Enhanced South-South relations form an important path for economic progress. A substantial growth in trade between the nations of the South will contribute to their well-being and will enhance their prospects of dealing with the crises which arise from dramatic changes in production and occupational structures. Close economic links and rapidly growing markets in the developing world are a vital prerequisite of any positive development of the world economy.

89. An open world economy can stimulate development in the South. But it also can bring vulnerability. Thus, the North should not pursue economic and trade policies which impose drastic reductions in living standards and erode the bases of stable democracy.

90. Inequality and dictatorship are the enemies not only of human rights, but also of genuine development. Social and economic democracy cannot be regarded as luxuries which only the rich countries can afford. Rather, they are necessary for any country to make progress on the road of development. That is why the strengthening of democratic socialism in the South is so crucial. In this context the recent expansion of the Socialist International in the South, especially in Latin America and the Caribbean, is a good omen for both North and South alike.

91. Ending poverty in the South is also a common project for the North. It can promote disarmament, and create both wealth

Declaration of Principles

and jobs in the advanced as well as the developing countries. This is central to the strategy of socialists in dealing with wide-ranging economic change during a period of crisis and transition at world level. It is also an integral part of democratic socialist proposals for new economic and social structures which can bring the world peacefully and prosperously into the twenty-first century.

VI. WITH THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL TOWARDS A DEMOCRATIC WORLD SOCIETY

The Unity of International Socialism

92. At a time of rapid internationalisation, the goals of democratic socialism cannot be attained in just a few countries. The fate of people living in many different parts of the world is more interlinked than ever before. The various socialist parties of the world must therefore work together, both in their individual national interest and in their common international interest. The Socialist International, whose history dates back to 1864, was re-established in 1951 to serve this purpose.

93. Although it unites movements with long-standing national histories, the Socialist International is not a supranational, centralised organisation. It is an association of independent parties with common principles whose representatives want to learn from one another, jointly promote socialist ideas and work towards this objective at international level.

94. The purpose of the International is to facilitate this work of solidarity and cooperation, while being aware of the fact that there are different ways of promoting the basic values of a pluralist democratic socialism in different societies. Each member party is itself responsible for the manner in which it puts the decisions of the Socialist International into effect in its own country.

95. In recent years, the membership of the Socialist International has become more genuinely international, with very marked growth in Latin America and the Caribbean, and new members in other continents. It is the goal of the Socialist International to cooperate with all democratic socialist movements throughout the world.

96. Since the Frankfurt Declaration of the Socialist International in 1951, the world has become closer in economic and

social terms, but not in terms of democratic community and solidarity. It now is clear that the socialist movement - as it looks towards the 21st century - is becoming more truly internationalist in outlook and in practice.

A New Democratic Order

97. The international challenge is nothing less than the beginning of a new, democratic world society. We cannot allow blocs, nations and private corporations to shape the political structure of the planet as a mere by-product of their own self-interest.

98. Strengthening the United Nations is an important step in the creation of this new, democratic world society. Where there is a consensus among the major nations, significant peace-making and peace-keeping initiatives are possible. The UN specialised agencies, like the WHO, and UN organs like UNDP and UNICEF, have demonstrated that the governments and citizens of various nations can work effectively together in pursuit of common international goals.

99. It is unrealistic to assume that justice and peace can be legislated in a world of fundamental inequality where many millions barely cling to life while a favoured few enjoy a standard beyond the dreams of most of their fellow human beings. Socialist struggles in the original capitalist nations made gains in welfare and solidarity, which in turn made the extension of democracy possible in individual countries. Likewise the work of abolishing international inequality will be a crucial step forward on the road to a democratic world society.

100. There is no illusion that this ideal can be quickly accomplished. However, the creation of a pluralist and democratic world, based on consensus and cooperation, is a necessary condition for the advance of humankind. This is both a challenge and an enormous opportunity. The Socialist International is ready to meet the challenge and to strive for a world in which our children can live and work in peace, in freedom, in solidarity and humanity.

We are confident that the strength of our principles, the force of our arguments and the idealism of our supporters will contribute to shaping a democratic socialist future into the 21st century. We invite all men and women to join us in this endeavour.



About the SI

The Socialist International

Maritime House
Old Town
Clapham
London SW4 OJW
United Kingdom

Telephone (44 1) - 627 4449
Telex 261735 SISEC
Telefax (44 1) - 720 4448/
498 1293
Cables INTESOCON LONDON SW4

The Socialist International (SI), founded in 1864, is the world's oldest and largest international political association. It represents 89 political parties and organisations with the support of more than 150 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 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, Chile, Paraguay, disarmament, economic policy, the environment, human rights, Latin America and the Caribbean, 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

Honorary presidents

Gonzalo Barrios
Rodrigo Borja
Jos van Eynde
Michael Foot
Anker Jørgensen
Lionel Jospin
Bruno Kalnins
Bruno Kreisky
Sicco Mansholt

Ian Mikardo
Sandro Pertini
Irène Pétry
Ramón Rubial
Léopold Senghor
Mário Soares
Fernando Vera
Gough Whitlam

Vice-presidents

Svend Auken
Leonel Brizola
Ed Broadbent
Gro Harlem Brundtland
Ingvar Carlsson
Bettino Craxi
Abdou Diouf
Felipe González
Bob Hawke
Walid Jumblatt
Neil Kinnock
Wim Kok
David Lange
Michael Manley
Pierre Mauroy
Karel van Miert
Eiichi Nagasue
Daniel Oduber

Shimon Peres
Carlos Andrés Pérez
Enrique Silva Cimma
Kalevi Sorsa
Guillermo Ungo
Hans-Jochen Vogel
Franz Vranitzky

Ex-officio

Anita Gradin (SIW)
Alfred Gusenbauer (IUSY/IFM)
José Francisco Peña Gómez (SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean)
Guy Spitaels (CSPEC)

General Secretary

Luis Ayala

Members

Fraternal organisations

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

Full member parties

Australian Labor Party, ALP
Socialist Party of Austria, SPÖ
Barbados Labour Party, BLP
Socialist Party, PS, Belgium
Socialist Party, SP, Belgium
Democratic Labour Party, PDT, Brazil
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
Social Democratic Party, Denmark
Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD, Dominican Republic
Democratic Left, ID, Ecuador
National Democratic Party, NDP, Egypt
National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, El Salvador
Social Democratic Party, SDP, Finland
Socialist Party, PS, France
Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD, Federal Republic of Germany
The Labour Party, Great Britain
Democratic Socialist Party, PSD, Guatemala
Social Democratic Party, Iceland
The Labour Party, Ireland
Israel Labour Party
United Workers' Party, MAPAM, Israel
Italian Social Democratic Party, PSDI
Italian Socialist Party, PSI
Peoples' National Party, PNP, Jamaica
Japan Democratic Socialist Party, DSP
Socialist Party of Japan, SPJ
Progressive Socialist Party, PSP, Lebanon
Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party, LSAP/PSOL
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
Unitarian Socialist Party, PSU, San Marino
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, United States
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
Siunut, Greenland
Working People's Alliance, WPA, Guyana
National Progressive Revolutionary Party of Haiti, PANPRA
Party for National Unity, VITM, Madagascar
Nepali Congress Party
Pakistan People's Party, PPP
Peruvian Aprista Party, PAP
Puerto Rican Independence Party, PIP
Progressive Labour Party of St. Lucia, PLP
St. Vincent and the Grenadines Labour Party
Popular Unity Movement, MUP, Tunisia
Democratic Left Party, DSP, Turkey
People's Electoral Movement, MEP, Venezuela

Consultative parties in exile

(Members of SUCCEE)
Bulgarian Social Democratic Party
Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party
Estonian Socialist Party
Social Democratic Party of Hungary
Social Democratic Party of Latvia
Lithuanian Social Democratic Party
Polish Socialist Party
Social Democratic Party, Romania
Yugoslav Socialist Party

Associated organisations

Asia-Pacific Socialist Organisation, APSO
Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community, CSPEC
International Federation of the Socialist and Democratic Press, IFSDP
International Union of Democratic Socialist Teachers, IUSDT
Jewish Labour Bund, JLB
Labour Sports International, LSI/CSIT
Socialist Group, European Parliament
Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe, SUCCEE
World Labour Zionist Movement, WLZM



- SI Congress adopts new declaration of principles
- Key documents produced on environment and human rights

Forward to the future

'In the past two centuries democratic socialism has left a legacy of great and positive achievements.

'In the developed world, we have seen the emergence of the welfare state, the creation of firm institutions of democracy . . .

'In developing countries, democratic socialists have contributed greatly to the struggle for national liberation and to economic and social development . . .

'Now, in 1989, we see the achievements of the past as the starting point for our advance into a new century. And, conscious of the particular challenges of today's world, we add to the inspirational watchwords of the past those of peace and the environment . . .

'Our movement looks forward to meeting and overcoming the challenges of the last decade of the 20th century. Our new declaration of principles sets out just what that involves . . .

'Today's is a fast-changing world — where new technologies offer new opportunities and also

threaten our survival; where economic relations become ever more international in scope, and where the achievements and values which we uphold have been challenged.

'But it is increasingly clear, after a decade of the so-called revolution of the new right, that people remain convinced that their governments should accept responsibility for economic and social affairs . . . that they do not wish to see the real achievements of the past century scrapped in favour of a return to the divisiveness of another era.' (Congress resolution)

This was the forward-looking spirit of the eighteenth Congress of the Socialist International (SI) in Stockholm on 20-22 June. (For the full text of the Congress resolution, see the Focus section, pages 20-27.)

Historic landmark

The Congress was a historical landmark.

Hosted by the Swedish Social Democratic Party (SAP) — itself celebrating a century of political

activity — it came 200 years after the French revolution and almost 100 years after the founding of the Second International in Paris in July 1889.

But the meeting was also an event of crucial relevance to the political struggles of today.

Called with the theme of 'One Hundred Years of Struggle for Peace and Freedom — Towards a New Century', the Congress analysed the major transformations that have taken place in the world in the postwar period and addressed the challenges facing democratic socialists as they stand on the threshold of the twenty-first century.

In addition to the main Congress resolution on the current world situation, the meeting also adopted a new Declaration of Principles of the Socialist International (see the Focus section, pages 28-35) which provides the SI with a guiding platform for action in the decades to come.

After several years of rigorous discussion and preparation — launched at the Madrid Congress in 1980 and further developed at

Lima, Peru, in 1986 (see 3/86) — the new charter supersedes the 1951 Frankfurt Declaration (which reestablished the SI in the wake of the second world war).

Presenting the new declaration to Congress, Heinz Fischer of the Austrian Socialist Party (SPÖ) and a member of the committee which drafted the document, said that democratic socialists had an ideal opportunity to get their message across.

Communism was in crisis and conservatives faced growing difficulties throughout the world. Democratic socialism was clearly the force of the future.

A series of speakers welcomed the declaration's heightened emphasis on environmental protection as a fundamental part of the socialist project; its commitment to gender equality; its will to harness the potential of new technology to democratic ends and social progress; its pledge to bridge the gap between North and South; and its reference to the intrinsic link that should exist between socialism, democracy and human rights.

SI membership changes

The Congress, as the highest statutory body of the Socialist International, approves applications for membership and elects the organisation's officers (president, honorary presidents, vice-presidents, general secretary).

The Congress agreed to make the following consultative parties full members of the SI:

Democratic Labour Party, PDT, Brazil
Movement for a New Antilles, MAN, Curaçao
Social Democratic Populist Party, SHP, Turkey

and accepted the following parties as full members:

National Democratic Party, NDP, Egypt
Constitutional Democratic Assembly, RCD, Tunisia

Congress also accepted the following parties as consultative members:

National Progressive Revolutionary Party of Haiti, PANPRA
Party for National Unity, VITM, Madagascar
Nepali Congress Party
Pakistan People's Party, PPP
St. Vincent and the Grenadines Labour Party
Popular Unity Movement, MUP, Tunisia

and suspended the following party from consultative membership:

Democratic Revolutionary Party, PRD, Panama

They noted that the ideology of democratic socialism was also gaining ground in Eastern Europe.

Human rights

As well as adopting the main resolution and the new declaration of principles, the Congress went on to give its backing to two other key documents.

The first, which Congress approved, was 'Humanitarian Action: the SI Platform on Human Rights'.

Speaking as chairman of the SI Committee on Human Rights which had prepared the document, SPÖ international secretary Peter Jankovitsch pointed out that any step towards social progress began with the defence of fundamental freedoms.

That was why the protection of human rights and the political practice of the SI were inextricably linked, he said.

Anita Gradin, the president of Socialist International Women (SIW), declared that there should be no contradiction between the protection of individual civil and political rights and the social rights of individuals.

The causes of violence, poverty and inequality, however, were structural and it would require political action to bring about a solution.

She also drew attention to the subordinate position of women, both North and South, saying that wherever human rights were violated, it was often women who were most exposed.

A comprehensive programme of action was needed to defend human rights in all countries, and to protect those who were working in this field.

The environment

The second document endorsed by Congress was the report of the SI Committee on the Environment, 'Towards Environmental Security: A Strategy for Long-term Survival'.

Presenting the report, Birgitta Dahl, the Swedish minister of the environment, predicted that growing public awareness of the critical state of the environment worldwide would mean that the issue would have a major political impact in the next three years.

The struggle for a safe environment, she said, went hand in hand with the struggle for development and for peace. No other industry squandered as many resources as the arms industry and there was no greater environmental disaster than the nuclear holocaust.

What was needed was a pattern of economic growth that was sustainable in both social and ecological terms. The life style of the industrialised countries placed the earth's life-support system at risk.

Condemning what she called 'environmental colonialism', Birgitta Dahl drew attention to the activities of companies and governments which exploited the people and natural resources of the poorer countries.

The environment was a question of the quality of everyday life, she said, and environmental considerations would have to form an integral part of policies on food, housing, energy, transport, industry and urban development.

Throughout the Congress, speakers stressed that environmental damage and disasters knew no boundaries — Chernobyl, for example — and that close international cooperation was crucial to a strategy of survival.

Brandt reelected

Congress unanimously reelected Willy Brandt as president — a post he has held since the Geneva congress in 1976 — for a further three-year term.

In his acceptance speech, Willy Brandt evaluated the work of the SI since the 1986 Lima Congress and set out the challenges facing democratic socialists in the period ahead. (*For an edited version of Brandt's speech, see the Focus section, page 6-9.*)

One of the most important developments in the last decade, he said, had been the SI's growing contact with democratic socialists in the developing world. The contribution made by member parties in Latin America and the Caribbean had been particularly important, as had that of friends in west Africa. The SI had also forged closer links with the liberation movements in Southern Africa.

The SI, however, was merely at the beginning of what it wanted to accomplish internationally, he added.

Since 1976, the SI had successfully pinpointed the interdependence between disarmament and development, and was now devoting proper attention to environmental issues. Such analysis had won the organisation recognition and respect. But much practical work on these issues still remained to be done.

Moreover, given Asia's increasingly important role on the world stage, the SI needed to develop closer links with progressive forces in that region.

Brandt pointed out that the global nature of many world problems required a coordinated international response. And in turn, members of the SI needed to gain a new understanding of socialist internationalism, especially when the forces of the right — bent on anything but the values of solidarity and world justice — were stepping up their level of global cooperation.

He also noted that the gradual normalisation of east-west relations was opening the door to new opportunities for international cooperation. Progress had been made in disarmament and conflicts around the world were beginning to ease. New centres of gravity were taking shape as the cold war gave way to a more multipolar world.

A key question for democratic socialists, he said, was what form a new phase of multilateral cooperation should take. Existing international bodies had been set up in the wake of the second world war and it was time for their reform.

Brandt admitted that the tasks facing the SI were daunting. But the driving force of the democratic socialist movement was hope and that was why it would succeed, he concluded.

New general secretary

In addition to the election of the SI president, Congress elected Luis Ayala as the organisation's new general secretary.

A Chilean, Ayala had served as assistant general secretary at the SI secretariat in London since 1985. He was previously SI secretary for Latin America and the Caribbean and has had a long involvement in the SI and the international democratic socialist movement generally.

In his acceptance speech, Ayala pointed to the uniqueness

of the SI, referring to the organisation as a forum where member parties could meet as equals, work for common ideals and learn from each other's experience.

He looked forward to contributing to the realisation of the SI's goals at a time when the message of democratic socialism had become more universal than ever.

Presidium

The Congress also elected a new presidium (see box for full details) and dealt with a number of applications for membership. A number of existing consultative parties became full members (see box for full details).

Broad participation

The Stockholm Congress was well attended, with delegates of SI member parties, guests and observers coming from over 100 countries around the world.

Among the leading guest speakers were Julius Nyerere, the chairman of the South Commission, Oliver Tambo, the president of the African National Congress, and the Reverend Allan Boesak, from South Africa.



Left to right: José Francisco Peña Gómez, Bettino Craxi, Luis Ayala

The delegates were welcomed on 20 June by SI President Willy Brandt, who congratulated the Swedish Social Democratic Party on its centenary.

Recalling the memory of Olof Palme, he drew the attention of delegates to the repression of the

pro-democracy student movement in China, and asked them to stand in honour of four leading members of the SI who had died since the Lima Congress: Lydie Schmit, an SI vice-president and former president of SIW from Luxembourg; Joop den Uyl, also

an SI vice-president and the former prime minister of the Netherlands; and Albert Carthy and Bernt Carlsson, both former SI general secretaries.

Bernt Carlsson, who had gone on to become the UN commissioner for Namibia having served

New SI presidium elected

The Congress elected the following presidium of the Socialist International:

President

Willy Brandt

Honorary presidents

Gonzalo Barrios (Democratic Action, AD, Venezuela)
Rodrigo Borja (Democratic Left, ID, Ecuador)
Jos van Eynde (Socialist Party, SP, Belgium)
Michael Foot (The Labour Party, Great Britain)
Michael Harrington (Democratic Socialists of America, DSA, United States)
Anker Jørgensen (Social Democratic Party, Denmark)
Lionel Jospin (Socialist Party, PS, France)
Bruno Kalnins (Social Democratic Party of Latvia, LSDP)
Bruno Kreisky (Socialist Party of Austria, SPÖ)
Sicco Mansholt (Labour Party, PvdA, Netherlands)

Ian Mikardo (The Labour Party, Great Britain)
Sandro Pertini (Italian Socialist Party, PSI)
Irène Pétry (Socialist Party, PS, Belgium)
Ramón Rubial (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE)
Léopold Senghor (Socialist Party of Senegal, PS)
Mário Soares (Socialist Party, PS, Portugal)
Fernando Vera (Revolutionary Febrerista Party, PRF, Paraguay)
Gough Whitlam (Australian Labor Party, ALP)

Vice-presidents

Svend Auken (Social Democratic Party, Denmark)
Leonel Brizola (Democratic Labour Party, PDT, Brazil)
Ed Broadbent (New Democratic Party, NDP/NPD, Canada)
Gro Harlem Brundtland (Norwegian Labour Party, DNA)
Ingvar Carlsson (Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP)
Bettino Craxi (Italian Socialist Party, PSI)
Abdou Diouf (Socialist Party of

Senegal, PS)
Felipe González (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE)
Bob Hawke (Australian Labor Party, ALP)
Walid Jumblatt (Progressive Socialist Party, PSP, Lebanon)
Neil Kinnock (The Labour Party, Great Britain)
Wim Kok (Labour Party, PvdA, Netherlands)
David Lange (New Zealand Labour Party)
Michael Manley (Peoples' National Party, PNP, Jamaica)
Pierre Mauroy (Socialist Party, PS, France)
Karel van Miert (Socialist Party, SP, Belgium)
Eiichi Nagasue (Japan Democratic Socialist Party, DSP)
Daniel Oduber (National Liberation Party, PLN, Costa Rica)
Shimon Peres (Israel Labour Party)
Carlos Andrés Pérez (Democratic Action, AD, Venezuela)
Enrique Silva Cimma (Radical Party of Chile, PR)
Kalevi Sorsa (Social Democratic Party, SDP, Finland)

Guillermo Ungo (National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, El Salvador)
Hans-Jochen Vogel (Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD, Federal Republic of Germany)
Franz Vranitzky (Socialist Party of Austria, SPÖ)

Ex-officio

Anita Gradin (Socialist International Women)
Alfred Gusenbauer (International Union of Socialist Youth/International Falcon Movement-Socialist Educational International)
José Francisco Peña Gómez (SI Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean)
Guy Spitaels (Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community)

General Secretary

Luis Ayala*

* newly elected

as SI general secretary in 1976-83, was killed in the Lockerbie aeroplane bombing in Scotland in December 1988.

Brandt then asked Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson of Sweden, as the chairman of the Swedish Social Democratic Party hosting the Congress, to address the delegates.

Extending democracy

Welcoming the SI's move towards a more diverse and international membership as a sign of the growing strength of democratic socialism worldwide, Ingvar Carlsson stressed the importance of international socialist coordination.

Effective cooperation was crucial to the success of democratic socialists in a number of key tasks: to fight unemployment; to promote economic justice; to seek peace and common security; to save the environment; and to bridge the gap between North and South.

The main feature of Carlsson's speech, however, was its emphasis on the need for democratic socialists to extend the principles of democracy to all areas of social and economic life. (For an edited version of Carlsson's speech, see the Focus section, pages 10-14.)

The achievement of full democracy in society meant bringing the economy under democratic control, ensuring that workers and consumers had a crucial say in economic decisions and the production process.

Rejecting the outright state control of communism and the unbridled play of market forces under capitalism, Carlsson said that democratic socialism was right to search for more diverse ways of exerting popular control over production.

Democratic socialism meant providing the means to exert control over all aspects of everyday life, thus enabling people to realise their individual potential and shape their own destiny.

Wideranging agenda

From the struggle for peace and human rights to the international economy and a strategy for environmental survival, the Stockholm Congress had a wideranging agenda.

In the Focus section, we reprint reflections of some of the participants (see pages 15-19).

Eighteenth Congress of the Socialist International List of participants

Socialist International

Willy Brandt
Pentti Väinänen
Luis Ayala
Klaus Lindenbergl

SI vice-president
Bruno Kreisky

Member parties

Australia
Australian Labor Party, ALP
Stephen Loosley
Ian McLean
Carolyn Pickles

Austria
Socialist Party of Austria, SPÖ
Franz Vranitzky
Johanna Dohnal
Heinz Fischer
Peter Jankowitsch
Imtraut Karlsson

Barbados
Barbados Labour Party
Henry de B Forde
Louis R Tull

Belgium
Socialist Party, PS
Guy Spitaels
Etienne Godin
Anne-Marie Lizin

Belgium
Socialist Party, SP
Frank Vandembroucke
Karel van Miert
Carla Galle
Dirk Drijbooms

Burkina Faso
Progressive Front of Upper Volta, FPV
Joseph Ki-Zerbo

Canada
New Democratic Party, NDP/NPD
Ed Broadbent
Bill Blaikie
Tony Penikett
Joanna den Hertog
Tessa Hebb
Michelle Brown
Dick Proctor
Shirley Carr
Ron Johnson
Shawn Mendes

Chile
Radical Party, PR
Enrique Silva Cimma
Ricardo Navarrete
Alejandro Montesino
Alejandra Faulbaum

Costa Rica
National Liberation Party, PLN
Daniel Oduber
Rolando Araya
Edgar Ugalde
Ana Oduber

Denmark
Social Democratic Party
Svend Auken
Steen Christensen
Poul Nyrup Rasmussen
Lasse Budtz
Birte Weiss
Rit Bjerregaard
Jens Christiansen

Dominican Republic
Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD
José Francisco Peña Gómez
Peggy Cabral
Luz del Alba Thevenin

Ecuador
Democratic Left Party, PID
Juan Cueva
Byron Morejón
Elba González
Ruth Herrera

El Salvador
National Revolutionary Movement, MNR
Guillermo Ungo
Hector Oqueli
Elsa Morales

Finland
Social Democratic Party of Finland, SDP
Pertti Paasio
Ulpu Ivari
Kalevi Sorsa
Allan Rosas
Tarja Kantola
Tuula Haatainen
Juha Eskelinen
Saara-Maria Paakkinen

France
Socialist Party, PS
Pierre Mauroy
Michel Rocard
Pierre Guidoni
Gérard Fuchs
Gérard Lindeperg
Jean-Jack Queyranne
Axel Queval
Alain Chenal
Jean-Bernard Curial
Luc Veron

Germany (Federal Republic)
Social Democratic Party of Germany, SPD
Hans-Jochen Vogel
Herta Däubler-Gmelin
Oskar Lafontaine
Egon Bahr
Inge Wetteg-Danielmeier
Hans Koschnick
Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski
Christa Randzio-Plath
Hans-Eberhard Dingels
Heinz Putzath
Veronika Isenberg
Wolfgang Weege

Great Britain
The Labour Party
Neil Kinnock
John Evans
Gwyneth Dunwoody
Jo Richardson
Mike Gapes

Guatemala
Democratic Socialist Party of Guatemala, PSD
Mario Solórzano
Fernando Fuentes Mohr
Carlos Castro
Floridalma Tellez
José Luis Chea

Iceland
Social Democratic Party of Iceland
Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson
Karl Steinar Gudnason
Ingolfur Margeirsson

Ireland
The Labour Party
Dick Spring
Tony Brown
Tony Kinsella

Israel
United Workers' Party, MAPAM
Arie Jaffe
Arie Shapir
Batia Keinan
Nora Hyet
Walid Sadek Hay-Hiyia
Daphne Vardi

Italy
Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI
Antonio Cariglia
Carlo Vizzini
Vincenza Bono Parrino
Gianni Finocchiaro
Andrea Miele

Italy
Italian Socialist Party, PSI
 Bettino Craxi
 Margherita Boniver
 Francesco Forte
 Paolo Vittorelli
 Giorgio Benvenuto
 Ottaviano del Turco
 Alma Capiello
 Renata Malarba
 Walter Marossi
 Luca Cefis

Jamaica
People's National Party, PNP
Michael Manley
David Coore
Don Brice
Mayer Matalon
Rose McDonald
Hyacinth Osterlin

Japan
Japan Democratic Socialist Party, DSP
Yoshihiko Seki
Sachiko Taguchi
Yoshiko Niida
Noriko Akinaga

Japan
Socialist Party of Japan, SPJ
Issei Inoue
Eiji Yasui

Lebanon
Progressive Socialist Party, PSP
Walid Jumblatt
Douired Yaghi
Sinan Khaddaj

Malaysia
Democratic Action Party, DAP
P Pato
Gooi Hock Seng

Malta
Malta Labour Party
Carmelo Mifsud Bonnici

Mauritius
Mauritius Labour Party
Ramesh Jeeewoolall

Netherlands
Labour Party, PvdA
Wim Kok
Maarten van Traa
Jan Marinus Wiersma
Joris Juriens

New Zealand
New Zealand Labour Party
Fran Wilde

Northern Ireland
Social Democratic and Labour Party, SDLP
Denis Haughey

Norway
Norwegian Labour Party, DNA
Thorvald Stoltenberg
Thorbjørn Jagland
Britt Schultz
Oddrun Pettersen
Inger-Anne Ravlum
Oystein Maland

Paraguay
Revolutionary Febrerista Party, PRF
Fernando Vera
Euclides Acevedo
Ricardo Lugo Rodriguez

Portugal
Socialist Party, PS
Jorge Sampaio
Paulo Pedrosa

San Marino
Unitarian Socialist Party, PSU
Fiorenzo Sioffi
Patrizia Busignani

Senegal
Socialist Party of Senegal

Djibo Ka
Bara Diouf
Joseph Mathiam
Mamadou Faye
Fatoumata Ka
Caroline Diop

Spain
Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE

Alfonso Guerra
Matilde Fernández
José María Benegas
Elena Flores
Dolores Renau
Miguel Angel Martínez
Violeta Alejandre
Ludolfo Paramio
Rafael Delgado

Sweden
Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP

Ingvar Carlsson
Sten Andersson
Gertud Sigurdson
Anna-Greta Leijon
Bo Toresson
Stig Malm
Thage G Peterson
Sven Hulterström
Birgitta Dahl
Kjell-Olof Feldt
Bengt Holgersson
Bertil Wihlberg
Lena Hjelm Wallen
Maj-Lis Löfow
Georg Andersson
Jan Bergqvist
Gunnar Stenarv
Conny Fredriksson
Mats Hellström

Switzerland
Social Democratic Party of Switzerland

Peter Vollmer
Heidi Deneys
Jean Ziegler
Sonya Schmidt
Heinrich Buchbinder

United States
Democratic Socialists of America, DSA

Skip Roberts
Joanne Barkan
Moti Zelmanowicz
Timothy Sears
Henrietta Backer
Bernard Backer
Jay Hughes
David MacBryde
Diana Chapin
Robert Meitus

United States
Social Democrats, SDUSA

Don Slaiman
Joel Freedman
Rita Freedman
Darin Kinzer

Venezuela
Democratic Action, AD

Humberto Celli
Beatrice Rangel Mantilla
Marco Tulio Bruni Celli
Timoteo Zambrano
Luis Emilio Rondón

Consultative parties

Bolivia
Revolutionary Left Movement, MIR
Jaime Paz Zamora

Brazil
Democratic Labour Party, PDT
Leonel Brizola
Bocayuva Cunha
Roberto D'Ávila

Curaçao
Movement for a New Antilles, MAN
Don Martina
Mayra Coffie

Cyprus
EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus
Takis Hadjijdemetriou
Panos Hadjuyannis
Georgios Spanos

Guyana
Working People's Alliance, WPA
Clive Thomas

Panama
Democratic Revolutionary Party, PRD

Pedro Pereira
Ricardo Aguilar

Peru
Peruvian Aprista Party, PAP

Luis Alva Castro
Julia Barrera González
José Barba Caballero

Puerto Rico
Puerto Rican Independence Party, PIP

Rubén Berrios
Fernando Martín
Ariel Colón

Turkey
Social Democratic Party, SHP

Erdal İnönü
Turkan Akyol
Yigit Guloksuz
Korel Goymen
Etem Ete

Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe, SUCEE

Bulgarian Socialist Democratic Party

Stefan Tabakoff
Franziska Nejtshewa-Lamm
Panayot Bakardjief

Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party

Karel Hruby
Georg J Loewy
Milan Friesel
Vilem Bernard

Estonian Socialist Party

Johannes Mihkelson
Ursula Wallberg
Juri Karl Seim
Madli Kurdve

Social Democratic Party of Hungary

Andor Bölcsföldi
Sandor Gergelyfy

Social Democratic Party of Latvia

Bruno Kalnins
Atis Lejins
Vilnis Zalkalus
Laimonis Eschenvalds
Baiba Vitolins
Imants Gross

Lithuanian Social Democratic Party

Jonas Vilcinskis
Kasparas Diksaitis
Irena Diksaitis
J. V. Bylaitis

Polish Socialist Party

Stanislaw Wasik
Tadeusz Prokopowicz
Kazik Majkowski
Stefan Trzcinski

Yugoslav Socialist Party

Marko Milunovic-Piper
Mirko Gjurkovecki
Dusan Dutina
Tadic Ljubomir

Fraternal organisations

International Falcon Movement
Socialist Education International, IFMISEI

Jerry Svensson
Nic Nilsson
Jacqui Cottyn
Jerry Wiklund
Odette Lambert
Carlos Percovitsch
Antonio Pizarro

International Union of Socialist Youth, IUSY

Joan Calabuig
Ricard Torrell
Alfred Gusenbauer
Anna Lindh
Mario Otero
Sudhindra Bhadoria

Socialist International Women, SIW

Anita Gradin
Maria Rodriguez-Jonas
Ingrid Bergander
Birgitta Strömbald
May-Britt Theorin

Associated organisations

Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community, CSPEC
Mauro Giallombardo

Socialist Group, European Parliament

Rudi Arndt
Enrique Barón Crespo
Henri Saby
Paolo Falcone
Geoff Harris

International Federation of the Socialist and Democratic Press, IFSDP

Umberto Jovine

Jewish Labor Bund, JLB

Mitchell Lokiec
Bono Wiener

Guests — international organisations/parties and others

Amnesty International

Larry Cox
Anita Klum

African National Congress, ANC

Oliver Tambo
Thabo Mbeki
Billy Modise

Charter 77

Jiri Hayek

Commission on US-Latin American Relations

Melinda Delashmutt

Democratic and Socialist Interofrican

Sadok Fayala

European Trade Union Confederation, ETUC

Markku Jääskeläinen

Greenpeace

Lena Ag
Rebecca Johnson

Institute for European-Latin American Relations, IRELA

Wolf Grabendorff

International League of Religious Socialists, ILRS

Evert Svensson
Franz Gundacker
Bert Barends

International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, ICFTU

Renate Peltzer

LISTY

Zdenek Hejzlar

Polisario Front

Ali Mahfoud Beiba
Ahmed Bikhari
Ahmed Nouruddine Aomar
Fadel Ismaeil
Mohamed Lamin Ujd Baali

South West Africa People's Organisation, Swapo

Toivo Ja Toivo
Niilo Papupi

Åland Islands

Social Democratic Party, SDP

Pekka Tuomijnen

Argentina

Justicialista Party

Eduardo Varela-Cid

Argentina

Popular Socialist Party, PSP

Rubén Giustiniani

Argentina

Radical Civic Union, UCR

Luis Alberto Cáceres

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

Carlos Reis
Crispina Gomes

Chile
Socialist Party, PS

Marcelo Schilling

Colombia
Liberal Party, PL

Eduardo Mestre Sarmiento
José Fernando Botero Ochoa
Rodrigo Garavito Hernández
Alvaro Tirado

Egypt
National Democratic Party, NDP

Kamal El-Shazly
Ahmed Salama
Mohamed Abdellah

Faroe Islands
Social Democratic Party, SDP

Marita Petersen
Jan Muller
Hans Jorgensen

Greece
Panhellenic Socialist Movement, PASOK

Theodoros Pangalos
Vassilis Konstantineas

Haiti
National Congress of Democratic Movements, KONAKOM

Victor Benoit
Jean-Claude Bajoux

Haiti
National Progressive Revolutionary Party of Haiti, PANPRA

Serge Gilles
Duly Brutus
Arnold Antonin

Honduras
Democratic Liberal Revolutionary Movement, MOLIDER

Jorge Arturo Reina

Hungary
Hungarian Social Democratic Party

Tibor Baranyai
Tamas Revesz
Sandor Bacsikai

India
Congress (I) Party

Meira Kumar

Korea
Alliance for Democracy and Reunification of Korea, ADRK

Kyu-Wyung Chung
Young-Moon Kwak
M S Rim
Yun-Chung Lee

Korea
The Party for Peace and Democracy, PPD

Young-Sook Park
Se-Hyung Cho
Chae-Jung Rim
In-Hak Yoo
Hong-Myung Kim
Hong-il Kim

Madagascar
Party for National Unity, VITM

Jérôme Razanabahiny
José Ravelomanantsoa

Mauritius
Militant Socialist Movement, MSM

Karl Offmann

Mexico
Revolutionary Institutional Party, PRI

Rafael Rodríguez Barrera
José Murat

Morocco
Socialist Union of Popular Forces, USFP

Abderrahman Youssoufi

Mozambique
Frelimo

José Luis Cabano
Alberto Massavanhane

Nepal
Congress Party
Mahesh Acharyn
Sher Bahadur Deuba

Nicaragua
Sandinista National Liberation Front, FSLN
Bayardo Arce
José Pasos
Salvo Prado
Ricardo Pasos
Hernán Estrada

Pakistan
Pakistan People's Party, PPP
Naseer Shaikh
Amir Ali Shah
Tallat Yaqub
Iftikhar L. Hassan
Nabeed Sarwar
Yusuf Khan

Philippines
Philippines Democratic Socialist Party, PDSP
Norberto Gonzales
Chaco Molina
Luz Almazon
Rose Roig

St. Lucia
St. Lucia Labour Party, SLP
Julian Hunte

Tunisia
Constitutional Democratic Assembly, RCD
Abderrahim Zouari
Abdelhamid Escheikh
Taleb Sahbani
Emma Aouij

Tunisia
Socialist Democratic Movement, MDS
Mustapha Ben Jaafar
Khemais Chamari
Khalifallah Mohamad-Aly

Tunisia
Popular Unity Movement, MUP
Ahmed Ben Salah
Brahim Hayder
Jalloul Azzouna

Uganda
National Resistance Movement, NRM
E.G. Ssemपाला

Uruguay
Colorado Party
Manuel Flores Silva

Uruguay
People's Government Party, PGP
Yamandú Fau
Antonio Gallicchio
Ana-Maria Solari
Felipe Michelini

United States
Democratic Party
Marvin Weissberg
Thomas Melia

Yugoslavia
Socialist Alliance
Mirko Ostojic
Dasa Sasic Silovic

Zambia
United National Independence Party, UNIP
Sundie J. Kazunga
B.M. Mwanakaoma

Armenian Socialist Party
Hrayr Mahrokhian
Jean Krikorian
Haroutioun Milikian

Eritrean People's Liberation Front, EPLF
Michael Ghebrenigus
Tseggai Tesfazion
Wolde-Ab Yisak
Teclai Menasie

Iraqi Kurdistan Front, IKF
Massoud Barzani
Roj Shawys
Hoshyar Zebari

Democratic Party of Iranian Kurdistan, PDKI
Abdul Rahman Ghassemlou
Abdola Ghaderi
Ebrahim Djourabchi

Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, PUK
Nawsherwan Mustafa Amin
Shazad Saieb
Hero Talabany

Guests — individuals

Faiz Abu Rahme
Allan Boesak
Hans Janitschek
Julius Nyerere
Lisbet Palme
Hanna Sinióra

Observers — organisations/ parties

Hungary
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party
Rezső Nyers
Ferenc Grot
Lajos Demcsak
Peter Havas

Italy
Italian Communist Party
Antonio Bassolino
Giorgio Napolitano

Poland
Polish United Workers' Party
Krzysztof Ostrowski

Soviet Union
Communist Party
Karen Brutents
Viktor Rykin
Aleksandr Weber
Alexandre Petrouchikhine

Christian Democrat International
André Louis

Liberal International
Daniel Tarschys

Palestine Liberation Organisation
Yasser Abdrabbou
Chawki Armali
Ilan Halevi
Eugene Makhlouf

SI committee: Brady Plan welcome, but still insufficient

Towards a new approach on debt and trade

'A definitive resolution of the international debt crisis must go hand in hand with an overall strategy for recovery in the world economy, expanding trade and income for South and North alike. . .

'The changing relations between major actors in the world economy could make progress towards a genuinely new international economic order possible in the 1990s. But to achieve this, parallel change is needed in both global economic policy and the international institutions.'

These were the main conclusions of the Socialist International Committee on Economic Policy (SICEP) which met in Lausanne, Switzerland on 6-7 April with 'New Imperatives for International Trade and Finance' as its theme.

Attended by some 42 experts and representatives of SI member parties, regional bodies and international institutions, the meeting enjoyed broad participation from both North and South and carried out a wide-ranging analysis of the problems facing the world economy.

It adopted the 'Lausanne declaration' which, following previous SICEP initiatives in Lima (1986), Stresa (1987), Estoril and Berlin (1988), further developed the proposals advanced in the committee's 1985 *Global Challenge* report.

Brady limits

An important item on the SICEP agenda was the new US Brady Plan on the international debt crisis.

The gathering welcomed the emphasis of the Brady Plan on

overall debt reduction — implicitly recognising that debts cannot be fully paid — and observed that such an approach was consistent with the proposals that SICEP had been making for a number of years.

Unlike the previous Baker proposals, the Brady Plan did not merely rely on easing debt-servicing and new private sector lending.

However, the meeting also noted that the Group of Seven industrialised nations had introduced substantial modifications to the original form of the Brady Plan, thus reducing its potential effectiveness.

The Lausanne declaration listed several shortcomings of the Brady Plan:

— its failure to accompany debt reduction with a clear indication as to where new financial resources (needed to stem the negative outflow of resources from debtor nations) would come from;

— its continued insistence on a case-by-case approach in debt negotiations (thus failing to address the unequal relationship between North and South);

— its continued support for IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programmes which imposed welfare spending cuts, devaluation, deflation and deregulation, regardless of the specific social and economic needs of each individual country; and

— its failure to address protectionism in OECD countries (which hinders the efforts of developing countries to repay debt through economic growth).

In response, the Lausanne dec-



Trading ideas: participants further develop the ideas of the Global Challenge report

laration asserted that a comprehensive strategy over the debt crisis must promote sustained economic growth and trade — both in and between the North and the South — and provide the latter with the adequate resources it needed to restructure. This would mean a major new issue of special drawing rights to developing countries.

Without such a policy of adjustment with growth, it went on, the Brady Plan ran the risk of being a short-term panacea which would do nothing to cope with the debt crisis in the long term. A global strategy was needed rather than a case-by-case approach.

Reiterating the call made its September 1988 meeting in Berlin (see 1-2/88, page 31-32), SICEP's statement stressed the need for a major redistribution of resources from the North to the South across the world economy.

Among the specific measures proposed by the Lausanne SICEP meeting to resolve the debt crisis were the following:

- the conversion of the debts of the poorest countries, in particular those of sub-Saharan Africa, into grants;
- the cancellation of a major share of multilateral and public debts (which account for most of Africa's debt and a third of Latin America's);
- the possible sale by the IMF of part of its gold reserves;
- the rescheduling of remaining third world debt (including principal repayments by those Latin American countries whose current scale of indebtedness not only limits their import capacity, but also threatens the security of financial institutions in the first world);
- the implementation of the South Commission's recommendations to (i) transfer secondary market discounts on debt to the developing countries and to (ii) reduce the burden of interest payments through capitalisation and/or repayment in local currency;
- the restriction of third world

- debt repayments to a limited proportion of economic growth;
- the maintenance and expansion of aid programmes, irrespective of debt reduction agreements;
- the restoration of eligibility for loans of those countries in arrears with the IMF; and
- the introduction of measures to stem capital flight from the developing countries (including taxes in the countries of destination and steps to recycle the funds).

Trade recovery

The Lausanne declaration stressed that any effort to deal with the debt crisis in the South would also have to deal with the United States' US\$500 billion external debt.

The debt had led to unacceptably high interest rate levels and to a major burden on developing countries in the servicing of their debt.

Underlying the United States' debt was the country's trade deficit. But moves to reduce the

budget and trade deficit could lead to a contraction of imports from the rest of the world. This would have a serious effect on Latin American exports and further aggravate the continent's debt difficulties.

The declaration stated that a coordinated strategy of recovery in world trade would require the cooperation of the OECD countries, in particular the EC and Japan.

Indeed, if the United States was to reduce interest rates and its twin deficits (through an expansion of exports and limits on domestic growth and imports), those countries would have to expand internal demand. Japan should also continue to liberalise its trade regime.

But while recognising that a coordinated response would make sense in global terms, the governments of countries like Japan and West Germany, for example, had been unwilling to take the initiative.

The underlying problem, the

document noted, was that the end of dollar dominance in the world economy (following the 1971 devaluation) had not been offset by a coherent framework for trade negotiations, either within the framework of the OECD or the UN.

The absence of such a framework was partly due to the crisis of confidence in Keynesian economic management in the wake of the OPEC oil price 'shocks' of 1973 and 1979, and also to monetarism's subsequent insistence on floating exchange rates and reduced government intervention.

However, it was becoming increasingly clear that a reliance on market forces would not be able to deal with structural imbalances in global trade and payments. The recent concern of the Japanese government to reduce third world debt, for example, was aimed at sustaining the developing world's demand for the country's exports.

European challenge

The SICEP meeting remarked that the creation of a single European market in 1992 could provide major opportunities for both EC member states and the rest of the world, but only if it promoted freer world trade.

Much depended on whether the EC would be able to match its economic clout in the world economy with financial leadership. In this sense, the significance of the current moves towards monetary union and the possible creation of a central bank went way beyond the EC.

Indeed, monetary cooperation could either be deflationary or expansionary. If the EC created a central bank along the lines of the West German Bundesbank or the US Federal Reserve, the scope for community governments to promote a recovery in global trade would be reduced, thus negatively affecting efforts to deal with the US trade deficit and third world debt.

In such an event the pressure for the introduction of protectionist measures could prove irresistible. The United States and the developing countries already had grounds for claiming that the moves towards protectionist tariffs and preferential agreements by regional trading zones had been modelled on European action.

The Lausanne declaration also

stated that the conclusion of a new Lomé IV agreement in 1989 between the EC and the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries provided an important opportunity to promote global cooperation for development.

As well as providing greater financial aid and enlarging the Stabex fund, the new agreement should reduce protectionism, especially in the agricultural sector, promote local processing through improved market access for ACP goods and also stimulate more effective regional cooperation between ACP countries.

Regional cooperation

While welcoming the creation of regional trading bodies and common markets in recent years, the SICEP meeting advised that such a trend should provide a framework for multilateral cooperation, rather than confrontation.

SICEP identified a number of advantages offered by greater regional cooperation.

As well as creating larger markets and increasing economies of scale, closer regional cooperation would improve the bargaining position of the developing nations on the world market. South-East Asia or Central America would be much stronger actors than Thailand or Honduras.

It could also lead to a more diverse balance of power in the global economy and world politics.

At present, decisions were dictated by a minority of industrialised nations and did not reflect the overall interests of all countries and peoples. But this could change if there were a dozen world regions rather than 170 individual countries, each with their own cultures, social and political structures, and differing levels of economic development. The task of global coordination would be eased.

Regional cooperation could also increase the coherency and effectiveness of international aid programmes, thus ending a situation in which a multiplicity of donors pursued uncoordinated and partially contradictory policies.

The agreement between the Nordic countries and the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) of the Frontline States has shown the potential for such cooperation.

In regions that were socially and culturally homogeneous, closer coordination could ensure that programmes were better tailored to local needs.

SICEP added that regional cooperation could reduce political tension and military conflict, thus leading to a process of disarmament. Larger economic zones were also potentially common security zones.

Institutional reform

SICEP's Lausanne statement declared that it would take more than piecemeal reforms of existing multilateral institutions for there to be an effective system of accountability in global economic decision-making.

Such institutions had merely responded to the prevailing interests of a minority of nations for far too long.

In the case of the IMF, the document proposed that there should be an international monetary agreement.

Going beyond the summit meetings of the leading nations, such an institutional arrangement would empower governments to instruct the IMF to pursue policies that were compatible with new priorities for the joint management of the world economy.

Moreover, the lesser developed countries would have the right to participate in such an international monetary agreement, thus helping to redress the current situation in which they exerted little influence over the decisions of the IMF and the World Bank.

The Lausanne declaration also asserted the urgent need to revitalise the UN in both the political and economic spheres, proposing the following steps: — the launch of a new international development strategy for the 1990s (Development Decade IV);

— the implementation of the Common Fund for Commodities which already has been ratified by the required number of 90 states; — the finalisation at the earliest opportunity of negotiations on a UN code of conduct on transnational corporations; — the more wide-spread ratification of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea; and — the development of international law on the environment and its codification in multilateral and regional conventions.

Given the crucial link between development and population growth, the destruction of the environment and the exhaustion of natural resources, stronger support should also be given to the UN Environment Programme, the UN Development Programme and the UN Population Fund.

SICEP drew particular attention to the serious threat of environmental catastrophe and proposed a series of joint measures by both North and South to avert it, including the write-off of debts as an incentive for the relevant countries in the South to preserve the rain forests.

Towards a new order

SICEP pointed out that changes in the world situation were creating the potential for much wider international cooperation and that multilateral institutions had to take account of such developments.

It observed that the Soviet Union might apply to join the Bretton Woods institutions and that the world's largest developing country — China — should be given a greater role in international bodies.

The easing of east-west tension provided a major opportunity to make progress on north-south relations.

The Lausanne declaration stressed that the interdependence of the major issues of debt, trade and the environment required a new major policy response.

This would combine effective international cooperation with a respect for political action and choice at the national level, thus allowing for different models of development according to the specific needs, values and aims of each country. Such diversity would allow for both the mixed economy and socialised development.

Noting that the decade since the 1981 Cancun summit had been a decade of wasted opportunities, the Lausanne meeting backed the call of SI president, Willy Brandt, for a new north-south summit. This would set the agenda for dealing with problems of development and the environment into the 1990s.

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK:

New US debt plan, page 77

HORIZONS:

Half-baked solutions, page 48



Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley opens the meeting

SICLAC meets in Kingston

The Socialist International Committee on Latin America and the Caribbean (SICLAC) met in Kingston, Jamaica on 30-31 May to discuss current political developments in the region.

The main themes on the agenda were the question of foreign debt and its implications for democracy and development, as well as the challenges for democratic socialism in the area.

Opened by Michael Manley, the Jamaican prime minister and president of the Peoples' National Party, the meeting was chaired by José Francisco Peña Gómez, SICLAC chairman and leader of the Dominican Revolutionary Party of the Dominican Republic.

Resolutions

The meeting adopted resolutions on the situation in a number of individual countries.

On **Panama**, SICLAC agreed to propose that the SI suspend the Democratic Revolutionary Party

from consultative membership, if by the time of the SI's eighteenth Congress in June the party had not given a clear demonstration of its commitment to democratic principles.

Echoing the SI's earlier condemnation of the 'climate of manipulation' in which the Panamanian elections on 7 May had been held, SICLAC rejected the Panamanian government's decision to annul the elections and stated that the crisis could only be resolved if the people were allowed to exercise their democratic will freely.

The committee voiced its support for dialogue between all sides to find a solution and gave its backing to the efforts of the Organisation of America States to achieve this objective.

On **Nicaragua**, the committee welcomed the 'advances in the democratic process' and expressed its hope that the Nicaraguan people would be able to

choose their government freely and democratically.

It also called for all governments, both inside and outside Central America, to support the peace accords reached by the presidents of the five Central American countries.

In the resolution on **El Salvador**, SICLAC demanded that the authorities in the country respect the Esquipulas peace accords and reiterated its support for a negotiated solution to the conflict.

At the same time it expressed its concern at the increase in human rights violations since the March presidential elections and called for the physical and moral integrity of the leaders of the National Revolutionary Movement, the SI's member party in El Salvador, to be respected.

On **Guatemala**, the committee condemned the attempted military coup in May and expressed its support for the contribution made by the Democratic Socialist Party to the democratisation process in the country.

In the case of **Puerto Rico** the committee viewed optimistically the recent initiatives by the United States to resolve the political status of the island and urged respect for the right of the Puerto Rican people to self-determination.

SICLAC also approved statements on Haiti and Chile.

Noting the deteriorating social and political situation in **Haiti** and the incapacity of the armed forces to resolve the crisis, SICLAC called for the government of General Prosper Avril to take concrete steps to transfer power to a constitutionally elected government.

Meanwhile, on **Chile**, the committee pledged to work for the successful holding of the elections planned for 14 December and to denounce any attempt to frustrate the democratic expression of the will of the people.

Urging the Chilean democratic forces to maintain the unity demonstrated in the October 1988 plebiscite campaign, SICLAC expressed its conviction that only the peaceful electoral road could lead to a return to democracy in Chile and that confrontational or violent strategies should be rejected.

Only through free elections and the subordination of military power to civilian government, the resolution declared, would a democratic socialist government be able to emerge and return economic and social justice to the country.



New Paraguayan president, General Andrés Rodríguez, receives the SI mission

Irregularities, but a step nearer democracy, delegation concludes

SI watches Paraguay poll

A delegation of the Socialist International (SI) was in Paraguay on 1 May to observe the presidential and parliamentary elections.

The elections were held just three months after dictator General Alfredo Stroessner had been overthrown on 3 February.

Led by Elena Flores, chairwoman of the SI Committee for Paraguay and international secretary of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE), the other members of the delegation were: Luis Ayala of the SI; Luis Alfaro Uccero of Democratic Action

(AD), Venezuela; Rafael Greco and Margarita Pericas Sansone of the Democratic Labour Party (PDT), Brazil; R Bruce McCole and Douglas Payne of Social Democrats USA (SDUSA); Reuben Sadan of the United Workers' Party (MAPAM), Israel; and Justo Zambrana of PSOE.

Along with other democratic forces, the Revolutionary Febrerista Party (PRF), the SI's member party in Paraguay, had decided to participate in the elections for the first time in decades.

The presidential contest was won by the new military leader of the country, General Andrés Rodríguez, who stood as the candidate of the ruling Colorado Party.

Conclusions

While recognising that greater public freedoms had been allowed than on previous occasions, the delegation noted that the elections had been held in an overall context that was not fully democratic.

It pointed to a number of irregularities in the poll, in particular the

deficiencies of the electoral register, and witnessed numerous instances of 'excesses' on the part of Colorado Party members.

Such excesses were characteristic of the fraudulent tactics that had been practiced under the toppled Stroessner regime.

The delegation concluded that the elections were the first step in the democratisation process in Paraguay and expressed its hope that the new government would fulfil its promises of reform before the next electoral contest in 1993.

It also praised the positive way in which the opposition had conducted its campaign under difficult circumstances.

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK:
Irregularities mar general's victory, page 90

Lost opportunity for peace, says SI mission

Violence overshadows El Salvador elections

A mission of the Socialist International (SI) visited El Salvador from March 17-20 to observe the presidential elections held on 19 March.

The delegation's members were: Luis Ayala of the SI; Marie Duflo of the Socialist Party (PS), France; José Luis García Raya of the Socialist Group of the European Parliament; Lynn Hunter of the New Democratic Party (NDP), Canada; Patrick Lacefield of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), the United States; Arturo Lizón of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE); and María Rodríguez-Jonas, the general secretary of Socialist International Women (SIW).

Background

The mission had been invited by the SI's member party in the country, the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR).

The leader of the MNR, Guillermo Ungo, was standing for the centre-left Democratic Convergence (CD) coalition, having returned to El Salvador from exile in the wake of the 1987 Esquipulas Central American peace accord.

This was the first time that the democratic left was taking part in the electoral process since the civil war began in El Salvador in 1979. It had previously been prevented from participating by the level of government repression and the absence of official guarantees for its leaders.

According to the Catholic Church's human rights' office, there had been a sharp rise in human rights violations in the run up to the elections. But the CD had decided to participate in the elections in an effort to present the Salvadorean electorate with

the alternative of a negotiated political solution to the civil war.

Aware that participation would be a race against time, the CD also saw the presidential contest as a chance to build up its political organisation. It came fourth with 4 per cent of the vote.

The elections were won by the ultra-right Arena party, which gained power from the US-backed Christian Democrats.

Observations

On polling day, members of the SI delegation travelled to different parts of El Salvador to observe the voting procedure and the counting of the vote.

Each member reported a number of irregularities at the polling stations they visited.

Of particular note were the climate of war and militarisation in

which the election was held; the intimidating presence of Arena activists at all polling stations; the doctoring of electoral lists; and the arrest of CD officials monitoring the poll.

The delegation's overall impression was that the vote had been far from secret; and that the authorities had failed to provide an honest, competent and non-partisan body to run the elections.

The delegation also noted that the conflict had prevented a large proportion of the population from casting their vote, despite possessing valid documentation.

It saw the low turnout as an expression of fear rather than choice, as the army and the FMLN guerrillas employed violence and intimidation on polling day.

Conclusions

The delegation took note of the MNR's view that the FMLN's continuation with its military campaign had damaged the CD's efforts to present its policies and solutions for the conflict to the Salvadorean people.

Given the dismal turnout and the climate of violence, the delegation concluded that the results of the election could not be interpreted as reflecting a free and genuinely democratic choice on the part of the Salvadorean people.

Lamenting that an opportunity had been lost to make progress towards peace, respect for human rights and reconciliation in El Salvador, the delegation reiterated the SI's view that only a negotiated settlement to the conflict will provide the basis for lasting peace and democracy in the country.

On leaving El Salvador the SI delegation vowed to step up its support for the MNR.

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK: *Right gains power, page 79*

Urgent appointment: flanked by members of the SI delegation, presidential candidate Guillermo Ungo arrives to cast his vote



Popper



Half-baked solutions

It is over three years since the then US treasury secretary, James Baker, unveiled his plan for dealing with the third world debt. But with growing social discontent in Latin America, the crisis is far from over.

In response, the Bush administration has held a policy review on the debt issue, the results of which are now taking shape in the form of the new Brady Plan. **JOEL FREEDMAN** argues that piecemeal solutions must come to an end if democracy is to survive.

It has become conventional wisdom for many experts to claim that the so-called Baker Plan for the third world debt problem has failed. But James Baker has risen to become US secretary of state; and David Mulford, who played an important role in the emergence of the original Plan as assistant secretary for international affairs at the Treasury, has been promoted to under-secretary.

It remains to be seen whether Baker II (or rather the Brady Plan — named after the new treasury secretary, Nicholas F. Brady, Baker's successor) will eventually represent a major change in policy. But it is only through an understanding of how the original Baker Plan came about that one can formulate a coherent response to its successor. Those who believe that democracy and human rights should be at

the heart of any solution to the debt problem would therefore do well to study the situation carefully.

Easing strain

It is easy to forget that International Monetary Fund's (IMF) economic stabilisation programme for Mexico was collapsing when the Baker Plan was announced at the IMF's annual meeting in Seoul, South Korea, in October 1985. At the time, arrears on loans to Mexico amounted to 50 per cent of equity of four of the largest commercial banks in the United States; and in 1982, total US bank exposure to the 15 most indebted countries was US\$90 billion, or 136 per cent of gross capital funds.

Such exposure meant that banks were forced to make 'involuntary' new loans to ensure continued interest payments on old debt. Smaller and regional banks which were not as exposed to default threatened to break ranks with the big banks.

By January of this year, however, Robert Clarke, US comptroller of the Currency, was able to report that 'the vulnerability of the US banking system to lesser developed country debt performance has lessened significantly.' For his part, Manuel Johnson, vice-chairman of the Federal Reserve, also noted that 'US banks

are in a better position to absorb the impact of any suspension of debt servicing by foreign borrowers.' And William Seldman, chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, said that while there would be continuing exposure for some major banks, 'we cannot foresee any bank failures resulting from L.D.C. exposure alone.' The \$90 billion total of 1982 has now fallen to \$76 billion — a mere 58 per cent of gross capital funds rather than 136 per cent — and the banks are no longer confronted with the crisis they faced before the plan was introduced.

Baker's political success in bailing out the banks has provided him with good credentials for the larger international role he is now assuming as secretary of state. Hopefully, this might at least give the Bush administration the opportunity to seek new ways of alleviating the debt burden on developing countries. For while the Baker Plan did manage to give the banks a breathing space, it signally failed in its secondary goal of encouraging new lending and of thus stimulating economic growth.

Drastic costs

In theory, the Baker Plan envisaged new loans of \$29 billion to the 15 biggest debtors over a three-year period. \$20 billion was to come from the commercial banks and the remainder in loans for economic restructuring from the multilateral agencies, in particular the World Bank.

But whatever money entered quickly flowed out to service the debt. In 1988, the 17 most indebted developing nations gave industrial countries and multilateral lending institutions \$31.1 billion more than they received; and for the entire third world the net outflow was \$43 billion. Latin America's interest payments are now 5.5 per cent of its total production — twice the amount Germany attempted to pay between 1925 and 1932 and with horrific consequences. (In 1982, on the other hand, there was an \$18.2 billion net inflow.)

It is on this outflow of resources that the less exposed position of the US banks is now based.

The World Bank has warned that this drain on savings and investment is a 'new and significant restraint on the expansion' of the less developed world. As US Democratic Senator Bill Bradley has argued: 'The Baker Plan spurred capital flight by raising rather than lowering the level of debt and undermining the confidence of domestic investors.'

According to Bradley, the plan also failed in its aim to produce growth because it did not trade debt relief for economic

Chairman of the International Affairs Committee of Social Democrats USA (SDUSA), **Joel Freedman** has represented the AFL-CIO at the International Labour Organisation and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. He has also contributed to the work of the Sanford Commission for Recovery and Development in Central America.

reform: 'Growth requires reforms that can be politically painful. The Baker Plan undercuts the political base for reform. That's why the Baker Plan was not responsible for one significant sustained Latin economic reform over the last three years.'

Instead, the plan advocated further indebtedness and delivered poor economic performance in Latin America. Throughout the region dwindling foreign reserves and increased capital flight have been accompanied by recession, negative growth rates and a deterioration in the terms of trade.

The effect of these worsening economic conditions in Latin America has been to further reduce living standards that were already low: per capita real income has dropped to the level of the the 1950's and unemployment and underemployment have both sharply increased. As a result, the unequal distribution of wealth has become even more pronounced. During the 'lost decade' of the 1980s, workers' real wages have fallen 24 per cent in Venezuela, 26 per cent in Chile, 33 per cent in Brazil and 47 per cent in Mexico. And these workers are the 'lucky' ones who have retained their jobs. World Bank statistics suggest that the richest ten per cent of the Brazilian population receive 50 per cent of national income; and in Mexico, the most affluent ten per cent account for 40

per cent of national income. The comparative figure for the United States is 23.3 per cent, which is close to the average for industrialised countries.

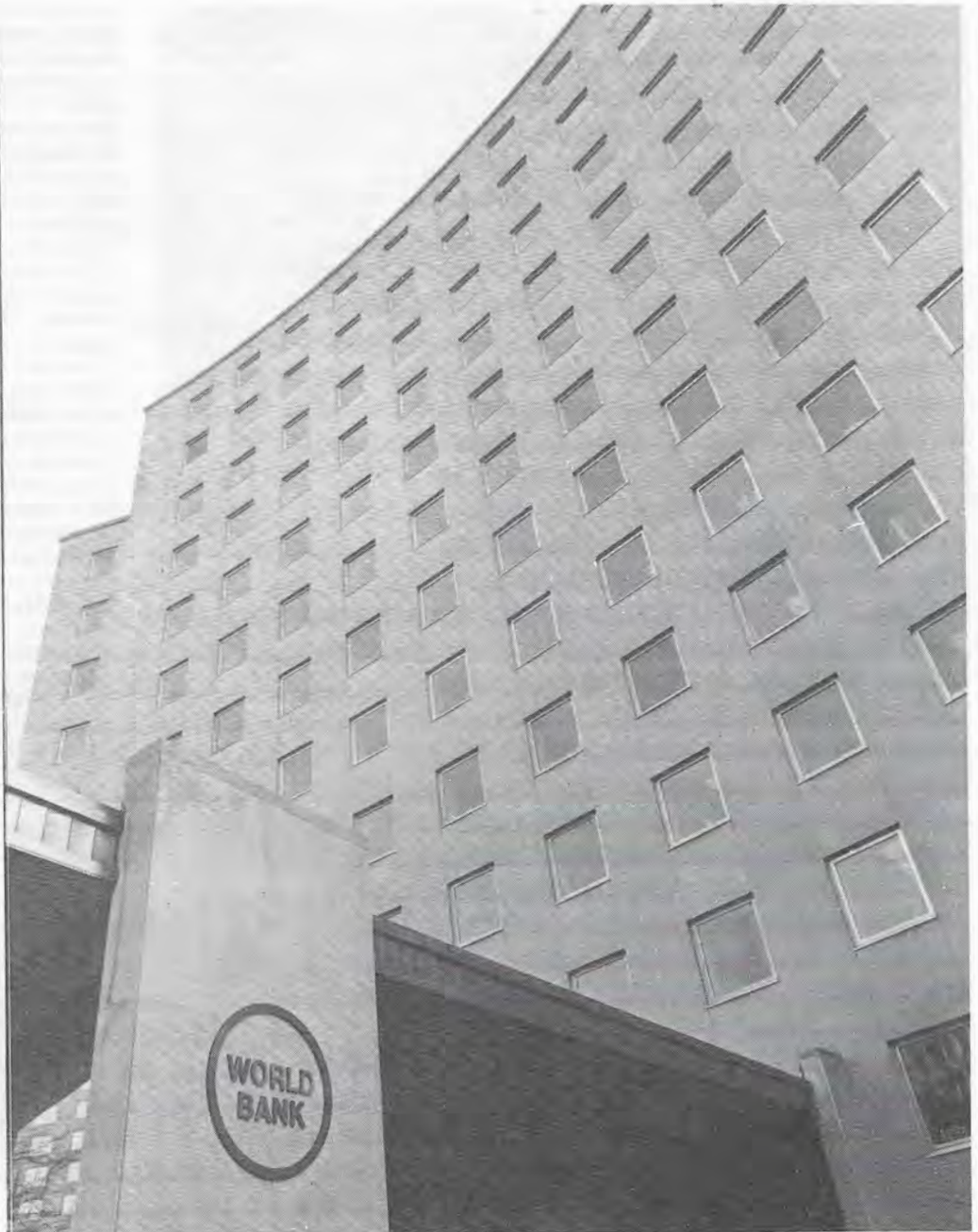
To say that working people in Latin America and the labour unions that represent them have reacted with increasing restlessness is to grossly understate the political dangers that the deteriorating economic situation has already caused. The threat that the emerging democracies will be unable to

satisfy the expectations of their peoples for an improvement in their economic lot is not far off on the political horizon; and as the problem increasingly becomes one of physical survival, there is the danger that the masses will accept, support or even demand the kind of radical political change that is at odds with political freedom and the protection of human dignity. As Venezuela's new president, Carlos Andrés Pérez, said in the wake of the recent rioting in his country: 'The unrest is the result of

a crisis called the foreign debt. . . 1989 will be the year of a new approach to the debt or the destruction of democracy in the region.'

Shared responsibilities

Urgent action is clearly needed. As Lane Kirkland, the president of the US American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), has said: 'A way must be found to end the



Windows of hope?: the World Bank headquarters in Washington DC

Network

recycling of capital from banks through the pockets of tyrants, criminals, frauds and exploiters, and by capital flight back to other external banks. This cycle leaves in its wake no value, but mounting debt to be serviced endlessly by the sacrifice of the innocent and the further impoverishment of the poor.'

In times of national crisis, workers have always accepted sacrifices for the greater good of the community. But this has been when the burden has been equitably shared. In this case it is not the rich, the banks or the governments who are suffering. It is the workers who are hungry and feeling the pain of austerity.

Likewise, democratic leaders in Latin America do not claim that 'all fault lies with the North Americans.' Their complaint is that the conventional approach to the debt problem ignores the principle of mutual responsibility. They feel that they have already paid too much while the banks have been 'getting away with murder.'

It is not the Latin Americans who are responsible for the rising interest rates that are caused in the main by US fiscal and monetary policies. Nor are they to blame for low commodity prices. Their democracies have debt obligations because their predecessors accepted large

loans, most of which were squandered on unproductive projects while bankers looked the other way. It is of course true that some money was used to paper over balance of payments deficits and that local currencies were allowed to remain overvalued. But the international banks cannot avoid their share of responsibility: eagerly seeking to earn interest on recycled oil surpluses, it was they who promoted uncreditworthy loans. And many of these went into private accounts.

'Apologists for the market must live by its consequences. And that means lenders accepting some of the costs of their own poor judgement.'

The issue of capital flight is one that the Latin American countries desperately need to control. As one member of the US Federal Reserve Board put it: 'The

problem is not that Latin Americans don't have assets. They do. The problem is that they're all in Miami.'

Another writer noted: 'The basic role played by US banks to Latin America was that of a middleman between the short-term deposits of the countries' elites and the medium-term loans demanded by their governments. . . . Indeed, because of such policies the United States is actually a net debtor of Latin American countries.'

The involvement of the Latin American elites in such 'selfish investment' is not unique. They are behaving in no less rational a way than the Japanese, Germans, Taiwanese and others who are currently 'investing' in and lending to the biggest debtor in the world — the US economy. US policies also encourage capital flight from other nations. Non-resident foreigners who invest in the United States, for example, enjoy handsome tax benefits. And high real interest rates, of course, also attract capital to the United States.

Towards a new approach

The present debt burden of many Latin American countries simply cannot be borne. But the question is not whether loans and interest will be repaid. Rather it is whether something constructive can

Outward flow: loading exports at the Brazilian port of Santos

Frank Spooner



be achieved in the process of lightening the burden. In line with the law of market forces which they so extol, the banks will have to accept smaller profit margins, thus allowing space for a kind of Latin American economic *perestroika*. According to some financial experts, this would provide such long-term benefits to the United States that the private banks would be wiser cooperating with a process of restructuring rather than obstructing it.

In return for economic reform, the Latin American countries require significant and assured debt reduction, including measures to reduce principal and interest repayments.

The AFL-CIO advocates the creation of new international mechanisms for the purchase of debt at a discount on the secondary market and the negotiation of a new deal — linked to economic reform — with the debtor nations. After considerable AFL-CIO lobbying, the general thrust of this approach formed part of the trade bill passed by the US Congress in 1988.

According to the bill, the treasury secretary must report to Congress on the feasibility of creating an institution to look at new ways of handling the third world debt issue. US banking agencies must also report to Congress on whether there are any regulatory obstacles to a



Eye of a needle and third world debt: James Baker, former US Treasury chief and now secretary of state

Topham

CONNECTIONS

**WORLDWATCH
INSTITUTE**

1776 Massachusetts
Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036
USA

(202) 452-1999

The Worldwatch Institute is an independent, non-profit research organisation conceived and designed in 1974 by William M. Dietel of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and Lester R. Brown.

It was established to alert decision-makers and the general public to emerging global trends in the availability and management of resources

— both human and natural. The research programme analyses issues from a global perspective and within an interdisciplinary framework. It is designed to fill the gap left by traditional analyses in providing information needed by decision-makers in today's rapidly changing and interdependent world.

The results of the Institute's research projects are published in Worldwatch papers and books and scholarly and popular periodicals. These publications are used by government officials, journalists, economists, business leaders, development specialists, environmentalists, professors and students in 122 countries.

To date Worldwatch has produced 15 books, all of which have been published commercially by W.N. Norton & Co. in New York and

London. Worldwatch has also published more than 80 papers on particular issues in energy, food policy, population, development, technology, the environment, human resources and economics. The books and papers have been translated into more than 25 languages.

In 1984, the institute initiated the State of the World series, an annual assessment of the world's resources and how they are managed. The latest 1989 report has just been released.

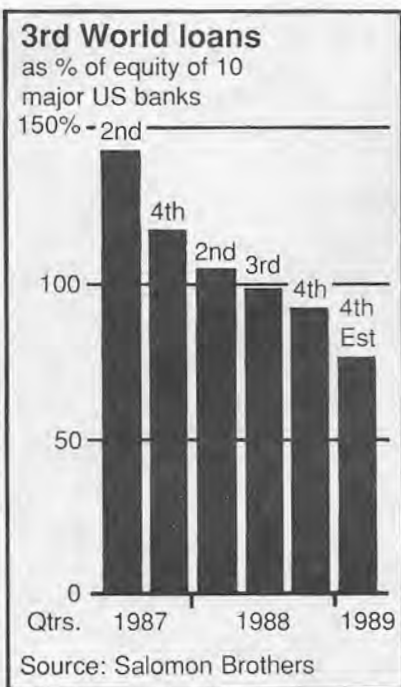
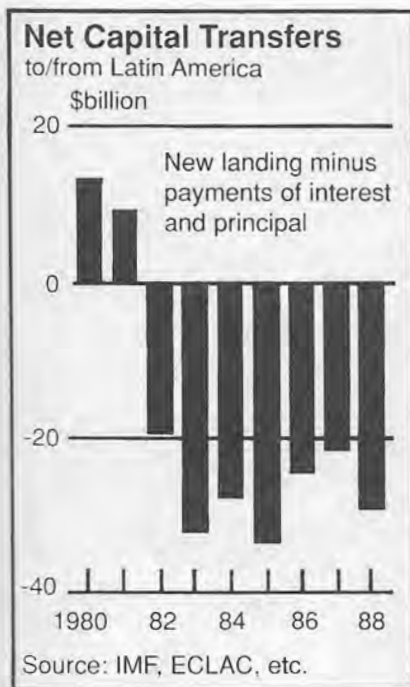
Each year, the State of the World report measures progress towards an economic system that is sustainable and established a framework and set of criteria with which to evaluate various initiatives. The reports recognise important achievements by governments, non-governmental organisations and individuals.

By quickly disseminating informations through these reports, Worldwatch hopes to provide global society with a sense of direction, showing where important gains have been made and where we are falling behind.

In 1988, the institute launched a bi-monthly magazine, World Watch, which presents topical feature stories on energy, population, food production, social trends, the environment and sustainable development.

Chairman: Orville L. Freeman
President: Lester R. Brown

Connections is for information only, and implies no endorsement or approval by SOCIALIST AFFAIRS or the Socialist International.



Financial Times

negotiated reduction of the developing countries' debt obligations.

Democratic Senator Paul Sarbanes, chairman of the subcommittee of the Senate Banking Committee which is concerned with international finance and monetary policy, has also advocated the formation of an international debt management agency. But Harvard economist Jeffrey Sachs suggests that even if such an agency is established, '... the content of conditionality and the concerns of the creditors should be extended beyond budgetary control (IMF-style) and microeconomic efficiency (Baker Plan-style) to include considerations of equity and the strengthening of democratic institutions.'

The Bush administration's current proposals for a continuation with the fundamental principles of the Baker Plan will not involve a sweeping solution for all debtors, since once again the main focus of concern is to take care of the big banks. Indeed, the new Brady Plan relies on encouraging the banks to voluntarily forgive part of the debt; and on the IMF and the World Bank to guarantee debt reduction programmes. It cannot work unless the banks go along.

Under the Brady Plan, the commercial banks will write off approximately 20 per cent of the old debt. In return they will receive guarantees that the remaining 80 per cent will be repaid. And should the

banks choose to reduce interest rates on the old debt to rates below their market value, international financial institutions will provide financial support to guarantee payment at these new lower rates.

Apologists for the market must live by its consequences. And that means lenders accepting some of the costs of their own poor judgement. Going by the real market value of the debt, they have already made substantial losses. The Mexican debt is priced at 43 per cent of its original market value, the Brazilian debt at 40 per cent, the Ecuadorean debt at 13 per cent and the Bolivian debt at 11 per cent.

Under normal circumstances the commercial banks would lose half the money owed to them if the Latin American countries defaulted on the same portion of their debt. But the Brady Plan, envisages the banks losing a mere 20 per cent, the rest in effect being guaranteed by the taxpayers of the IMF's member nations.

But as the AFL-CIO has said: 'There is no reason why the world's taxpayers should guarantee any portion of the bad loans made by the commercial banks. . . Those banks entered into those loans at their own risk. They have set aside additional reserves to cushion the impact of defaults; and in the real financial world, they have already lost over half the money they loaned out. The banks should not need an "inducement" to recognise [this loss] in their books. The workers and

taxpayers of those countries which contribute to the international financial institutions should not be expected to guarantee loans that are already in great part unpayable. [This] would be an act of stupidity unprecedented in the history of international financial transactions.'

With interest rates reduced according to the real market worth of the debt rather than on the original value of the loans, the size of debts could be more realistic. It is interest payments which Leonel Brizola, Brazil's Democratic Labour Party candidate for this year's presidential elections, cites as the most onerous part of the debt.

Opponents of debt reduction argue that new loans, required for economic growth and investment, will not be forthcoming if the banks are obliged to write off much of the old debt. But the fact is that the banks are not making such loans now; and this, in part, is due the false value given to old debt. Thus, rather than being an obstacle, the revaluation of old debt could be a step towards renewed lending. In the 1930s only Argentina serviced its full debt. In the case of the nations that had defaulted, new money was made available once economic conditions improved and after prolonged moratoriums had ended.

Priceless asset

So far too much of the debate has been conducted from the arcane perspective of international finance. Economists and financiers are committed to technical variables that can be quantified. But democracy and its associated benefits

'The threat that the emerging democracies will be unable to satisfy the expectations of their peoples for an improvement in their economic lot is not far off on the political horizon.'

cannot be treated as if they were part of a computer programme. The market value of democracy is beyond quantification and the threat that the debt crisis poses to the consolidation of democratic institutions in the third world cannot be stressed vigorously enough.

As President Perez warns: 'While democracy has become a deep need for the people of Latin America in the 1980s, they are disturbed by this terrible economic crisis which threatens to make the process of democratisation an illusion.'

The costs of the debt crisis must not be placed at the feet of the Latin American people. Debt relief and future loans and investment must of course be made conditional on reforms that may cause temporary hardship. But care must be taken to maintain basic levels of nutrition, public health and education; and fundamental human and labour rights enshrined in the Charter of the Organization of American States and the conventions of the International Labour Organization must not be infringed.

Most strategies for overcoming the debt crisis do refer to the inviolability of such rights. But all too often, as we have seen with the Helsinki accords, such commitments are ignored when it comes to the actual implementation of international agreements. This is why it is of crucial importance for trade union and human rights organisations to play a strong role in the discussions over debt. The practices of European and Japanese business interests in Latin America should also be subject to scrutiny, for they too have often been non-committal about the value of democracy and human rights.

Latin American countries will face competition for future funds with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the eastern bloc. Western sources report that the Soviet foreign debt rose by 68.8 per cent between 1984-87 to a total of \$38 billion, amounting to 35 per cent and 87 per cent of export earnings respectively. Meanwhile, the debt service ratio was up from 14 per cent of gross national product in 1983 to 23 per cent in 1987.

As with Latin America, it is an alarming fact that the Soviet Union and the eastern bloc countries have in the past found it easier to obtain money than put it to efficient use. 'We borrowed a lot of money and did not use it properly. Some of the equipment bought is still lying in the snow,' says Eduard Gosten, deputy chairman of the Soviet Bank for Foreign Economic Affairs.

Given the failure of the Soviet bloc countries to fulfil their pregnant promises on human rights, the human rights community should insist that the democracies of Latin America be given priority access to scarce resources. Indeed, Senator Bradley has argued that the economic recovery of Latin America is more important to the interests of the United States. But for democratic socialists, a much stronger argument applies: we identify with the world's poor;

and solidarity and the provision of assistance are a moral responsibility. The fact that the new democracies in the South are at stake merely lends additional weight to our case.

Global Challenge, the report of the Socialist International Committee on

'Economists and financiers are committed to technical variables that can be quantified. But democracy and its associated benefits cannot be treated as if they were part of a computer programme.'

Economic Policy, concluded that 'Latin America and the Caribbean have suffered significantly as a result of the global crisis, and yet have managed to establish democratic governments in most countries

of the region. Those who champion the growth of the Asian quartet of newly industrialising countries — not noted for their internal democracy — should recognise this important democratic progress. The industrialised democracies should feel a special responsibility to ensure that democracy and development are realisable goals.'

A new international debt agency may or may not be created. A new approach may or may not emerge as a result of the Bush administration's policy review, from the IMF, the Group of Seven industrialised nations, the European countries or from Japan. But whatever happens, democratic socialists and the international human rights community should be ready to use their principles as a yardstick in any evaluation of proposals for a solution to the debt problem.

Accountants and bankers may have considerable power over third world debt. But they should not have the power to destroy democracy and consign nations and their peoples to a lack of political freedom.



RETROSPECTIVE

Reconstruction of the Socialist International

The chairman then read out the resolution on the reconstitution of the Socialist International and put it to the vote . . .

When the chairman announced the unanimous vote in favour of the resolution, the doors of the congress hall opened and four red falcons carried a huge flag bearing the inscription 'The Socialist International' to the platform and handed it over to the chairman.

The chairman, handing the flag over to Morgan Phillips, chairman of the sub-committee of the International Socialist Conference, said: 'On behalf of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, I present this flag to the Socialist International on this great occasion of its rebirth.

Morgan Phillips (Great Britain),

accepting the flag, said he accepted it with all humility. Tribute was due to those who had laid the foundations on which the present generation could build. It was a great task with which the socialists of today were confronted, not only in Europe but everywhere where free people met. The flag that had been presented to the Socialist International was a symbol of freedom, democracy and peace, and of socialism.

The delegates, cheering enthusiastically, rose to their feet and sang the first verse of the 'International'.

From the report of the first congress of the Socialist International, Frankfurt, 30 June to 3 July 1951.

The hopes of the revolution

The French Revolution was a founding act of democracy and a key precursor of the socialist ideal. That is why this year's bicentenary celebrations are of direct relevance to the challenges of today, explains **PIERRE MAUROY**.

For French socialists the French Revolution is the founding act of democracy and that is why bicentenary celebrations should be commensurate with the event's importance in French history and that of humanity.

The memory of the revolution is of natural interest to those throughout the world who are committed to the values of democracy, freedom and human rights. But it has a special significance for socialists and for the member parties of the Socialist International.

Democracy is at the heart of our socialist convictions. It is the idea according to which everyone can decide everything. But for us, the application of democratic principles has no limits, be this in politics, in the strict sense of the term, or in the

economic, social and cultural sphere. The basis of socialism, in the words of Jaurès, is 'democracy to the end.' It is the unlimited development, not only of human rights, but also of citizens' responsibility.

Historical goals

It is this concept of 'limitless democracy' that was born between 1789 and 1799 during the confused, chaotic and — at times dark, at others glorious — period that was the Revolution. And that was the aim of those who embodied such an act of enormous upheaval. For the first time, the ideas of popular sovereignty (instead of monarchy by divine right), of public freedoms and guarantees, and of an open society free of all forms of oppression, became intimately linked. It is these ideas, which were totally new at the time, which represent the true lesson of 1789.

In other words, the commemoration of the Revolution is not about raking the ashes of events that are mere historical memories and have no link with the present. On the contrary, it is about assessing which of the Revolution's



lessons are still valid in today's world. This is the case for many countries and above all for France.

If the originality of the American war of independence — which North Americans also call a 'revolution' — has been to base political society on the 'pursuit of happiness', the originality of the French Revolution (in particular from 1792, when the Republic was conclusively founded) has been to set out objectives which can only be achieved collectively and in the far distance of history: liberty, equality, fraternity.

We socialists know that the struggle for liberty is still far from won, even in the developed industrialised societies; that in

First secretary of the French Socialist Party, **Pierre Mauroy** was prime minister of France in 1981-84



Values for today: young people on anti-racist demonstration at the Place de la Bastille in Paris

Frank Spooner

every country equality is a difficult ideal to achieve and is always placed in question; and that fraternity between individuals, classes and people is something that is built every day and never fully attained.

Renewing the past

Right-wing circles have attempted to use the opportunity of the commemoration to spread a totally negative vision of the French Revolution. On a historical level, they have been aided by an entire

'revisionist school' which has done its utmost to emphasise the Revolution's most violent episodes from the second revolutionary period. Analogies with Stalinism have even been put forward — a somewhat bold and strange historical comparison to make. For the neo-liberal theorists in the Ronald Reagan mould, it is clearly a question of blocking out the immense renewal of ideas that took place at the time in every domain.

The response to these historical misrepresentations has been a scientific

production of great quality. This has helped us to better understand the Revolution in all its complexity, revealing just to what extent many of the issues tabled by the revolutionaries from 1789 onwards are still of relevance today.

François Mitterrand has declared: 'Before repudiating or agreeing, consecrating or execrating, one must have direct knowledge . . . Far too often hate and fear — but this could also be an excess of fervour, even if it was less in the spirit of the time — distort the face of the



Links of solidarity: protest in Paris against apartheid

Frank Spooner

revolution. History cannot be remade at will, with one's own prejudices and passions.'

To the aid of historians, there has been a mushrooming of associations, all scouring the archives in an effort to rediscover the events, experiences and dreams of that ten year period between 1789 and 1799. But for socialists, it is necessary to delve beneath the 'thick layers of commentaries, speculations and imputations; to go right back to the origins, to the things and people of the time and in their place.' To commemorate is to renew the past, to cast new eyes on what is badly known.

First and foremost, the Revolution was: the emergence of the the concept of citizenship and the Declaration of the Rights of Man (1789); the fall of the divine right monarchy and the first direct election based on universal suffrage (1792); the introduction of the principle of free, obligatory education (1793); the abolition of slavery (1794); and the first comprehensive law on public education and the separation of Church and State (1795).

Looking more closely, the Revolution was so many other transformations and innovations as well! In the scientific field, there was a new system of weights

and measures, the Chappe telegraph and the beginnings of long distance communication. And compared with the administrative chaos of the *ancien régime*, the revolution was a total rationalisation: the constituency system of departments and communes was founded, as was a more egalitarian fiscal and judicial system.

'This commemoration is a reminder to socialists that they are responsible for the future protection of a heritage which is always in suspense and under threat.'

Tasks for today

In every village and province of France, interest in the Revolution has been shown by the spontaneous organisation of whole array of civic events. These events, more often than not of a symbolic nature, are a testimony to the emancipatory values bequeathed by the Revolution. The

mobilisation of so much energy and enthusiasm for a single project has not been seen for a long time.

The Republic has the vital duty to rekindle interest in and commitment to its founding values: liberty, equality, fraternity. In this regard, it is important, as François Mitterrand declared in his January 1988 speech in the great lecture hall of the Sorbonne during the presentation of the archives of the French revolution, to 'place emphasis on the history of the French Revolution in primary and secondary school curricula.' Indeed, the founding principles of the Republic must be taught so that each citizen remains aware of the fact that 'without the revolutionary break, the French Republic would not be what it is — secular and pluralist, social and democratic.'

The process of the Revolution is often equivalent to the authorised form of the democratic process: and the disdain of the first sooner or later leads to scorn of the second. Indeed, flicking through our history books, we soon see that the regimes which have attempted to erase the emblems and principles of the Revolution have been those which have most infringed public and individual liberties in France. The First Empire, the Restoration, the

Second Empire, the 'French State' (the Vichy regime of 1940-44) have all attacked democracy and its institutions through a radical criticism of the Revolution.

The commemoration is therefore a reminder to socialists that they are responsible for the future protection of a heritage which is always in suspense and under threat. The gains of the Revolution are not, and will never be, indelible and irreversible. Many can still remember how the Vichy regime's slogan of 'work, family, fatherland' officially followed 'liberty, equality, fraternity' just one year after celebrations of the 150th anniversary of the Revolution in 1939. One has to be at the ready to defend the republican ethic. In a world where fanaticism is developing and where the future of science and of technology is no longer necessarily that of peace and freedom, democracy is possibly more fragile than it was yesterday.

Liberty, equality and fraternity are not archaic values. Each of these three words, which constituted a common expression in 1848, still remain to be built in the world: liberty, in terms of the right to come and go, to seek refuge, to organise as a trade unionist, and to freedom of expression and assembly; equality, in terms of access to education, health, social security and the media; and fraternity, in terms of brother- and sisterhood between people of all origins, races and beliefs and between the North and the South of the planet.

Progressive banner

The great revolution which began in 1789 must be turned to the future and it is in that spirit that many countries have been celebrating the bicentenary for several months now. Celebrations will go to the end of the year, provoking reactions that will often be enthusiastic, at other times hostile, but never indifferent.

Socialists have launched a number of initiatives such as talks, celebrations and public ceremonies. But above all they want the bicentenary to be a time of true popular fervour. The bicentenary is not and cannot be a spectacle. It must take the form of a civic act under the banner of which all progressive people in the world can assemble. In the words of Jaurès: 'The French Revolution contains the whole of socialism.'

The impulses of those who took the Bastille; who simultaneously invented the nation and the fraternisation of peoples; who broke with divine right and conceptions of political power as the representation of God on earth through the most symbolic deed possible — the death of a king; who invented pell-mell

the metric system, free and obligatory education, the army based on conscription and even a new calendar: all continue to be of topical relevance today.

Certain historians have recently made fools of themselves by claiming that 'the debate over the French Revolution no longer holds any real political sway.' They have received the most cutting of refutations from the banners and posters of the Chinese students in Tiananmen square: many refer to 1789.

The real commemoration of the

bicentenary is taking place elsewhere — in the struggle for democracy in Chile, in the election campaign in Poland, in the debates of the Congress of Deputies in the Soviet Union — everywhere where people are demanding freedom and democracy. In that sense, the commemoration of the bicentenary of the French Revolution is not just an affair of French socialists. Both in Paris and throughout the world we will be able to confirm that the hopes born of the Revolution are still alive and concern us all.

Just appeal: homeless youth asks for money in London

Topham



John Palmer
EUROPE WITHOUT AMERICA?
The Crisis in Atlantic Relations



Europe without America?
The Crisis in Atlantic Relations

John Palmer

Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1988; 219pp; £4.95 pbk; ISBN 0-19-285202-5

John Palmer argues that relations between the United States and its European allies are approaching crisis point and that the post-war world of the Atlantic Alliance is breaking up. He points to widespread European distrust of US foreign and defence policies, disagreements within Nato about future security policy and the threat of trade wars.

Looking at the historical background to the current crisis, the author argues that it is no passing phase but rather a central feature of the crumbling economic and political order of the West.

The New International Labour Studies

An Introduction

Ronaldo Munck

London & New Jersey: Zed Books, 1988; 233 pp; £8.95 pbk/£27.95 hdbk; ISBN 0-86232-587-0 (pbk), 0-86232-586-2 (hdbk)

This book provides an overview of the rapidly changing situation of workers, particularly in the third world, and is the first full-scale elaboration of the new international labour studies approach. This provides a

theoretical framework for comparative research in this field and is premised on the sociological and political importance of placing workers themselves at the centre of any investigation.

The author analyses how imperialism gave rise to a new working class in the third world and discusses the impact of recent changes in the international division of labour. He examines employment patterns, the labour process, trade unions, labour relations and the role of workers in political affairs. Leading issues and debates are also presented, such as the concepts of labour aristocracy and marginality, the process of proletarianisation, the position of women, the 'new' social movement unionism, workers' participation and control and the prospects for greater international solidarity.

Breaking the Iron Rice Bowl

Prospects for Socialism in China's Countryside

Pat Howard

New York & London: East Gate Books 1988; 264pp; \$14.95 (pbk)/\$32.50 (hdbk); ISBN 0-87332-471-4 (hdbk), 0-87332-471-4 (pbk)

Examining the impact of controversial post-Mao rural economic reforms on production relations, this book discusses the evolution of responsibility systems, focussing on the dialectic of peasant initiatives and leaders' responses to uncover the nature of communications in policy formulation.

Based on research and interviews with peasants, herdsmen, rural factory workers, university students and county leaders, this study questions the assumption that commodity relations and communal or cooperative values are inherently incompatible. It seeks to uncover how the reforms may improve the prospects for development of self-managing producers' collectives, but also tries to expose their real limitations.

Women and Environment in the Third World

Alliance for the Future

Irene Dankelman and Joan Davidson

London: Earthscan Publications in association with the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, 1988; 210pp; £5.95 pbk; ISBN 1-85383-003-8

Third world women play the major role in managing natural resources. They are the first and hardest hit by environmental mismanagement, yet they are neither consulted nor taken into account by development strategists.

This book contains well documented case studies and interviews with leading women conservationists from the third world and gives a clear account of women's problems in relation to land, water, forests, energy and human settlements. It also looks at the lack of response from international organisations and at the ways in which women can organise to meet environmental, social and economic challenges.

In August 1982, Mexico's sudden announcement that it could no longer repay its debt threatened to bring the world's financial system crashing down. But for more than five years western banks and governments have staved off the crisis by imposing their own 'solution' on Latin America. Debt induced austerity has brought a drastic decline in living standards for the poor in Latin America.

This book provides a comprehensive account of the Latin American debt crisis and includes case studies of Brazil, Peru and Costa Rica. It examines why the bank loans came about in the first place, how they were used, and why they suddenly dried up in the 1980s. Arguing that the role played by the IMF and the World Bank has compounded the crisis for the poor, the book concludes with an analysis of the prospects for development in Latin America in the 1990s.

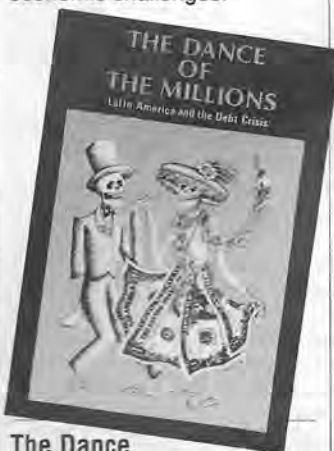
Politics in Jamaica

Anthony Payne

London: C. Hurst & Co., 1988; 196pp; £6.95 (pbk), £22.50 (hdbk); ISBN 1-85065-046-2 (pbk), 0-312-01869-X (hdbk)

Jamaica's experience since independence in 1962 has been extraordinarily vivid and illustrates the post-colonial dilemmas of many third world countries.

Setting the Jamaican experience in the context of wider debates about development and sovereignty in the modern world, the author discusses Jamaica's record of democratic achievement and considers its success in generating a sense of nationhood among its people. He also examines the 'democratic socialist' and 'orthodox liberal' strategies of Michael Manley and Edward Seaga and analyses the foreign policies undertaken in Jamaica in recent years, with particular reference to the United States, Cuba and other third world and Caribbean territories.



The Dance of the Millions

Latin America and the Debt Crisis

Jackie Roddick et. al.

London: Latin America Bureau, 1988; 270pp; £5.95/\$11 (pbk), £18.95/\$28 (hdbk); ISBN 0-906256-30-0 (pbk), 0-906156-37-8 (hdbk)

Socialist International Women



BULLETIN

Publisher and Editor: Maria Rodriguez-Jonas

Child labour in India

Nic Nilsson

"Why should a businessman bother if twenty workers die. There will be another twenty ready to work. The businessman's objective is his comfort".

(Darshan Bihari Gupta)

"The entrepreneurs' priority must be to keep the cost of setting up and running the factory low, even if it means exposing the workers to dangers. The way of minimising workers' sufferings is to expose them to the hazardous work environment early in life as child workers. The industry will survive only if workers are acclimatised to the excessive heat and dangerous chemical fumes from childhood".

(Mr R.N.Mittal, President of Glass industrialists' Syndicate; India)

"If you propose a ban on child labour in the glass industry here in Firozabad, let me tell you, the whole township will be out in the streets protesting against the ban. There will be agitations, violence. Because you will be depriving thousands of households of their livelihood"



Boy working in cotton processing plant

These three quotations cited by Ms Sheela Barse, an Indian activist against child labour, start to give a clear picture of the difficulties inherent in a plan to abolish child labour.

The problem

There are many figures available which show the huge scale of child labour in the world today. There is an ILO estimate of 150 million. The following figures are to be found in material from Defence for Children International; they give the ratio of working children to the working population in 1975.

Turkey	38 per cent (12-14 years)
Mali	45 per cent (10-14 years)
Bhutan	44 per cent (10-14 years)
Bangladesh	32 per cent (10-14 years)
Tanzania	30 per cent (10-14 years)
India	20 per cent (10-14 years)

If we look just at India (a country where the situation has been well researched) we will find that the official statistics for 1983 show 17.36 million working children below the age of 15 years. However, another source, the Operation Research Group in Baroda, estimates 44 million in the same year. Calculating on the basis of the same percentages, the figure for 1985 would be 50.22 million. On the basis of other figures, it may well be the case that at least 98.25 million children are working to supplement the family



SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WOMEN CHILD LABOUR

income, or to support themselves. There are tremendous variations between statistics from governmental and non-governmental sources. The actual number of working children might be anywhere between 90 and 100 million.

Where are they?

There is no sector of the urban or rural economy where children are not employed. Over 90 per cent of working children are employed in agriculture and related occupations in villages and semi-urban areas. The remaining 10 per cent are employed in almost every sector in cities, towns and their fringe urban areas, in occupations such as domestic and household services, hotels, construction, trade and commerce, small scale industries, car repair workshops and petrol stations, cotton-ginning, khandasari factories, as well as traditional occupations like beediwork, carpentry, laundry, match-fire work, argabathis, beechies etc.

Why child labour?

There are several causes of child labour. Speak with different people and you get different views, but the following reasons are true at least for India - although the list may not be exhaustive.

The first reason is poverty. Chronic poverty is the strongest factor in the prevalence and perpetuation of child labour. Nearly half of the Indian population subsists below the poverty line. In such poor families the child, from his or her first appearance in this world, is endowed with an economic mission. These families cannot sacrifice the small gains of the present for the larger gains of the future, as they do not have any surplus to sustain them.

The income accruing from the child's labour may be a pittance, but it plays a crucial role in saving the family from collapse. Economic compulsions weigh so heavily on the consciousness of poor parents that they col-

lude with the child's employer in violating the law and putting the child in conditions of inhuman exploitation. Such poverty could account for at least 50 per cent of the child labour force in India.

The second reason for the existence of child labour is the lack of faith in the existing education system. Most parents make a very definite choice between education and a job. The parents feel that even if the child goes to school, there is no guarantee of a job at the end of it. Whereas, if the child is trained for a skill, even though he may not be earning anything, this is definitely advantageous to his or her career development. It is because of this feeling that the existing education system is not relevant to the needs of the community and that the implementation of compulsory education has failed.

A third cause of child labour is deeply embedded in the Indian tradition of home based occupation. It is only among the upper classes that formal education outside the home has been encouraged. Most children have been expected to learn their father's craft or, in the case of a girl, to take up the responsibility of the mother in doing the housework. There is a kind of fatalistic attitude that one is bound to perform certain tasks and that there is little or no possibility of improving one's situation in society.

Of course we might find a fourth cause - or maybe it is a consequence. I am thinking of adult unemployment or under-employment. In this context child labour both supplements and depresses family income. Child labour is not only a subsidy to industry, but a direct inducement to the payment of low wages to adult workers. Child workers in the labour market reduce the availability of employment for adults and reduce their bargaining power.

Why not education instead

I have already mentioned one reason - the lack of faith in the education system. There are also others. There are several reasons for the low enrolment and high drop-out rates from education, particularly for girls:

Rudimentary traditions, which attach little importance to the education of children, particularly girls. Many parents feel that their daughters will have to join a different family after marriage and their duty in life is to bear and rear children. They also feel school or education to be purely academic and inappropriate to work needs;

Lack of essential amenities in primary schools, particularly in the rural areas. According to a study carried out ten years ago, only half of primary schools in India are situated in permanent buildings. Nine per cent have no building. Nearly two fifths have no drinking water facilities. Three fifths have no blackboard and half of all schools have no playgrounds at all;

There is a lack of teachers. About one

Health problems associated with Child Labour

Occupational diseases, some especially severe, caused by the following factors:

1. Poor working conditions are the norm. Child labour is economically preferable. It is hardly surprising that the employer is not interested in improving working conditions. Most of the establishments concerned do not fulfil the minimum requirements under the Factories Act.

2. Machines and work processes are designed for adults and not for children. Load carrying capacities for children are not laid down.

3. Children tire more easily and have a shorter attention span, this combined with long hours of monotonous work, can make children more accident prone.

4. Children are more susceptible to specific toxins and chemicals such as lead, synthetic resins.

Growth and nutritional status can be influenced by:

1. Poverty at home. Absolute poverty associated with malnutrition

forms a vicious cycle with recurrent infections. Such a combination can predispose to early fatigue or poisoning.

2. The demands of work in any agriculture operation are very high.

3. Availability of food at the worksite. Hotel workers and domestic servants are usually provided with some food.

4. Wages earned.

Psycho-social problems:

1. Educational deprivation and reduced employment opportunities in adult life. On the other hand, early induction into work can produce a skilled craftsman at a very young age.

2. Lack of social life and recreation in childhood, leading to poor emotional development and social sense. On the plus side, work will keep children usefully engaged, keep them off the street, prevent their exposure to other harmful options.

3. Possibility of summary dismissal as soon as the child is grown up. On the other hand, some children are able to be child-apprentices and to become fully fledged artisans on reaching adulthood.



third of all schools have one teacher to teach three or four classes. Many schools are also without any teacher at all for varying periods of time;

The parents also think it might be more useful for girls to take care of their young siblings than to go to a school, which they do not see as giving the child anything of value. This results in a low female literacy rate and high drop out rates.

Investigation shows that 80 per cent of working children are illiterate. The illiteracy rate reaches a staggering 88 per cent in the case of female workers.

Among marginal male child workers about one third, who understand the importance of education, pursue their education along with the work they are engaged in. This is often in the form of "night-schools" starting about 7pm and lasting three to four hours. Then to bed to be ready to start work at 6am. It is really a tough world for those children who try to beat the system by learning to read and write.

What about the child worker and his/her thinking?

Most working children do not respect or trust social institutions. They see very little value in education in the traditional sense and have developed a sharpened instinct for survival. They know how to deal with most problems, can talk their way through most situations and rarely trust anybody. Their primary concern is that of earning a livelihood.

These attitudes of course vary, depending on the sector in which the child is working, on the child's family background and most important whether the child worker happens to be a boy or a girl. The attitude and perceptions of the girl child worker are often more fatalistic. She does not see the possibility of change and is more resigned to her fate.

What about trade unions?

Trade unions must not close their eyes to the problem as they have done until now, but must develop structures to include working children.

Trade unions must begin to address themselves to this problem and to see it as a part of a whole, and not to ignore or isolate it as something that does not concern them.

What about the Government?

In India child labour has its own article in the constitution.

Article 24 lays down:

"No child below the age of 14 years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment."

Article 39(f) proclaims:

"That childhood and youth are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment."



Young women working on a construction site, Gujarat, India

Over the years many laws have been enforced dealing with children and labour. Some laws define the minimum age for employment, others define "child" or hours of work for children. Two laws have been enacted regulating the employment of children:

- The Children (Pledging of Labour) Act 1933, and

- The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986.

This last, enacted in December 1986, prohibits the employment of children (who have not completed their 14th year) in specified occupations and processes and regulates the conditions of work of children in areas of employ-

ment, where they are not prohibited from working. The Act also provides for a Child Labour Technical Advisory Committee to advise the Government on prohibiting child labour in different occupations and processes. The Committee will, over a period of time, examine all occupations and processes to determine which are hazardous for children. Thus, after this exercise is completed, child labour will be prohibited in areas of employment which are considered hazardous on the basis of the report of the Child Labour Technical Advisory Committee; in the remaining occupations and processes, regulations governing working conditions will be phased in. This Act



SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WOMEN CHILD LABOUR



Young woman and supervisor in carpet factory, Gujerat, India

also provides for the drawing up of rules for the health and safety of the children employed in permitted areas of employment. The Act provides for severe penalties for the violation of its provisions and also for the violation of other relevant acts (Factories 1948, Mines 1950, Merchant and Shipping 1951 and the Motor Transport Act 1950).

But mere legislation is not enough to cope with the problem. Therefore, a National Policy on Child Labour has been drawn up by the Indian Government to deal with the administrative and welfare aspects.

The main features of this policy are:

1. To ensure that the legal provisions pertaining to prohibition of child labour will be strictly implemented.

2. Ten specific projects will be undertaken in areas of concentration of child labour to ensure that all families affected by the ban who are living below the poverty line are covered by income and employment-generation pro-

grammes, so as to enable them to cross the poverty line. In the project areas programmes pertaining to education, vocational education, health and nutrition will be strengthened. Special schools will be opened to rehabilitate the children removed from prohibited employment etc.

3. Programmes of education, health, medical care, supplementary nutrition and income and employment-generation schemes for the person/families below the poverty line, are most relevant in the context of the problem of child labour. If these programmes are strengthened, well guaranteed and strictly implemented the problem of child labour can really be eliminated. Therefore, efforts will be made to strengthen and properly co-ordinate these programmes so that the socio-economic compulsions which are responsible for the exploitation of child labour diminish over a period of time.

- So much for the official Indian policy!

Action strategy for the Abolition of Child Labour

IFM-SEI, together with the Gandhi Labour Institute and Anthar Bahrati, has adopted a 25 point strategy for the abolition of child labour in third world countries. I will just quote here some of the points not already highlighted in this article:

"The problem of child labour can not be viewed in isolation. It is a consequence of the exploitative systems prevailing at national and international levels. At national level, the lopsided development process behind exploitative socio-economic structures results in the marginalisation of the poor, who are left with no option but to use child labour as a survival strategy. At the international level, the need for foreign exchange on the one hand and the stiff competition for markets in the developed world on the other encourage the producers in export industries in the third world to use cheap and vulnerable child labour. In addition, the powerful multinational corporations use child labour, directly or indirectly, to minimise their costs and maximise profits."

"It is recognised that the national problem of child labour cannot be seen in isolation from its international context. The terms of trade between North and South need to be more favourable to developing countries than is presently the case. There are also problems of indirect interference, as in the case of selling arms to developing countries."

International Seminar on Child Labour

This article was written after I took part in what was, according to the Minister of Labour, the first International Seminar on Child Labour in India.

It was organised by IFM-SEI in co-operation with its member organisation Anthar Bahrati and with the Gandhi Labour Institute in Ahmedabad, India, where the seminar also took place. Of the 80 participants, nearly thirty came from Europe and the others from Asian countries, including Sri Lanka, Pakistan, Nepal, the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia and from most of the 22 states of India.

This seminar was one in a series of activities which IFM-SEI have been holding during the 80's to deal with children's rights. In 1989 - 10 years after the International Year of the Child - the United Nations will adopt the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

Nic Nilsson is the President of the International Falcon Movement/Socialist Education International, IFM/SEI.

IFM/SEI is preparing a book on Child Labour which will be published later this year. Further details from IFM/SEI Rue de Waelhem 71, 1030 Brussels, Belgium.



Women in Brazil

Ligia Doutel de Andrade

Brazil is the fourth largest country in the world, with a territory of 4,500,000 (four million, five hundred thousand) square kilometres, and it has the eighth largest population, with around one hundred and forty million inhabitants, of whom 53 per cent are women. It is a country with immense natural resources and is one of the ten most industrially developed nations in the world. However, alarming regional and social differences are to be seen. For example, it is one of the world's leading manufacturers and exporters of arms, and leads the third world in this field.

Alongside urban centres which are among the most developed in the world, there also exist in Brazil regions marked by poverty, disease, unemployment and many other forms of human exploitation and humiliation. About 40 per cent of the Brazilian population is illiterate. There has not yet been a real agrarian reform, which means that few have access to the land, ownership of which is concentrated in the hands of a minority. The minimum wage is one of the lowest in the world. National income is poorly distributed: the poorest 50 per cent of the people receive only 13.6 per cent, whilst 10 per cent of the population receive 46.2 per cent and the 5 per cent who make up the very rich own 33 per cent.

Historical Factors

Historically, Brazilian society has always been conservative, authoritarian and elitist. In the 99 years of the Republic, the country has had 40 years of government by oligarchy and 35 years of dictatorship, with intervals of democracy. Brazilian women are weighed down by centuries of domination based on prejudice, discrimination and violence. Considered defenceless and inferior, they have sustained, however they could, an arduous and endless struggle against a culture and society which are patriarchal and impervious to the demands of justice and human solidarity. They have laboured under restrictions manifested both in family relationships, by the father and husband, and in social conventions, which condemn them to a double or triple working day.

It is in the context of these realities that we must examine the struggles and the expanding consciousness of women in Brazil. Slavery was ended in this country only 100 years ago,



Ligia Doutel de Andrade

in 1888, after being practised for 300 years by the ruling class, with the justification of the church and the approval of the state.

But despite all these difficulties, Brazilian history shows that women were present at every crucial juncture. No obstacle succeeded in making them renounce their defiance of injustice and their struggle for greater opportunities on the way to recognition as full members of society. In fact, since the last century, even under the Empire and in the days of slavery, Brazilian women - both black and white - have been active figures in social struggles. A number of women have played a leading role, often in isolation. The first strike actions in which they took part, early this century, were aimed at securing improved working conditions. Women had no rights to holidays, or rest periods; there was no limit on their working hours; and they were still subject to sexual assault from the male overseers in the textile factories.

The end result of all these efforts, these movements and strike actions, was the passing in 1932 of legislation which may be considered the first concrete labour protection measure for women in Brazil. This legislation, reinforced by some additions, was consolidated and incorporated into the already existing Brazilian constitution and into the text of the Employment Laws. Without doubt, these laws for the protection of women at work -

although incomplete - were a step forward in the struggle for social rights and improvements in living and working conditions. However, they were never respected and therefore in practice ineffective. Moreover, they did not cover, for example, domestic workers, rural workers or industrial home-workers - categories which make up the majority of the female work force in Brazil. It was only with the recently passed new Constitution that the laws were extended to cover these areas.

In 1932, women also obtained the right to vote. At this time also, there was renewed struggle against the 1917 Civil Code, under which women were considered virtually incapable as citizens. However, Brazilian women were not to obtain equal rights in marriage until 1962.

Brazilian women played a rather visible role during World War 2 in combatting nazism and fascism. They were also involved in campaigns for the conservation of natural resources in our country and played an important role in work for peace and democracy. More recently, they were among the first to campaign actively for an amnesty for Brazilian democrats victimised by the dictatorship which was installed in our country after the coup d'état in 1964 and which ended only recently.

At the beginning of the 20th century, Brazilian women were already a visible presence in the trade union movement. This presence was intensified during the 1980's. Official figures tell us that there are now 56 women at leadership level in trade union Federations and Confederations. The 'double shift' which is women's lot does not stop them fighting for leading positions in the unions. For example, in a small state like Alagoas, there are women holding 54 positions in the leadership of 16 different unions. In Amazonas, 19 out of 100 unions have women in their leadership. In Minas Gerais, there are 199 women in leadership positions, in 102 unions.

Discrimination and Progress

However, the reality is that Brazilian women still suffer discrimination. At work, they are still paid less than men doing the same jobs and they are sacked when they marry or become pregnant. According to reliable research, men



SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WOMEN BRAZIL

in Brazil earn, on average, 50 to 60 per cent more than women in the same sector. There are often compulsory blood or urine tests before a job is offered, to see if the woman is pregnant. Unmarried women have a better chance of getting jobs. Dismissal of pregnant women is common and workplace creches do not exist, although the law states that they should.

On the whole, in Brazil, the labour market belongs to men, and allows women to take part only in a limited range of occupations. The female workforce is concentrated in the service, social and agricultural sectors. Black women, who make up more than half the female population in Brazil, deserve a special mention here. They are exposed to all types of racial discrimination, as well as sexual discrimination. They suffer a triple burden of oppression, firstly because they are black; secondly, because they are women; and thirdly because most of them belong to the least privileged social classes.

Despite the unfavourable conditions they face in working life, with both discrimination in the labour market and the 'double shift' of outside employment and domestic labour - made worse by the lack of support services such as crèches - women are constantly increasing their share of the labour market (at present 38 per cent), even when they are married and have children, and are continuing to take up the opportunities available, whenever these are compatible with their needs and capacities. These new opportunities are in the administrative and commercial sectors and in newly developing industries.

The intensification of the industrialisation process in Brazil during the 1950s had an effect on the general situation of women. We can observe an increase in the organisation and mobilisation of working women. From the mid-seventies, the feminist movement was growing up. Today, there are some 500 women's organisations and a National Women's Council associated with the Ministry of Justice.

These two facts, amongst others, have contributed to a change in the mentality of men and women with regard to women's traditional place in society. They also gave an impetus to advances in the process of achieving equal rights for both sexes, and helped to open up new spaces for the participation of women in all fields of activity and especially in the professional and production sectors. There is a real increase in the level of education, training and qualifications of women. Today, they have a promising presence in various sectors which were barred to them until a few decades ago, even in the most typically "male" jobs.

With the end of the military dictatorship and the convening of a Constitutive Assembly, women all over Brazil were mobilised within the new political and social dynamic, with the aim of ensuring that their specific rights and demands be enshrined in the new

Carta Constitucional promulgated in 1988. Of the 26 women in the Assembly, only one was black. Women undertook endless efforts and activity whilst the Constitution was being worked on and finally achieved the acceptance of 80 per cent of the demands outlined in their 'Letter to the Constitution makers'. In

sub-divisions in the States and Territories which make up the Brazilian Federation. The Movement is an important body within our party, undertaking many activities, for example: work in communities; professional training courses; political training courses; conferences and seminars; campaigns for



"blacks for justice, culture, liberty" - wall hanging in a Rio schoolroom

this letter were embodied the constant demands and struggles which have been carried on throughout history by women at all levels of national life in our country.

The PDT and Women

The Partido Democrático Trabalhista (Democratic Labour Party) under the leadership of comrade Leonel Brizola, was the first party in Brazil to include in the main points of its programme the question of women. The text reads:

"The third commitment (of the Party) is to women, to oppose discrimination, by fighting for their effective participation in all areas of decision-making, for the laying down of their social rights, at work and at home, for equality in salaries and opportunities, in education and professional training, emphasising our country's need for an ever-growing range of services and infrastructure which is being fulfilled by women, the majority of whom are working a double day, at home and in the workplace."

The PDT has a 'Women's Movement', whose honorary president is comrade Neuza Brizola, with a National Co-ordination and

specific demands, including crèches, health programmes for women and children, family planning, defense of the environment, unionisation of women, monitoring of compliance with those laws which benefit women, peace campaigns, activities in solidarity with oppressed peoples, campaigns against violence against women and children, etc.

Brazil has, within its vast territory, more than 4,000 municipalities. For this reason the establishment of the Women's Movement throughout the country is a long and difficult process. In some regions, women still grow up hearing the old refrain, that politics is something just for men. They have no access to resources and information allowing them to make their own choices.

As the Brazilian population is mostly in the cities, the 'Women's Movement' is being structured so as to reach, in the first stage, all women in State and Territorial capitals. This plan has had important successes, and one result is the effective participation of women in the party organisation, in elections and in public offices held by the party.

For example, a number of women - some of them black - held Secretary-level and other



important posts in the recent Government of the State of Rio de Janeiro, under the Governorship of Leonel Brizola. This is also happening at the present time in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, where the position of Chief Financial Officer is filled, for the first time in that state, by a woman who belongs to the PDT. There are women representatives of our party in Town Halls all over the country, in the Legislative Assemblies, and in the Chamber of Deputies in Brasilia.

However, the rate of participation of Brazilian women in politics and administration is rather low. At the time of writing this article, we in this country are approaching elections for Mayors and town councillors in every municipality, with a very small number of women candidates. They make up 10 per cent at the most, even in the PDT, which has a higher number of female members than any other party in Brazil.

In this context, PDT women are seeking to have inserted in the statutes of the party, at the first opportunity, provisions for a minimum 30 per cent participation of women in the party organisation, in public administration and, most importantly, in lists of candidates for elected office.

Within the PDT, there are, as well as the Women's Movement, a number of other Social Movements, for example, a Black Movement, a Youth Movement, an Ecology Movement. All these movements are led by women. They also have a significant presence on the National Directorate (the highest organ of the party leadership) and on the Regional Directorates around the country.

The Alberto Pasqualini Institute, considered the most important theoretical body of Brazilian Labourism, is another important party interlocutor led by a woman. It is at this Institute that Party policy is drawn up, on the basis of labour traditions and in the context of our basic historical objective: the peaceful transition of our country towards a socialist society based on party politics and democracy.

Within our party, the holders of such offices are elected, following the broadest possible grassroots discussions. After more than 20 years of military dictatorship (there had been no Presidential election in our country for 28 years), it is important to realise that the strengthening of women's action within the PDT is taking place at the same time as the advance of popular struggle, as the formation of community movements, as a surge of strike action and opposition to the rising cost of living - all areas where women play an ever-increasing role. So we can truly say that the women of the PDT embody, in exemplary fashion, the feelings and wishes arising from the very soul of the Brazilian people.

Ligia Doutel de Andrade is a member of the National Coordinating Commission of the PDT Women's Movement



Favela children in Rio



WOMEN IN THE NEWS

Venezuela

Four of the fifteen ministers appointed to his new government by President Carlos Andrés Pérez are women. They are **Eglée Iturbe de Blanco** (Finance), **Fanny Bello** (Agriculture), **Marisela Padrón** (Labour), and **Dulce Arnao** (Science and Technology).

Sweden

Maj-Lis Lööv, President of the Social Democratic Women in Sweden, has been appointed Minister for Immigration and their former General Secretary **Gerd Engman** has become Secretary of State for Public Administration. Meanwhile, the new Minister for Equality between Men and Women is **Margot Wallström**. Sweden also has its first woman president of a "blue-collar" trade union. **Lillemor Arvidsson** now leads the Municipal Workers' Union.

Spain

Former Director of the Institute for Women, **Carlota Bustelo**, has been appointed Secretary

of State in the Ministry for Social Affairs headed by **Matilde Fernandez**. The new Director of the Instituto de la Mujer is **Carmen Martínez Ten**, a gynaecologist by profession.

Japan

Since the recent party congress in January, three of the five Vice Presidents of the Socialist Party of Japan are women. A special seat for women has also been introduced in all the 47 prefectural boards of the party.

Italy

Because of the problems with publication of our Bulletin in 1989, we can report only now the appointment of **Elena Marinucci**, formerly responsible for women's questions in the PSI, as Secretary of State for Health.

France

Martine Buron, who was National Women's Secretary of the French Socialist Party from

1981 to 1987, became a Member of the European Parliament in July last year.

Commission of the European Communities

In January, two women replaced men as European Commissioners. **Vasso Papandreou**, Greece - PASOK, a former member of the Greek government, is the new Commissioner for Social Affairs, Employment, Education and Training, whilst **Christiane Scrivener**, France, a Member of the European Parliament since 1979 - latterly for the Radical Party - is Commissioner for Taxation and Customs.

Australia

On April 18, Australian Labor Women will celebrate the birth 100 years ago of **Jessie Street**, who was the only woman member of the Australian delegation participating in the formation of the United Nations. She was instrumental in establishing the UN Commission on the Status of Women.

Pakistan

As the whole world knows, following last November's elections, Pakistan has its first woman Prime Minister, Pakistan People's Party leader **Benazir Bhutto**. From our Bureau Meeting in Paris last December, Socialist International Women sent a message to Prime Minister Bhutto:

We, the Socialist International Women, meeting in Paris, wish to convey our sincere congratulations on your election to the office of Prime Minister.

We are delighted that you should have achieved the high honour of being the first woman prime minister in your country, and we have great faith in your ability to maintain a strong commitment to your democratic ideals.

We send you our best wishes for your continuing success in guiding your country towards a free, democratic and peaceful future for all men and especially for women.

The Life of Australian Feminist Jessie Street, 1889 - 1970

Jessie Street was born in India on 18 April 1889, the eldest of three children of Charles Lillington of the Indian Civil Service. The family moved to Australia in 1896, when Jessie's mother inherited the Ogilvie property on the Clarence River. The house where Jessie grew up, and which she later inherited, was a magnificent one and still features as a tourist attraction in Northern River guides.

She married Kenneth Street in 1916. They had met when both were students at the University of Sydney. They had four children. Kenneth, later Sir Kenneth, was to become the Chief Justice of New South Wales.

Jessie's early life gave her a strong constitution, a habit of independent thinking and a firm belief in the need for justice and equality in the community, particularly for women. She was the founder in 1929 of the United Associations of Women, for many years the best known Australian feminist group.

During the Second World War, she organised the "Sheepskins for Russia" appeal and became the President of the Australian-Russian Society. She initiated the Women's Charter, the first manifesto of its kind for women, and the basis of reforms for women in post-war Australia.

A member of the Labor Party, Jessie stood for the federal seat of Wentworth in 1943, gaining the highest number of first preferences, though defeated in the final count by Eric Harrison, Liberal.

She was the only woman included in the Australian delegation participating in the formation of the United Nations Organisation and was also instrumental in the establishing of the UN Women's Commission.

After the war, she worked tirelessly in Australia and overseas for world peace and justice for minority groups, including Australian aborigines. "Truth or Repose", her feminist autobiography, was published in 1966, when she was in her 78th year.



Journey to the South Pacific

Maria Rodriguez-Jonas reports on the recent visit of the SIW Executive to Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and Papua New Guinea.

Australia (28-31 January)

Continuing our endeavour to venture out with as many meetings as possible, the Executive of SIW accepted an invitation from the Australian Labor Party to meet in Sydney at the end of January. Anita Gradin, Christa Randzio-Plath, Caroline Diop, Tessa Hebb, Manae Kubota, Susan Ryan and Maria Rodriguez-Jonas took part.

ALP National Organiser Cynthia Martin arranged for us a programme of meetings with Labor Party Women and women activists from various groups to gather information on the situation of women in Australia.

On 28 January, SIW President Anita Gradin and myself attended a social evening with delegates at the Australian Labor Women's Conference, held this year in New South Wales, a state where, regrettably, the women's organisation of the Labor Party was dissolved a few years ago.

On 29 January we met Minister for Women's Affairs Margaret Reynolds, who informed us about her role and work in the government. She reported on a campaign launched by the Prime Minister on "domestic violence is a community concern".

The number of women's refuges had increased over the years to 140 at present. The social workers there are paid by the government. However, Margaret pointed out that refuges specifically for women from ethnic minority groups are also needed in a multicultural society like Australia. Another concern for the Minister is to increase and expand child-care facilities.

In Australia affirmative action for women



Women's Suffrage banner by Dora Meeson, 1908

in the private sector is enforced by law in companies with more than 1,000 employees. As from 1989 this is applicable also to companies with more than 500 and from next year it will apply to companies with more than 100 employees. The sanction for non-compliance is "naming" in parliament.

The Minister expressed concern over the decreasing numbers of women in senior posi-

tions in the public sector.

A national women's health policy is another concern of the Women's Minister, with a priority for aboriginal and non English-speaking women. Sterilizations and vasectomy, as well as contraception, are widely accepted and used. Abortion is legal in most states, but Right wing Christian fundamentalists, with propaganda material directly from the USA, are becoming more aggressive, attacking clinics etc.

We all attended the summing-up and closing of the Labor Women's Conference, when among other issues the importance of women's structures, networks and mutual support were underlined.

On 30 January, members of the SIW Executive also met with the only other woman minister (both of them are junior ministers, not members of the cabinet), Ros Kelly, Minister for Defence, Science and Personnel. She is currently pursuing plans to facilitate career development for the 10% women in the defense force, as well as child-care facilities for staff of her own ministry. Ros is confident that this initiative will then spread to other government workplaces.

Ros Kelly was the first woman to have babies while being a Member of Parliament. She underlined that prejudice decreased gradually with the birth of each of her children.

We were invited to the Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission, where two of the four Commissioners are women (those for sexual and for racial discrimination).

Among the special concerns of the Sexual Discrimination Commissioner are a high



SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WOMEN MISSION



SI Executive members with host Hon. John Johnson and women members of NSW Parliament

number of sexual harassment cases and an initiative for rural women to ensure their access to education, counselling etc.

We had a brief meeting with the Deputy Prime Minister, Lionel Bowen, who was acting Prime Minister in the absence of Bob Hawke.

The evening was most delightfully spent at a dinner offered by Bob Hogg, General Secretary of the Australian Labor Party.

On 31 January we met a group of women involved in family support work. These women described to us the decline of public services under the Conservative government of New South Wales, affecting housing, child support and pensions or assistance for families.

Later that day we met women from trade unions with a high membership of women workers and women from peace groups, ie. the Australian Coalition for Disarmament and Peace, Action for World Development and People for Nuclear Disarmament. Groups with a common purpose but different approaches to ways of operating, embracing concerns for

indigenous people, social justice, nuclear colonisation, racism, land-rights and, of course, the issue of uranium sales to France.

Our stay in Sydney ended with an encounter with Young Labor members at a barbecue in the little garden of Nareen Young's house. Male domination seems to be on the way out here. We were informed that young women and men were elected as chairpersons alternately in the organisation.

New Zealand (2-5 February)

On February 2 we began in Wellington an official programme of meetings organised by the Minister for Women's Affairs and Statistics, Margaret Shields. She proudly presented to us the new Minister for Health, Helen Clark, as well as the Minister for Disarmament and Arms Control, Fran Wilde. Ann Hercus - who was formerly Minister for Women's Affairs - has recently been appointed Ambassador to the United Nations.

Although women in New Zealand were the first in the world to achieve the right to vote, in 1893, only in 1919 did they win the right to be elected to parliament and the first woman MP took her seat in 1933. It is only since 1979 that the Labour Party has an paid women's organiser.

We visited the Equal Employment Opportunities Unit in the Public Services Commission, which has four target groups: Maori people, the disabled, women and Pacific Islanders. Work is carried out directly by the unit, but also by Equal Employment Opportunities Co-ordinators in 19 of the 35 governmental departments.

The Equal Employment Opportunities Unit arranges career development courses, develops networks of women in all governmental departments and drafts positive action programmes, as well as English language courses for civil servants from ethnic minorities.

At a lunch we were able to meet women members of Parliament and the General Secretary of the Labour Party, Tony Timms, as



well as its newly elected President Ruth Dyson.

We were then received by Prime Minister David Lange.

In the afternoon we visited the Human Rights Commission, where we were received by the Commissioner for Women, Rae Julian.

The majority of complaints brought to the attention of the Human Rights Commission are about cases of sexual harassment, with a considerable number regarding discrimination on the grounds of marital status.

Recently an extension of the areas to be covered by the Commission was discussed, to include cases of discrimination on the grounds of sexuality, disability, age, pregnancy and AIDS.

We then visited Patsy Fischer at the Housing Corporation, which is New Zealand's largest home lender, property developer and landlord.

Following a proposal by the Minister for Women's Affairs, a report was initiated on women's views on housing, since women constitute the majority of "consumers". The views of women, expressed in hundreds of individual and groups submissions, were incorporated in this report and are an important guideline for public and private providers of housing in New Zealand.

On 3 February we visited the office of the Women's Minister and met most of the staff. The creation of this specific ministry was proposed in the election manifesto of the Labour Party in 1984, and carried out in the same year. Ann Hercus, the first Minister, organised women's fora to define the agenda. The areas most covered were violence, childcare, health services, access to employment as well as the issue of unpaid and voluntary work.

The Maori Women's Unit was the first unit to be installed in the Ministry, which is the only one to be bi-lingual.

The role of the Ministry now is more that of a policy maker and watchdog, with liaison persons in all the ministries. A checklist for government departments was recently finalised and pioneered in the Ministry for Housing, where the first women's unit was established, thus forcing the ministry to deal with special women's issues.

At the time of our visit, a project was being carried out to quantify unpaid work, done mostly by women, such as all household work which could be done by a person who gets paid for it (ie. cooking, cleaning, washing etc); voluntary work in and for the community; and carer's work (ie. nursing and looking after sick, bedridden and disabled persons). Fora are still organised on specific issues such as women with disabilities, Pacific Islanders, lesbians etc.

Later that afternoon we met women of the Council of Trade Unions, an umbrella organisation established a year ago. Vice-President Angela Foulkes introduced Council of Trade Unions officers and officials of various trade unions. Criticism was voiced regarding a



governmental policy of austerity and restructuring of public administration which resulted in a high number of redundancies.

A visit to the Maori Women's Welfare League acquainted us with old traditions of receiving visitors, like singing for them. One of the main tasks of the League is the education of young Maoris in their language, starting at pre-school age. "Kohanga Reo" - language nests - are now part of pre-school education in New Zealand. Language is regarded as the cornerstone of Maori culture and therefore taught in a cultural context.

ME ARO KI TE HA O TE WAHINE

*Pay heed to the dignity
of women*

The league encourages Maori women with expertise to seek election for boards etc. The prevention of drug taking, sport for young people, social welfare and the organisation of professional training courses are other activities the league is currently engaged in. Old skills are encouraged and training given in regions with high unemployment, to provide a source of income.

Our last official meeting that day was a visit to "Pacifica", a support and lobby group of Pacific Islander women, who were gathering in the Ministry for Pacific Island Affairs. The women, originally from various Pacific Islands, provide a counselling and networking service and are involved in teaching children, interpreting in courts and offices, and visiting prisons. Some of them have been elected to town councils, they comment on governmental plans and nominate people for committees.

Fiji (5-8 February)

SIW Vice-President Christa Randzio-Plath and myself continued our journey to Fiji. A programme had been arranged for us by Krishna Datt of the Fiji Teachers' Union, together with Emma Druavesi.

On February 6 we paid a courtesy visit to Ms Finau Tabakancoro, who is responsible for Women's Affairs in the government established by the military after the second coup. She stressed that women in industries were unskilled and low-paid, but expected an increase in women's employment over the next five years in the free-trade zones. She emphasised the importance of educating women in community skills such as village improvement, sanitation and drainage, nutrition and health.

That afternoon we visited the Women's Crisis Centre, which has been in existence now for four years. There we spoke to Shameema Ali and others. The main tasks carried out are the counselling of battered and raped women and children, legal aid, the running of community education programmes on violence against women, the training of police personnel on the handling of victims of violence, and marriage guidance counselling. The latter is undertaken so as to comply with a condition for a small grant from the Ministry for Welfare. Financial help comes from the Pacific YWCA, and from Canada. Still, plans for a day-care creche and a women's refuge need additional support if they are to be realised. (Socialist International Women has since transferred a modest sum from the Gabriele Proft Fund to the Centre to help in getting the women's refuge off the ground).

A visit to the Fiji Trade Union Congress showed us the difficulties the Trade Union movement is facing since the coups. All negotiations on a tri-partheid basis have ceased. Civil servants' salaries have been cut by 15% and no increases are permitted. Prices of food, housing etc are still rising. Strikes have been declared illegal. The visit by an ICFU mission in January 1988 had resulted in an agreement with the Minister responsible but this had since been shelved.

We heard how difficult unionisation work had become and that a racial split (Fijians against Indians) is tacitly approved by the post-coup government. A considerable brain-drain (lawyers, doctors, judges, teachers) is noticeable in today's society. In the tax-free zones, mainly in the clothing and fish canning industries, unionisation is impossible and exploitation rampant. Female employees suspected of theft are strip-searched.

On February 7 we visited the Headquarters of the YWCA and were received by the project officer Amelia Rokotuivuna. The YWCA undertakes vocational training programmes to get women and girls into the labour market. Since the number of households headed by



SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WOMEN MISSION

If God had intended women to think
he'd have given them better
jobs



From a government leaflet,
Wellington

women is increasing and the need for cash to pay for transport, school books and uniforms and fuel is growing, women have had to seek employment. Income-generating projects have been initiated by the YWCA, such as sewing school uniforms, but also fishing and cattle farming.

At a lunch we met some women who were members and supporters of the Fiji Labour Party. We also had a very brief encounter with Kuini Bavadra, wife of the deposed Prime Minister.

Our last visit took us to the Women's Rights Movement, a multi-racial collective of women who explained to us the problem of women in Fijian society - after the coup particularly - in one sentence: whatever women say will be criticised for being racist or anti-Christian. They regard it as their task to raise consciousness of women's plight, act as watchdogs and "hassle" the judiciary. Their collective emanated from their work at the Women's Crisis Centre, when they felt a need to go beyond the counselling stage, and established the first non-traditional women's organisation with a feminist bias. The Women's Rights Movement has produced ten 10-minute radio programmes on women and law, as well as a booklet on women's rights.

One woman, in charge of family planning activities, reported that great numbers of schoolboys and married men came to her for condoms, showing that the fear of AIDS convinces men of the need for contraception. Patricia Jalal, a legal expert, expressed the standing of the Women's Rights Movement in the following way: judges pass adequate sentences on rapists with the explanation that a more lenient sentence would cause the Women's Rights Movement to criticise them publicly. Also the media, she said, get in touch

to ask on what issues movement women are actually concentrating.

Although deposed Prime Minister Dr. Timoci Bavadra had agreed to meet with us, he was not able finally to keep the appointments made.

During our stay in Fiji, we were given copies of submissions to the Constitutional Review Committee by the following organisations: YWCA, the National Federation Party and Fiji Labour Party Coalition, the TUC, and the Women's Rights Movement. All of them oppose the substance of the draft constitution and call for a separation of (Christian) church and state, for racial balance and tolerance and for the principle of a representative and democratically elected government.

Generally, submissions from organisations and individuals on the draft constitution are published in the press, but the review committee is not publicly accountable on submissions received. Opposition groups are rather pessimistic and believe that the draft will be recommended for confirmation by the government.

Papua New Guinea (11-14 February)

After Fiji, I visited Papua New Guinea, where, at rather short notice, Au Doko from the YWCA arranged meetings for me with a range of very interesting women.

The Parliament in Papua New Guinea has had no women members since the elections in 1987.

Illiteracy is rather high (c 60%) which is certainly a consequence of school fees at all levels of education. The drop-out rate is high at all stages of schooling.

Domestic violence and rapes are an increasing problem. The YWCA has produced over recent years posters and leaflets on wife-battering, also on maintenance and custody, and a video on domestic violence, some 700 copies of which were made for supply to schools and organisations.

The YWCA is looking after refugees from Irian Jaya in camps. It also offers vocational courses in agriculture and other skills and runs a play-school, parallel to the classes to enable mothers to attend those courses offered.

I met Tamo Diro, co-ordinator for village courts in Port Moresby. These are a customary type of law enforcement institution which meet weekly. I was told that out of 276 officials of these courts only one is a woman. It is therefore not surprising that very few women take their grievances to these courts. They fear that they will not get a fair hearing and justice.

In Papua New Guinea there are few women lawyers, no women judges, 4 women magistrates and only recently has a woman been appointed as Director of the Legal Institute. There are three women heads of government departments (Labour, Civil Aviation and Home and Youth Affairs). There is one woman Dean, Naomi Martin, heading the Faculty of Educa-

tion, whom I had the pleasure of meeting, together with Margaret Obi who teaches future librarians at the university.

Both underlined the high costs of schooling and education. Free education, they stressed, had only been mentioned before the elections and never since. Scholarships are available only on performance records.

I met Maria Kopkop, one of the members of "Women in Politics", a group formed in 1986 which runs political education workshops, counsels women on how to get a bank loan and lobbies statutory bodies of the government to nominate women into leading positions. "Women in Politics" collects women's data for this purpose and raises funds for women candidates' campaigns and keeps close contacts with the National Council of Women.

Frances Deklin, Treasurer of the National Council of Women, explained to me the aims and purpose of the organisation, which she described as mainly that of a lobby group and watchdog. It is organised with a strong emphasis on the provincial level and carries out educational programmes for women. The National Council of Women works closely with the Women's Division in the Ministry for Home Affairs. It aims at bringing all women's NGOs under its umbrella.

A brief meeting was arranged for me with Minister of Justice, Bernard Narakobi, of the Melanesian Alliance, who informed me that his party plans to establish a women's secretariat.

I also met the General Secretary of the Papua New Guinea Trade Union Congress, Lawrence Titimur; Harry Sandrasekera of the ICFU; and Andonia Piau-Lynch, the Treasurer of the TUC, who informed me that the establishment of a national women's committee is planned. Special courses for women - on trade union rights etc - were offered. She explained to me that sexual harassment was regrettably wide-spread.

According to the information from union officials, Papua New Guinea has no free-trade zones.

Nahau Rooney, a former Minister and Member of Parliament, and a university professor, told me that she was currently undertaking the collection of data on women in politics in the last 20 years in her country. She pointed out that her career in politics started when she became a member of the local school-board.

My impression, after meeting such very active but rather isolated women, was that closer cooperation is needed between the various pressure groups working for a more just participation of women in Papua New Guinea.

This was the first time in the 82 year history of Socialist International Women that a meeting and mission of our organisation had been held in the South Pacific region. The Executive Members who took part felt that our initiative was welcomed by the organisations and individuals whom we met during our visit.



SIW Bureau Meeting, Paris

At our Bureau Meeting, held in Paris on 3 and 4 December 1988, discussions centred on the very important subject of "Women and Power". The meeting heard introductory contributions from a distinguished list of speakers: SIW Vice President Manae Kubota from Japan; university professor of Women's Studies Monika Triest, from Belgium; Ruth Herrera, National Director of Education in Ecuador; Yvette Roudy, SIW Vice President and former Minister for Women's Rights in France; Ndioro Ndiaye, Minister for Social Development



in Senegal, and Christa Randzio-Plath, SIW Vice President from the Federal Republic of Germany. The main resolution adopted by our Bureau (see below) was subsequently presented to the Council of the Socialist International at its meeting on 6 and 7 December, where one of the two themes under discussion was "Women in the Democratic Socialist movement". Our text, with small linguistic changes only, was then also adopted as a resolution of the Socialist International.

Resolution on Women and Power

A basic value of socialist and social democratic ideology must be equality for women and men. There is no equality if women are not equally represented in decision-making processes, at governmental, parliamentary, municipal and party level.

SIW continues firmly to believe that equality, development and peace will never be achieved without the equal participation of women in these struggles and in leadership positions. Ignoring the importance of women's full participation endangers democracy.

Our vital participation in the struggle for human rights, social justice and peace is appreciated by our parties, but appreciation is not enough. If our work is truly appreciated, women must be represented on an equal footing with men in political power structures.

Although women engage in 70 per cent of the world's work, they own less than 1 per cent of the world's wealth. Although women comprise 52 per cent of the population, they hold less than 10 per cent of all elected positions. These are just two examples of the inequality which still exists between men and women in

our societies. Nowhere is this inequality more evident than in the sharing of economic and political power.

SIW, at our 1986 Conference in Lima, announced a "Socialist Decade for Women". The Socialist International then declared its full support for the goals of this Socialist Decade, namely an increase in the number of women in all positions of power in SI member parties and as candidates for elections.

To this end, affirmative action is necessary, be it quota or other regulations in party statutes, with the right of women's organisations to have a say in the selection process.

SIW has noted a modest increase in the number of parties who have introduced such regulations and welcomes an increase in the number of women in delegations to meetings of the Socialist International and we expect that those member parties who, most regrettably, still fail to include women in their delegations will very soon take steps to rectify this situation. However, we are far from satisfied with the pace of progress and are concerned at the resistance from our own parties to the implementation of positive action programmes such as quota regulations.

We call upon the Socialist International and its member parties

to carry out the Lima Resolution. SIW, throughout this Socialist Decade for Women, will closely monitor the progress made and will continue to support women's organisations in member parties of the SI in their struggle to achieve equality in political representation and power. Bearing in mind the divergence between the older democratic systems and the newly established democracies, we demand that all socialists should aim to achieve equal (50/50) representation of women at all levels, national and local, both legislative and organisational, within the next ten years.

SIW intends to give solidarity and support, where necessary, to actions taken by our member organisations aimed at ensuring change in their own parties.

SIW emphasises the importance of women's organisations in achieving equality and social justice in society. We call on the SI and on SI member parties to strengthen by organisational and financial means their respective women's organisations.

SIW calls upon our member organisations to give political power for women the highest possible priority, including educating and encouraging their members to take leadership positions.

Emergency Resolution on Human Rights in Guatemala

Following recent events concerning the violation of Human Rights in Guatemala, SIW issues the following resolution:

We condemn the massacre of twenty two peasants which took place on 28 November, 1988 at San Andres Etzapa, Department of Chimaltenango, as well as the kidnapping and assassination of a member of GAM (Mutual Support Group).

We further condemn the acts of violence against the women and children of Guatemala who cannot escape the consequences of human rights violations. We therefore require President Vinicio Cerezo Arévalo to take steps to put an end to these acts of violence and this lack of regard for human life. We also demand that the events which took place at Chimaltenango be investigated with the assistance of local popular organizations, observers from the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and from the Organisation of American States, in order to establish the responsibility of those who have committed such abominable acts.



General Secretary's Report, 1986-89

Maria Rodriguez-Jonas

At its last meeting of the inter-conference period, in January 1989, the SIW Executive undertook an examination and evaluation of the Action Programme adopted at the 1986 Lima Conference. This discussion is reflected in the present report.

Our Action Programme may have been on the ambitious side in that it proposed a series of conferences and seminars which did not materialise, due to lack of financial resources, but also to a lack of initiatives or proposals from member organisations.

We did, however, cover in our Bureau meetings all the topics we outlined in 1986, always consulting the host organisation as to their preference amongst the themes already decided upon (see list of meetings, page 74).

We linked the question of disarmament with development, which seemed a most appropriate move. At one Bureau meeting we restricted the theoretical discussion to one day and spent a further day in the rural areas around Dakar, Senegal, in order to see for ourselves that women are the key factor in the economy in Africa.

Bureau meetings were well prepared by the host organisations as far as media coverage was concerned, and thus the demand in the 1986 Action Programme to increase public awareness and knowledge of Socialist International Women can be considered as complied with.

We have undertaken an updating and expanding of our mailing of reports and resolutions to individuals and organisations and found responses from recipients from outside the SIW family particularly encouraging and gratifying.

SIW played a very active part in campaigning on behalf of the Sharpeville Six, one woman and five men accused of murder in South Africa. In this work, we were able to cooperate with the ICFTU and the Liberal and Christian Democratic Internationals

An important factor in the wider knowledge of SIW around the world was certainly a new type of Executive meeting. With four statutory meetings per year, two of them always held in conjunction with Bureau meetings, the Executive decided to expand the re-

maintaining two meetings to at least two full days of in-depth discussions and preparation for future meetings, but also to combine these regular meetings with missions of a fact-finding nature.

The first Executive meeting and mission of this kind was undertaken in the East of Canada (June 1987); a further meeting took us to Guatemala, Nicaragua and Costa Rica (August 1988) and the most recent one (February 1989) to Australia, New Zealand, Fiji and Papua New Guinea (see reports). On each occasion, we devoted part of the meeting to an exchange of experiences and views with our sisters from the host organisation, a valuable learning experience for all of us. This new way of arranging Executive meetings gave us the possibility to venture out to regions where no meetings of SIW had ever before been held.

We have, for the first time, been able - with careful housekeeping of the Gabriele Proft

Fund - to start giving modest sums to women's projects in developing countries. In Senegal we were able to make contributions to three projects, and we were also able to offer support to one project in Guatemala, one in Nicaragua and one in Fiji.

We have regularly circulated to member organisations all decisions taken at Bureau meetings, resolutions adopted, and detailed information on invitations received and representation of SIW on these occasions. I have circulated reports on journeys undertaken by myself and on conferences of particular interest which I have attended.

However, I should also like to mention here some of the conferences and events where I was a participant or observer:

I was invited to spend Women's Day 1987 with our sisters in Chile (see report circulated at the time).

The National Democratic Institute organ-



SIW joined the campaign for trade unionist Theresa Ramashamola - one of the "Sharpeville Six"



ised a seminar on "Women, Leadership and Democracy" in San Francisco in March 1987 which I attended as an observer (see report).

I took part in the IUSY festival in July 1987 in Valencia where I was invited to join two panel discussions.

In March 1988, I represented SIW at an ICFTU women's seminar in Wodonga, Australia, and was invited to address the ICFTU Congress in Melbourne which followed this event. During this journey, I also visited our sisters in India (reported in a circular).

ORIT, the Latin American and Caribbean regional organisation of the ICFTU, invited me to their Congress in April 1989 in Caracas and to a women's seminar preceding this Congress, and I was able to be present when a women's committee for the region and a women's department at the ORIT headquarters were formally established.

At Secretariat level, we have intensified our relationship with trade union women, with the ICFTU Women's Committee and the ICFTU as a whole.

An invitation to visit the headquarters of the Women's International Democratic Federation was accepted and I saw our sisters in East Berlin only very recently, in May 1989.

It gave me great pleasure to attend party congresses in the Federal Republic of Germany, Spain, the Netherlands and Great Britain. I followed discussions at conferences of our member women's organisations in Sweden, Norway and Great Britain.

I attended a meeting of women from trade unions in the United States, held in November 1988 in Seattle, and took part in Women's Day panel discussions in Antwerp (1988) and



SIW executive meets Margarita Penon De Arias (centre), Costa Rica,

Vienna (1989).

I should also like to emphasise our increasing co-operation with the women's working group within IUSY. Christa Randzio-Plath, Matilde Fernandez and myself have all participated in seminars organised by this small but ambitious group.

Finally, I want to stress how welcome I felt with sisters in member organisations and women close to us whom I visited during this inter-Conference period, in: Iceland, Denmark,

Canada, Chile, India, Brazil, Malta, Papua New Guinea, Ecuador (see report) and Venezuela.

I took part as SIW representative in Socialist International delegations to observe the referendum in Chile, October 1988, and the elections in El Salvador, March 1989.

In general, our relations with Socialist International have, I am pleased to say, developed in a most satisfactory way. We have seen an increase in the numbers of women repre-



Maria Rodriguez-Jonas with President Rodrigo Borja, Ecuador, 1989



Indian women meet, Ecuador, 1989



SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WOMEN REPORT

senting their parties in SI missions and Committees. Some encouragement from SIW was certainly helpful. We have participated, as SIW, in the work of all SI Committees, with varying degrees of intensity and continuity.

I was asked to coordinate the SI Environment Committee which gave me great pleasure and hopefully started a closer working

relationship between the officers of SI and SIW.

We have been able also to encourage more parties and organisations to include a greater number of women in their delegations to meetings of Socialist International. An agreement in Lima between the presidents of SI and SIW to hold SIW Bureau meetings in conjunc-

tion with SI Council meetings was the basis for this positive development. We also note an increase in numbers participating in our own Bureau meetings.

We are aware that most of our member organisations are financially dependent on their parties, also for financing of travel to SIW meetings. However, in the current period, we have welcomed sisters from parties which in the past had not been able to facilitate their attendance, for example from Brazil, Ecuador, Portugal and others.

Following up a rather short and general text which SIW had successfully proposed for inclusion in the SI Lima resolution, we were able to discuss "Women in the democratic socialist movement" at the SI Council meeting in Paris in December 1988, where SIW's resolution on women's participation was adopted.

Also, during 1988, four SI member parties adopted quota regulations (40% in the member parties from Denmark and the FRG, 25% in Spain and Portugal), which was in line with the Lima recommendations.

We have noted progress in many instances and hope that parties who have not yet complied with the "Socialist Decade for Women" declared in 1986 in Lima, will do so, with the help of persuasion and political arguments, in the very near future.

We have made efforts to widen the readership of Socialist Affairs and SIW Bulletin, and were able to achieve a modest increase in subscriptions from members and friends of SIW. We thank all those who responded to our promotion campaign. We have been able to start some new features in our publication and would like, once again, to call on all our members to contribute information for publication.

I should like to thank all those who kept in touch with me by phone or mail, and all those who took the trouble to respond to circulars sent out and questions asked by the secretariat.

I should also like to appeal to all those who did not respond, who never answered our circulars or letters, to do so in the future. We need your cooperation and contribution in the work done on behalf of all of us.

We have been invited to hold our 14th SIW Conference in Stockholm by the Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party which celebrates this year 100 years of existence.

This is a party with a strong women's organisation at its side. The women's organisation is so strong that just representation of women (nearly 40% in Parliament) was achieved without the pressure of a quota regulation.

In this political, in this feminist environment, inspiring hope and confidence, we shall be discussing and outlining what we want from the future and asserting that "The future we want is possible".

Meetings and activities of Socialist International Women

1986 - 1989

June 1986	Lima	Executive meeting Bureau meeting XIII SIW Conference - "A Socialist Decade for Women"
October 1986	Bonn	Executive meeting Bureau meeting - "Young Women, our Future"
February 1987	Madrid	Executive meeting
April 1987	Rome	Executive meeting Bureau meeting - "After Nairobi, Women's Participation in the Development Process"
June 1987	Halifax NS	Executive meeting, followed by mission in Canada
October 1987	Dakar	Executive meeting Study tour to rural areas, followed by Bureau meeting - "Women, a Key Factor in Economic Development in Africa"
March 1988	Oslo	Executive meeting
May 1988	Madrid	Executive meeting Bureau meeting - "Disarmament for Development"
August 1988	Guatemala	Executive meeting, followed by mission in Central America (Guatemala, Nicaragua, Costa Rica)
December 1988	Paris	Executive meeting Bureau meeting - "Women and Power"
January 1989	Sydney	Executive meeting, followed by mission in Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Papua New Guinea
June 1989	Stockholm	Executive meeting Bureau meeting XIV SIW Conference - "The Future we want is Possible"



Deadline: May

AFGHANISTAN

Soviet troops leave as Najibullah clings on

The Soviet Union completed the withdrawal of its forces from Afghanistan on 15 February, as laid down in the April 1988 Geneva accords. But hopes that the implementation of the accords would bring a rapid end to the conflict have proved wide of the mark.

The last Soviet soldier to cross the 'friendship bridge' between Afghanistan and Soviet Uzbekistan was Lieutenant-



Format

Armed for peace?: village militia in Afghanistan

In this issue of the Socialist Notebook:

- **Australia:** Historic wages and tax cuts deal, page 76
- **Austria:** Severe losses for Conservatives, page 76
- **Debt:** New US debt plan, page 77
- **Disarmament:** New conventional arms talks, page 78
- **El Salvador:** Right gains power, page 79
- **France:** Socialists advance in local elections, page 81
- **FR Germany:** Red and Green form coalitions, page 82
- **Great Britain:** Labour sets out new policy stall, page 83
- **Jamaica:** Manley back in power, page 85
- **Lebanon:** Conflict deepens, page 87
- **Paraguay:** Irregularities mar general's victory, page 90
- **Southern Africa:** Namibian independence pulls through storm, page 91
- **Turkey:** Social Democrats win in local polls, page 93

General Boris Gromov, who had commanded the estimated 115,000 Soviet troops in the country.

A small group of Soviet military advisers remained in the Afghan capital, Kabul, but the Soviet government claimed that they would play no combat role.

Background

Soviet involvement in Afghanistan began to escalate in December 1979 when a new People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) regime, led by former deputy prime minister Brabak Karmal, was installed with Soviet support.

Thousands of Soviet troops entered Afghanistan to join the Soviet military contingent that had been building up inside the country over the preceding months, and by the end of January 1980 the number had swelled to 85,000.

The PDPA seized power in the April 1978 *Sawr* revolution. But the new regime faced mounting armed opposition from the US-backed mujaheddin (holy warriors) based in Pakistan and Iran.

Bitter divisions had also led to fratricidal conflict in the PDPA's own ranks. In Septem-

ber 1979 the Soviet-backed president, Mohammed Taraki, was killed in a coup led by hardliner Hafizullah Amin.

It was in response to the deteriorating stability of the PDPA regime that the Soviet Union increased the scale of its intervention, as Soviet troops in Kabul assisted in the overthrow and execution of Amin. Amin was duly replaced by Karmal who became head of state, prime minister and PDPA general secretary.

The Soviet actions were widely condemned internationally as an invasion of a sovereign country. But the Soviet Union maintained that, in the face of external provocation by the United States and Pakistan, the Afghan government had merely invited it, as a 'fraternal ally', to send troops under the December 1978 friendship treaty between the two countries.

Since 1979, some 15,000 Soviet troops have been killed in Afghanistan and a further 37,000 wounded. Official US estimates put the number of Afghan casualties, military and civilian, at over one million. Almost five million Afghans, just under a third of the country's population, have fled to

neighbouring Pakistan and Iran during the conflict.

Changed approach

By the time Mikhail Gorbachev came to power in Moscow in March 1985 it was clear that Soviet resources were being squandered on a conflict that could not be won conclusively.

The new Soviet leader also had other priorities such as economic restructuring at home and the reversal of the east-west arms race internationally.

The first clear sign of a new Soviet approach came in May 1986, with the replacement of Karmal as PDPA general secretary by Major-General Mohammed Najibullah. Later elected president in November 1987, Najibullah had been in charge of reorganising the state security apparatus under Karmal and was associated with the moderate wing of the PDPA.

With Soviet support, Najibullah launched a campaign of 'national reconciliation'. But ceasefire and amnesty offers were rejected by the mujaheddin.

The Geneva accords

Meanwhile, the UN-mediated peace negotiations, involving

indirect talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan, were gathering momentum.

After six years, the process finally culminated with the signing of the so-called Geneva accords on 14 April 1988.

Signed by Afghanistan, Pakistan, the United States and the Soviet Union, the Geneva accords comprised five separate agreements.

The first two were Afghanistan-Pakistan agreements, one committing each side to non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of the other and the second covering the voluntary return of refugees. The third text was a US-Soviet declaration of support for the first two agreements.

The fourth was an Afghanistan-Pakistan agreement, guaranteed by Washington and Moscow, on 'inter-relationships'. It specified that a phased withdrawal of 'foreign' troops would begin on 15 May 1988, the first half leaving by 15 August 1988 and the withdrawal being completed within nine months.

The fifth was an annexed memorandum of understanding providing for the deployment of two small UN inspection teams in Kabul and Islamabad, the Pakistan capital, to monitor compliance with the settlement.

The Geneva accords, however, left two crucial issues unresolved: the nature of a future Afghan government; and continued aid by the United States and the Soviet Union to their respective clients. All parties have made repeated allegations that the accords are being violated.

Rejected diplomacy

Moscow completed its withdrawal from Afghanistan in February, in spite of its failure to secure an accommodation between the mujaheddin and the Najibullah regime, the aim being the emergence and consolidation of a broadly-based government before the troops left.

At the beginning of January, the Soviet deputy foreign minister and ambassador to Afghanistan, Yuli Vorontsov, visited Iran and Pakistan for talks with the two Afghan

mujaheddin rebel coalitions — the eight-member Shia Moslem group based in Iran, led by Mohammed Karim Khalili; and the dominant seven-member Sunni Moslem group based in Peshawar, Pakistan, led by Imam Seghbatullah Mujjadeddi.

(Vorontsov had earlier held his first meeting with the mujaheddin leaders in Saudi Arabia in December 1988.)

In talks with the Pakistan-based rebels, Vorontsov said that the Soviet Union was not opposed to their proposal for a temporary non-elected *Shura* (consultative assembly) to govern Afghanistan until national elections were held. But they rejected his insistence that the PDPA should be given participation in a future Afghan government. The talks broke down.

Vorontsov's talks with the Pakistan-based rebels were also hampered by serious divisions in the latter between 'moderates' and 'fundamentalists'.

Interim 'government'

Immediately after the Soviet withdrawal, various mujaheddin groups met in Rawalpindi, Pakistan, and elected an interim government-in-exile on 23 February.

Imam Seghbatullah Mujjadeddi, a leading moderate favouring the restoration of the pre-1973 Afghan monarchy, was appointed president.

But fundamentalists advocating the creation of an Islamic republic in Afghanistan gained strong representation. The Saudi-financed Sunni fundamentalist, Abdur-Rabbur Rasul Sayaf, was elected prime minister and hardliners, such as Gulbuddin Hekmatyar and Yunis Khalis, secured key positions.

The interim government also consisted exclusively of representatives of the Pakistan-based mujaheddin groups. The Iran based groups had decided to boycott the Rawalpindi meeting after the Peshawar-based fundamentalists had blocked efforts by moderate leaders to reconcile differences between the two rival groups.

Prior to the emergence of the interim government, the

Peshawar-based rebels had held a preparatory *Shura* on 14 February. But this was also boycotted by many delegates amidst allegations that Pakistan military intelligence (ISI) officers were interfering to strengthen the hand of the fundamentalists with whom they have links.

Conflict continues

Despite their internal divisions, the mujaheddin proceeded to intensify their operations in the wake of the Soviet withdrawal, launching major ground attacks against government-held strongholds.

But their initial confidence that the Najibullah regime would rapidly crumble in the absence of Soviet support proved to be premature. Frontal assaults on the strategic city of Jalalabad, to the east of Kabul inside the border with Pakistan, were repulsed with heavy mujaheddin losses, while other key locations also remained in government hands.

Meanwhile, the Najibullah regime moved to consolidate its political position following the Soviet departure.

Seven non-PDPA government ministers were replaced by party nominees on 18 February and the following day a new 20-member Supreme Council for the Defence of the Homeland was appointed. The government also declared a state of emergency throughout the country, citing as justification the discovery of a large arms cache said to be intended for attack on the capital.

In May protracted guerrilla insurgency and civil war seemed to be the most likely prospect for Afghanistan, with each of the opposing sides continuing to enjoy superpower backing.

The Soviet government remained committed to the Najibullah regime, and resumed arms supplies in mid-March. For its part, the new Bush administration in the United States, while rejecting recognition of the rebel government as 'premature', made clear its determination to back the mujaheddin for 'as long as the resistance struggle for self-determination continues.'

AUSTRALIA

Historic wages and tax cuts deal

The federal treasurer, Paul Keating, announced a historic accord between government and trade unions in April.

It has been described as the most far-reaching development in the country's collective-bargaining system since the establishment of the Australian federation in 1901.

Under the agreement, the Australian Council of Trade Unions has agreed to productivity-related wage increases in 1989-90 in return for major tax cuts and increases in social welfare payments. Average earnings will be held to 6.5 per cent in this period and will also be linked to agreement on job restructuring.

The cuts in personal income tax amount to A\$4.9 billion and will be mainly concentrated in the lower and middle income brackets. Increases or beneficial changes in social welfare payments are worth a further \$710 million.

Presenting the agreement, Keating said that, in spite of the cost of the package, the government expected to achieve a budget surplus in the 1989-90 financial year that would at least be equivalent to the \$5.5 billion forecast for 1988-89.

AUSTRIA

Severe losses for Conservatives in provincial polls

Both federal 'grand coalition' parties lost ground in provincial elections in Tirol, Salzburg and Carinthia on 12 March.

It was the moderate conservative People's Party (ÖVP) which suffered the most

serious losses, mainly at the hands of the ring-wing opposition Freedom Party (FPÖ) led by Jörg Haider.

The losses of the Socialist Party (SPÖ), on the other hand, were modest by comparison. But the party nevertheless lost its 40-year-old majority in Carinthia province.

The elections involved approximately one fifth of the Austrian electorate and appeared to confirm the nationalist FPÖ as a significant third force in the country's politics.

Results

In the Tirol election Chancellor Franz Vranitzky's SPÖ retained nine seats in the 36-member provincial parliament (although its share of the vote slipped from 25.2 per cent in 1984 to 22.9 per cent).

Meanwhile, in one of its heartland provinces, the ÖVP, the Socialists' junior partner in the federal coalition, saw its share of the vote plummet from 64.6 to 48.7 per cent and its representation from 25 to 19 seats.

Most of the ÖVP's losses went to the FPÖ, which climbed from 6 to 15.6 per cent and from 2 to 5 seats.

The other three seats went to the green 'Alternative List', which entered the Tirol parliament for the first time with 8.1 per cent of the vote.

In Salzburg, the SPÖ vote fell from 35.1 per cent in 1984 to 31.3 per cent. The party accordingly lost one of its 13 seats in the 36-member parliament.

The dominant ÖVP retained only 16 of its 19 seats, its share of the vote falling from 50.2 to 43.9 per cent, while the FPÖ doubled its vote to 16.4 per cent and increased its representation from 4 to 6 seats.

The environmentalist Citizens' List won the other two seats with 6.1 per cent of the vote.

In the Socialist stronghold of Carinthia, the SPÖ lost its majority but remained the largest party with 17 of the 36 seats (down three) and 46 per cent of the vote (from 51.6 per cent in 1984).

The ÖVP also lost three seats for a total of eight, its vote falling from 28.3 to 20.9 per cent. The FPÖ achieved a startling increase from 16 to 29 per cent and from 5 to 11 seats, thus overtaking the ÖVP as Carinthia's second party.

Following the Carinthia election, the SPÖ ruled out the possibility of any coalition in which the FPÖ was included, warning that any pact between the ÖVP and the FPÖ could place the national coalition government between the Socialists and Conservatives at risk.

However, on 8 May, the leader of the FPÖ, Jörg Haider, became governor of the province with ÖVP support, thus fuelling speculation about the possibility of an early general election in Austria.

Earlier in mid-April, the election results had led to the resignation of the Austrian vice-chancellor, Dr Alois Mock, as chairman of the ÖVP. Party members criticised what they saw as his lacklustre leadership.

Mock was replaced by Josef Riegler, the federal agriculture minister. He will nevertheless retain his position as foreign minister.

- The SPÖ approved Austria's application for membership of the European Community on 3 April, affirming that the application would not put the country's neutrality at risk. The decision to apply for EC membership was subsequently endorsed by the Austrian parliament on 17 April.

- On 2 February Franz Löschnak (48) was sworn in as the new SPÖ interior minister. His previous post as chancellor minister responsible for health and the civil service went to Harald Ettl, the general secretary of the textile workers union. Rudolf Pöder, deputy chairman of the Austrian trade union federation, became president of the *Nationalrat*.

BELGIUM

New SP leader

Frank Vandebroucke has become chairman of the Belgian Flemish Socialist Party (SP).

He replaces Karel van Miert who has become a commissioner for consumer affairs and transport with the European Commission in Brussels.

An economist and former adviser to van Miert on economic issues, Vandebroucke served as the Socialist deputy for the Louvain constituency. He was also, until October 1988, a town councillor for Scherpenheuvel-Zichem.

CANADA

Broadbent to step down

Ed Broadbent will be stepping down as leader of the opposition New Democratic Party (NDP/NPD).

He made the announcement at a meeting of the party's federal council in Toronto on 4 March.

Leader for nearly 14 years, he said that it was 'time for renewal' and for 'a new man or woman to take us the next step towards building a decent, exciting and compassionate Canada.'

Broadbent, who has also been a member of parliament for almost 21 years, won praise from his political opponents. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of the Progressive Conservative Party (PC) called him 'a leader of uncommon effectiveness, ability and commitment,' while John Turner, the leader of the Liberal Party, said that he had made 'a very sound contribution to public life in Canada.'

The NDP will choose his successor at a meeting of the party's federal convention in

Winnipeg from 30 November to 3 December.

Broadbent's decision came less than four months after general elections in Canada on 21 November 1988 in which the Conservatives were returned to power. It was the fourth general election he had fought as party leader.

The NDP took its share of the vote to 20 per cent and won a record 43 seats in the House of Commons. It also performed well in the western province of British Columbia where it ended up with 19 of the 32 seats (a gain of 11).

But the party's support continued to be regionalised. Thirty three of the NDP's seats were won in provinces west of Ontario; and in spite of concentrating on Quebec during the campaign, the party did not win a seat in the French-speaking province.

As a result, the party did not make the nationwide breakthrough that had been predicted in the year prior to the elections. Opinion polls in August 1987 had given it 44 per cent support throughout the country.

- Following the resignation of Bill Knight, Dick Proctor became NDP federal secretary on 1 May.

DEBT

New US debt plan

The United States treasury secretary, Nicholas Brady, unveiled a new set of proposals for dealing with the third world debt crisis in Washington on 10 March.

The announcement followed a major policy review on the issue by the Bush administration. It also coincided with serious social unrest in a number of Latin American countries, in particular Venezuela where hundreds of people had lost their lives in disturbances the previous month following the introduction of an economic



Popperfoto

Out of the woods?: US Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady announces new debt proposals

austerity programme.

The 'Brady Plan', as the new set of proposals have been dubbed, is a follow-up to the previous 'Baker Plan', launched in 1985 by Brady's predecessor in the treasury post, James Baker (who is now secretary of state).

Reduction

But unlike the Baker Plan, the new US initiative is aimed at encouraging debt reduction agreements between commercial banks and their third world debtors, rather than on additional loans and further indebtedness.

It hopes to produce a 20 per cent reduction in the overall debt burden of 39 third world countries over the next three years. Particular emphasis will be given to Latin American countries which owe an estimated US\$450 billion (out of

a total third world debt of \$1,200 billion).

Under the new plan, the United States would waive a number of banking regulations to facilitate voluntary negotiations between the commercial banks and debtor nations to set up debt reduction programmes.

Such programmes would receive funding from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. It is also envisaged that the two multilateral institutions would offer new financial support to 'collateralise (or guarantee) a portion of interest payments for debt or debt service transactions.'

To qualify for such support, third world countries would have to agree to introduce economic policies approved by the IMF.

Response

The new plan received a mixed response from Latin American leaders.

Meeting in Ciudad Guayana in Venezuela on 10-12 March, the Group of Eight Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela and Panama — which did not participate on this occasion) welcomed the fact that the proposals contemplated, for the first time, the need for debt reduction.

But rejecting the proposed 20 per cent reduction in foreign debts as insufficient, President Carlos Andrés Pérez of Venezuela said: 'The plan presupposes that Latin American countries can wait years for a basic solution to the debt problem. None of our countries can wait.'

The Group of Eight instead adopted the declaration of Rio de Janeiro which urged a reduction in regional debt by using a multilateral institution to issue and guarantee bonds to purchase a major share of debt. Funds would be provided mainly by the industrialised countries, but with some support from the debtor nations.

At a previous meeting, the Latin American nations had vowed to seek a presidential summit with the leaders of the industrialised world on the debt issue.

Meanwhile, ministers of the Group of 24, which represents the developing nations, welcomed the Brady Plan, but called for it to be available to all third world debtors. They also requested additional resources to 'reverse the massive net transfer of resources from the developing countries.'

Caution

Among the industrialised nations, the reaction to the Brady Plan was also uneven.

France and Japan received the proposals warmly as a step in the right direction. (Japan had made its own debt relief proposals for middle income third world countries in September 1988, while France had been a major contributor to the emergence of an agreement on

alternatives for the rescheduling of the foreign debts of the world's poorest countries at the Toronto summit of the Group of Seven major industrialised nations in June 1988.)

Other G-7 countries were much more cautious, however, fearing that talk of debt reduction would inflate the debtor countries' expectations of generous relief.

They are also anxious to avoid heightened involvement by the multilateral financial institution leading to governments and public sector bodies accepting responsibility for solutions for the debt problem. In their first official response, they stressed that negotiations on debt are a matter for the debtors and commercial banks.

Similar reservations came at the spring meetings of the IMF and the World Bank on 3-4 April.

While supporting the broad thrust of the Brady Plan, the final statement of the IMF Interim Committee declared that IMF participation in debt alleviation 'should be accompanied by strong financial support, including new money, from commercial banks.'

HORIZONS: Half-baked solutions, page 48

SI NEWS: Towards a new approach on debt and trade, page 42

DISARMAMENT

New conventional arms talks

A new set of conventional arms talks between Nato and the Warsaw Pact — the Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) negotiations — began in Vienna on 9 March.

A spin-off from the Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) which ended in January, the CFE negotiations superseded the Mutual Balanced Force Reduction (MBFR) talks which had made no tangible progress in over 15 years of meetings.



Topham

Disarming speech: Mikhail Gorbachev's address to the United Nations last December

The aims of the CFE talks, according to Annex III of the Vienna CSCE Concluding Document, are: 'to strengthen stability and security in Europe through the establishment of a stable and secure balance of conventional armed forces, which include conventional armaments and equipment, at lower levels; the elimination of disparities prejudicial to stability and security; and the elimination, as a matter of priority, of the capability for launching surprise attack and for initiating large-scale offensive action.'

The 23 CFE nations also agreed in the Vienna document that conventional armaments or equipment 'with other capabilities other than conventional ones' would be included in the talks, and that the subject of nuclear weapons, naval forces and chemical weapons would not be addressed.

Proposals

The negotiating position of the two sides was outlined at an inaugural meeting of Nato and the Warsaw Pact foreign

ministers on 6 March.

For the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet foreign minister, Edward Shevardnadze, put forward a three-stage programme of force reductions.

In the first stage, lasting two to three years, Nato and the Warsaw Pact would reduce their armed forces and conventional arms down to 10-15 per cent below the lowest levels currently possessed by either alliance.

The greatest emphasis would be placed on the most destabilising categories of arms such as attack combat aircraft, tanks, combat helicopters, combat armoured vehicles and armoured personnel carriers and artillery (including multiple rocket launcher systems and mortars).

In the second stage, of equal duration, both sides would agree to an additional cut of 25 per cent.

And in the final stage, agreements would be reached to ensure that armed forces in Europe would be 'strictly defensive.'

While not part of the CFE negotiating mandate, Shevardnadze argued that Nato's naval forces should also be reduced, as

they were of essential importance to Nato's overall strategy. And as well as reiterating that separate negotiations should begin on the elimination of short-range nuclear weapons, he expressed the pact's preference for the establishment of demilitarised zones or corridors from which tactical nuclear weapons would be excluded.

The British foreign secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, outlined Nato's position. This concentrated on land-based armaments. Unlike the Warsaw Pact proposal, it did not refer to troops cuts or include air or naval forces.

He suggested that Nato and the Warsaw Pact should be limited to a maximum ceiling of 40,000 battle tanks, 33,000 artillery pieces and 56,000 armoured personnel carriers and that no one country would be allowed to possess more than 30 per cent of these overall limits.

Moreover, no member of either alliance would be able to base more than 3,200 tanks, 1,700 artillery pieces or 6,000 armoured personnel carriers outside its national borders.

Howe also proposed a series of verification measures, including annual bilateral exchanges of detailed information about forces and exercises in Europe, improved arrangements for observing military activities and a stronger on-site inspection scheme.

Shift

In the following weeks, both the Soviet Union and the United States made new proposals which marked a certain shift away from the negotiating position set out by Nato and the Warsaw Pact on 6 March.

As well as announcing the withdrawal of 500 short-range nuclear weapons on 11 May, President Gorbachev unveiled an ambitious plan for the reduction of Nato and Warsaw Pact forces to 1.35 million soldiers on each side by 1997.

In an effort to accommodate Nato's insistence on asymmetrical reductions by the Warsaw Pact to take account of its superiority in tanks and heavy artillery, he also offered further cuts in these areas.

For his part, President Bush offered his own programme of conventional cuts during the Nato summit at the end of May.

According to the proposal, the United States and the Soviet Union would cut the number of their troops based in Europe to 275,000 each. It also meant a much faster timetable than that offered by the Soviet Union. An agreement on the cuts would be achieved within a year and implementation would take place in 1992 or 1993.

But given that the Soviet Union contributes more troops proportionately to Warsaw Pact forces than the United States does to Nato, the Bush proposals would leave Nato with a preponderance of troops.

The main concession of the US proposals was to agree that aircraft and helicopters — in which the Warsaw Pact claims Nato has a superiority — should form part of conventional arms reductions talks.

Bush also relaxed restrictions on the export of western technology to the Soviet Union.

EL SALVADOR

Right gains power

Alfredo Cristiani, the candidate of the right-wing Nationalist Republican Alliance (Arena) emerged a comfortable victor in presidential elections in El Salvador on 19 March. Guillermo Ungo, the first candidate of the left to contest elections since 1972, came fourth.

A wealthy coffee tycoon, Cristiani won an absolute majority with 53.8 per cent of the vote, thus obviating the need for a second ballot. He took office on 1 June, with Francisco Merino as vice-president.

Fidel Chávez Mena, of the US-backed centre-right Christian Democratic Party (PDC), in power since 1984, came second with 36 per cent, while the right-wing National Conciliation Party (PCN), hit by



Placards for peace: demonstration for the right of refugees to return to El Salvador

defections to Arena, came a distant third with 4.07 of the vote.

Guillermo Ungo, the president of the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) and the candidate of the centre-left Democratic Convergence (CD) coalition (see 1-2/88, page 78-79), took 3.88 per cent of the vote, but contested the veracity of the results. He had hoped to win more than 10 per cent.

The scale of the Arena victory thus deprived the CD of the opportunity to become power brokers in a second round election run-off, although the coalition did manage to develop its organisation and campaigning experience.

The CD also used the elections to press the case for a negotiated settlement to the nine-year-old civil war.

The election was marred by political violence as scores of people were killed (including three journalists shot by the

army) in clashes around the country between the army and guerrillas of the left-wing Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). The army launched helicopter attacks on FMLN units in the suburbs of San Salvador, the capital.

Appeals by the CD for a ceasefire to be respected went unheeded.

Boycott criticised

Ungo explained the low score for the CD as an inevitable consequence of the civil war and of years of violent repression — an estimated 75,000 people have lost their lives since the conflict began.

But he also criticised the decision of the FMLN to boycott the election as 'a grave mistake', saying that it was difficult for voters to distinguish between the CD's campaign for peaceful change and the tactics of the rebels.

A national transport strike

called by the FMLN — the sixth in a year — severely disrupted voting, as did the rebels' intensification of military activity throughout the country.

On 15 March, the FMLN fired mortars at the presidential palace and on the day of the election itself launched simultaneous attacks on 20 towns, including the capital. Rebel sabotage left much of the country without electricity.

Election officials were also warned that they would be seen as part of the government counter-insurgency campaign and therefore legitimate targets for attack.

As a result, voter turnout was much lower than in the March 1988 legislative and municipal elections, with participation averaging below 40 per cent in rural areas, as against 50 per cent overall.

Earlier in July 1988, the FMLN had pledged to 'accept and respect' the decision of the

Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) — Ungo's MNR and the Popular Social Christian Movement led by Rubén Zamora — to participate in the March presidential contest.

(The other party of the CD coalition, the Social Democratic Party led by Ungo's running mate, Mario Remi Roldán, is not a member of the FDR.)

Rejected proposals

The decision of the FMLN to call for an election boycott stemmed from the rejection of the 12-point peace initiative it had presented on 24 January.

Under the plan, the FMLN offered to take part in the presidential elections (by urging support for the CD candidates) and to abide by the results, provided that the government agreed to postpone the poll for six months until September.

Welcomed by the new Bush administration in the United States (with whom the rebels

held direct talks for the first time in nine years in February), the plan was seen as a concession on the FMLN's part in that it dropped its long-standing demand for power sharing and accepted that the established government would continue until elections were held.

In return, the FMLN sought security guarantees that its supporters would be able to register and participate in an election campaign on equal terms; and that repression would end.

In a further elaboration of its proposals, the FMLN also declared in February that it was prepared to halt the armed struggle if those guilty of human rights crimes were punished and the armed forces reformed. It also offered a ceasefire around the proposed September election period.

However, the plan met with immediate hostility from Arena and the military who rejected it on technical constitutional grounds.

They also rejected a compromise solution offered by the Christian Democrat government. Having initially dismissed the plan, President José Napoleón Duarte had offered to postpone the elections until 30 April. But this was also rejected as insufficient by the FMLN.

Prompted by the FMLN proposals, representatives of 13 of El Salvador's political parties held peace talks with the FMLN in Mexico City at the end of February. But the dialogue

founded once again on the intransigence of Arena, whose control of the national assembly and high standing in election opinion polls made it determined to block progress.

Prospects

The election results have placed El Salvador firmly under the control of the right wing — Arena having gained a majority in the national assembly in the March 1988 legislative elections — and marks the return to power of the landed gentry and oligarchy.

Economically, the Arena victory is likely to mean a pronounced emphasis on market-oriented policies, including privatisation and an end to land reform. And on the political front, many fear that violent counter-insurgency measures will be stepped up.

Indeed, while Cristiani leads the business-oriented conservative wing of Arena, he relies heavily on the hard-line parliamentary contingent led by party president, Roberto d'Aubuisson.

The latter is closely identified with the death squads which murdered thousands of labour, peasant, church and community activists in the early 1980s. Death squad activity increased notably in 1988.

Meanwhile, the FMLN vowed to make the country ungovernable unless the incoming Arena administration agreed to peace talks, calling for a 'transitional government' which would create

the conditions for fresh and fair elections with FMLN participation.

For his part, Guillermo Ungo predicted that without sincere peace moves the Arena regime would find its position untenable after one to two years of sustained conflict.

SI NEWS: 'Violence overshadows El Salvador elections', page 47

FRANCE

Socialists advance in local elections

The ruling Socialist Party (PS) made reasonable gains in local elections held throughout France on 12 and 19 March, as the conservative vote continued to slide.

The outcome was described by Socialist Prime Minister Michel Rocard as a vindication of his government's policies at a national level.

Socialist gains

Last held in 1983, the elections were for over 500,000 seats in some 36,700 communes and involved about 38 million electors.

But the multiplicity of elections in France over the last year meant that the abstention rate in the first round averaged over 30 per cent, a post-war high. Participation nevertheless picked up by 5 per cent on 19 March.

Despite high abstention, the PS emerged with control of 133 of the 392 larger towns (those with over 20,000 inhabitants), a net gain of 22.

In addition, three larger towns were won by unofficial Socialist lists, notably Marseilles, where incumbent mayor Robert Vigouroux was reelected after having been expelled for refusing to give way to the official PS candidate.

Important cities which fell to the PS included Aix-en-

Provence, Avignon, Béziers, Blois, Brest, Dunkirk, Mulhouse, Orléans and Strasbourg, the latter a traditional stronghold of the right where Catherine Trautmann became the first woman mayor of a major French city.

Benefiting from a partial electoral agreement with the PS, the French Communist Party (PCF) succeeded in containing its net losses among the larger towns to 14.

But the PCF's final tally of 68 larger towns showed a further erosion of support for the party in its industrial heartland. Five of the towns lost by the PCF went to the PS and three to dissident Communists. The largest city remaining in PCF hands was the port of Le Havre in the north.

Right loses ground

On the centre-right of the political spectrum, the Union for French Democracy (UDF) won 75 larger cities, a net loss of 9, while the right-wing Gaullist Rally for the Republic (RPR) suffered a net loss of 7, its final tally being 80.

The principal effect of the Socialist government's so-called 'opening' to progressive centrist elements at national level (see 1-2/88, page 79) appeared to be to swing many centrist voters behind PS lists where the RPR was representing the centre-right.

A major success for the centrist Republican Party (part of the UDF) was the capture of Amiens from the PCF, thanks to the Socialists' refusal to withdraw in the second round.

The RPR maintained its grip on Paris, where incumbent mayor and party leader Jacques Chirac gained some consolation for his rout in last year's presidential election by winning majorities in all 20 of the capital's districts. The head of the Socialist list, Minister of the Interior Pierre Joxe, nevertheless made sufficient impact during a lively campaign to win a seat.

A disturbing aspect of the elections was the solid showing by the extreme right-wing National Front (FN) which ran in just over half the 400 larger towns for the first time.

Results of Salvadorean presidential elections, March 1989 (1984)

	Percentage
Nationalist Republican Alliance (Arena)	53.82 (29.8)
Christian Democratic Party (PDC)	36.03 (43.4)
National Conciliation Party (PCN)	4.07 (19.3)
Democratic Convergence (CD)	3.88 (—)
Others ¹	2.20 (7.5)

¹1989: Authentic Christian Movement (MAC, a PDC splinter group), Renewal Action (AR, centrist) and Free Homeland (PL, ultra-right).
1984: Democratic Action (AD), Salvadoran Popular Party (PPS).

Salvadoran Authentic Institutional Party (PAISA), Stable Republican Centrist Movement (Merecan - now part of MAC), Popular Orientation Party (POP).

The FN again split the right-wing vote.

Green breakthrough

Another key feature of the elections was the breakthrough of the French Greens which scored their first significant electoral successes.

With a national average of 4 per cent of the vote in the first round, the Greens won seats in Rennes, Nancy, Rouen, Tours and la Rochelle, then going on to contest 22 larger towns in the second round. In Strasbourg, the party won 12 per cent of the vote, although this was reduced to 9 per cent on 19 March.

In Paris, the Greens won a seat for the first time, while in Lille they gave second-round backing to incumbent mayor Pierre Mauroy, the first secretary of the PS, in return for five council seats.

In a break with the pattern of previous elections, the growing influence of the Greens and the FN meant that there was an increase in the number of three- or four-cornered contests, rather than traditional right-left run-offs, in the second round.

FR GERMANY

Red and Green form coalitions

The opposition Social Democratic Party (SPD) made major gains in elections to the West Berlin house of representatives on 29 January and in local council polls in Hesse on 12 March.

The results were a near-disaster for the federal coalition parties, whose share of the vote plummeted. The Greens, on the other hand, made advances in both elections.

A worrying aspect of the elections for the left, however, was the surge in support for the extreme right.

West Berlin

In West Berlin the SPD in-

creased its share of the vote from 32.4 per cent in 1985 to 37.3 per cent, winning 55 of the 138 seats, a gain of seven.

For its part, the Green 'Alternative List' (AL) moved from 10.6 to 11.8 per cent and from 15 to 17 seats.

Of the city's ruling coalition parties, the Christian Democrats (CDU) slumped from 46.4 to 37.8 per cent and 69 seats to 55, while the Free Democrats (FDP) slipped from 8.5 to 3.9 per cent, well below the 5 per cent minimum required for representation.

The coalition lost much of its support to the right-wing nationalist Republicans, who took 7.5 per cent of the vote and 11 seats in their first West Berlin elections. Campaigning on an anti-immigration platform, they advocated 'a democratically purified patriotism.' Ten per cent of the city's two million population are foreigners.

The Republicans were founded in 1983 and their support is based mainly in Bavaria.

Female coalition

After initial hesitation, the SPD leader in West Berlin, Walter Momper, accepted the logic of an SPD-AL coalition government.

Sworn in on 16 March, the coalition was headed by Momper as governing mayor and included 10 SPD senators and three from the AL.

No less than eight of the new team were women, including all three AL senators, making it the first administration in German history with a female majority.

The AL made a number of concessions in joining the coalition, including acceptance of a continued Allied military presence in West Berlin and the right of the police to use force to safeguard law and order. The AL nevertheless insisted that the city's riot police should eventually be disbanded and the Allied presence reduced to a symbolic level.

Hesse

In the Hesse local elections the CDU suffered yet another major blow, its average vote share shrinking to 34.3 per cent from

41.1 per cent in 1985. Meanwhile, the FDP averaged less than five per cent.

The SPD's overall vote climbed by 1 point to 44.8 per cent and that of the Greens two points to 9.2 per cent.

But the biggest state-wide winner was the neo-nazi National Democratic Party (NPD) with 8.1 per cent. And the Republicans won 7 and 10 per cent of the vote in the only two districts they contested.

The general trend throughout Hesse became even further accentuated in the council elections in Frankfurt, which were seen as a particularly important contest, given the city's status as a major financial centre.

The CDU collapsed from 49.6 to 36.6 per cent and from 48 to 36 seats, thus losing control of the state capital after 12 years in power; and the FDP again failed to secure representation.

The SPD became the largest single party with 40 seats (up 3) and 40.1 per cent of the vote (up 1.5 per cent), while the Greens weighed in with 10 seats and

10.1 per cent (as against eight seats and 8 per cent in 1985).

The remaining seven seats went to the NDP (with 6.6 per cent), which re-entered the Frankfurt council for the first time since 1970.

On the West Berlin model, an SPD-Green coalition was formed under the mayorship of Volker Hauff, a former SPD federal minister.

Four Green representatives were appointed to the new administration in an assistant capacity and are responsible for environment and energy, health and women, education and culture. They include Daniel Cohn-Bendit, the former leader of the May 1968 student revolt in Paris.

Repercussions and projections

On the right, the elections led to intensified criticism of Chancellor Kohl's leadership, not only within his own CDU, but also from the Christian Social Union, the CDU's more conservative Bavarian sister party.

As a result, Chancellor Kohl



Colour of the rose: Volker Hauff, SPD leader of the new Red-Green council in Frankfurt

has come under pressure from CDU/CSU right-wingers to adopt a tougher line on immigration to counter the appeal of the extreme right. Some 4.6 million foreign workers live in West Germany.

He has also found himself being squeezed between both right and left on the issue of modernisation of short-range nuclear weapons deployed by Nato in West Germany.

Current opinion polls show public opinion overwhelmingly in favour of an arms reduction deal with the Soviet Union which would make modernisation unnecessary.

Given the difficulties of the governing coalition, a major effect of the elections has been to fuel speculation about the possible outcome of the federal elections due in 1990.

Between the West Berlin and Hesse elections the congress of the German Greens in Duisburg voted by a large majority to seize 'the chance of the century' of cooperating, under certain conditions, with the SPD at federal level following the general elections.

The Greens also elected a new leadership from the 'realist' wing of the party. This marked the eclipse of the anti-coalition 'fundamentalists' who had been in the ascendant since the Greens' troubled first experience of cohabitation with the SPD in the Hesse state government from 1985-87.

The future performance of the new SPD-Green coalitions in West Berlin and Hesse is therefore regarded as having crucial national projections, not least by Social Democrats with continuing reservations about a red-green alliance at federal level.

- The SPD-controlled Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein parliaments approved at first reading the introduction of legislation giving foreigners the right to vote in district elections. Under the planned legislation, foreigners resident in Hamburg for eight years would be given the vote, while in Schleswig-Holstein, the franchise would be granted to foreigners from countries with reciprocal rights.



Faces of change: Neil Kinnock (centre) and cabinet colleagues at a press conference

GREAT BRITAIN

Labour sets out new policy stall

The Labour Party's two-year policy review came to an end in May with the publication of 'Meet the Challenge, Make the Change'. The 70,000-word document proposes significant shifts in key areas, in particular the economy and defence.

Backed by the Labour leadership and a majority of the party executive, the proposals attracted strong criticism on the left of the party and are expected to be keenly debated when submitted for endorsement by the party's annual conference in October.

The policy review had been ordered by party leader Neil Kinnock immediately after Labour's third consecutive election defeat in 1987.

Some preliminary documents were published in mid-1988 and approved by last October's annual conference, including a new statement of basic philosophy called 'Democratic Socialist Aims and Values' (see

1-2/88, pages 81-82).

Thereafter, the various expert groups began elaborating more detailed policy formulations in the seven areas designated for review (the productive and competitive economy; people at work; economic equality; consumers and community; civil and personal liberties; Britain's international role; and the environment).

The economy

Entitled 'Competing for Prosperity', the section on the economy in the document marks Labour's clearest acceptance yet of the need to come to terms with an economy governed primarily by market forces.

Referring to 'supply-side socialism' as the party's strategic aim, it rejects wide-ranging nationalisation and centralised control of the economy and also discounts the possibility of bringing basic industries privatised by the Thatcher government back into state control.

A Labour government might nevertheless increase the state holding in the British Telecom telecommunications company from 49 to 51 per cent as part of a plan to give Britain one of the most sophisticated fibre optic communications networks in the world.

And the water industry would revert to some form of public ownership, should the Conservatives go ahead with their controversial plans to privatise.

But in the case of other privatised utilities, the immediate emphasis would be on establishing regulatory controls to safeguard the public interest.

To counter claims that a Labour government would mean a return to high-inflation, the document gives a commitment to control prices and not to spend more than the country can afford.

The document asserts that the economy should be modernised by concentrating investment in the new high technology industries, with incentives being provided for research and development and the training of a highly skilled workforce.

It also proposes the creation of a new British investment bank, which would provide cheap, long term credit for industry, in an effort to circumvent the City of London's propensity for short-term speculation.

Social policy and the environment

On taxation, the review proposes 'a fair tax system based on ability to pay' with lower income tax rates for the lower

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

GREAT BRITAIN

paid and higher rates for higher earners.

But there would be no return to the last Labour government's higher marginal rates of income tax. Instead, a more stringent line would be taken on tax loopholes, capital gains and unearned income, such as inherited wealth.

The review confirmed Labour's commitment to a properly funded National Health Service and to an effective state education system.

In an extensive section on environmental issues, the review found 'no case for investing in new nuclear power stations', but withdrew from a total commitment to cancelling existing projects. It also envisaged the creation of a ministry of environmental protection and an independent environmental protection executive.

And measures forcing industry to give more information on their products and processes and to reduce waste would be introduced. Legislation would be passed to guarantee clean water.

On trade unions, the review proposed restoring many freedoms and rights that had been eroded under the Thatcher government. But it steered away from the wholesale repeal of legislation introduced by the Conservatives since 1979. Secondary industrial action would be relegalised, but within a narrower framework than under the last Labour government.

Europe

The review confirmed Labour's new enthusiasm for the European Community (EC) and for the 'social Europe' aspirations so disliked by Mrs Thatcher.

But while supporting greater political cooperation in the EC, the document said that the pace at which decisions were being made by the Council of Ministers made scrutiny by national parliaments more necessary than ever.

It also maintained that participation in the European Monetary System (EMS) exchange rate mechanism would not be possible until the latter's

emphasis on deflation was changed.

Defence

The most controversial aspect of the 'Britain in the World' section of the document was defence policy, in particular its proposals on nuclear weapons.

Public opinion polls have consistently showed Labour's policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament — the removal of all nuclear weapons and nuclear bases from Britain — to be the least supported of its aims. And political commentators have claimed that the policy has been a major contributing factor to the party's defeat in the last two elections.

Advocates of unilateralism, on the other hand, have insisted that the party has never thrown its weight behind an effective campaign to explain and promote its existing policy.

As expected, the defence text abandoned what Neil Kinnock had dubbed a 'something for nothing' unilateralism in favour of a multilateralist 'something for something' approach.

According to the new plans, a Labour government would seek to negotiate away Britain's present Polaris and forthcoming Trident missile systems within the framework of arms reduction talks between the superpowers, or bilaterally if necessary. The year 2000 was set as the target date for 'securing the elimination of all nuclear weapons' and thus for the removal of US nuclear bases in Britain.

Meanwhile, a Labour government would retain Polaris and take delivery of Trident missiles, but would scrap plans to increase the number of their warheads and would cancel construction of a fourth Trident submarine.

Labour would also immediately adopt a policy of 'no first use' of nuclear weapons and seek to persuade its Nato allies to follow suit. British nuclear testing would end.

The new defence policy text was approved by Labour's national executive committee on 9 May by 17 votes to 8 with one abstention.

Those against included Tony

Benn and other left-wingers, who pointed out that the new policy was contrary to the party's existing policy of unilateralism (which was reconfirmed at the 1988 party conference).

Claiming that the new policy was directly opposed to the logic of previous arguments put forward by the party on disarmament, they said that the document's silence on whether a Labour prime minister would or would not be prepared to use nuclear weapons demonstrated flawed reasoning and would thus leave the party open to attack from its opponents.

In response, supporters of the new policy contended that such a question was irrelevant, since the very concept of deterrence was based on uncertainty as to how the other side would act.

● The Labour Party has launched a national campaign to increase rank-and-file membership of the party to 1.2 million by the next general election. By 1987, individual party membership had dropped to 288,000 from 348,000 in 1980.

Labour advances at the polls

Parliamentary byelections in February and May showed a clear recovery in the British Labour Party's electoral performance, as the ruling Conservatives suffered a sharp decline in support.

Labour's most spectacular result was in the Welsh Vale of Glamorgan seat on 4 May when it converted a Conservative majority of over 6,000 into a Labour majority of 6,028.

Labour candidate John Smith achieved a massive 12.5 per cent swing from the Conservatives, the biggest in any byelection since 1935.

The candidates of the centrist Social and Liberal Democrats (SLD), Plaid Cymru (Welsh Nationalists) and the centre-right Social Democratic Party (SDP) all lost their election deposits.

In another byelection in

Wales, Labour retained the Pontypridd seat on 23 February with a comfortable 53.4 per cent of the vote. But this was some 3 points down on the 1987 general election, as the party suffered a swing in favour of the Plaid Cymru, whose vote rose from 5.3 per cent to 25.3 per cent, the Nationalists' best performance since 1972.

The Conservatives were relegated to third place and the SLD and SDP candidates lost their election deposits.

Conservative collapse

Also on 23 February, the Conservatives retained the Richmond (Yorkshire) seat. But their vote share suffered a drastic cut from 61.2 per cent in 1987 to 37.2 per cent.

In Richmond the anti-government vote went to the centre rather than to Labour, with the SDP and SLD candidates winning 32.2 and 22.1 per cent respectively — substantially more in aggregate than the Conservatives.

Local elections

Labour's recovery was also apparent in elections for the 47 county councils of England and Wales on 4 May, when Britain's traditional two-party politics made a comeback.

After a several years of centrist complications, both Labour and the Conservatives benefited from the collapse of the SLD/SDP vote.

Labour increased the number of councils in its control from 9 to 13 and gained 67 seats. The councils won by Labour were Northumberland, Humberside and Lancashire (all in the north of England) and Clwyd (in Wales).

The Conservatives increased their council tally from 12 to 19 and made a net gain of 77 seats.

The main losers were SLD, who suffered a net loss of 107 seats and retained control of only one council, while the SDP was reduced to only 14 seats throughout England and Wales, a net loss of 22.

No party won overall control in 12 councils and a further two returned independent majorities.

ISRAEL

Harish becomes general secretary

The central committee of the Israel Labour Party unanimously elected Michael Harish as the party's new general secretary on 2 February.

Well-known in Socialist International circles from his days as Labour's international secretary, Harish was more recently chairman of the Knesset's foreign affairs committee.

He replaced Uzi Bar-Am who resigned in January after holding the general secretary post for over four years. He had called for the Israeli government to respond positively to changes in the PLO's attitude towards Israel.

• Labour's traditional dominance of local government was badly dented in municipal elections held on 28 February and 14 March. Whereas Labour had won control of 54 local councils in 1984, its successes on this occasion fell to 32. The main beneficiary was Likud, which increased its tally from 26 councils to a dominant 44.

MIDDLE EAST: Elections plan, page 88

JAMAICA

Manley back in power

The People's National Party (PNP) of Michael Manley scored an emphatic victory over Edward Seaga's conservative Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) in general elections on 9 February, winning 57 per cent of the popular vote and taking 45 of



Powerful touch: Michael Manley makes his inaugural speech as prime minister

Popperfoto

the 60 seats in the House of Representatives.

The result was a major achievement for Manley and the PNP, as this was the first genuine national contest since 1980. The JLP had then defeated the PNP by a similar margin to take over power.

In 1983 the PNP boycotted the snap elections called by Prime Minister Seaga on the grounds that the electoral register was out of date and would not allow a fair poll (see 1/84, page 79).

Prime minister in 1972-80, Michael Manley was sworn in for his third term in office on 13 February.

'Putting People First'

With the slogan of 'Putting People First', the PNP made the widening gap between rich and poor the focus of its campaign, contrasting its record of improving social services in the 1970s with the severe cuts made by the JLP government.

On the economy, the PNP highlighted the huge growth in the external debt during the Seaga administration — from US\$1.4 billion in 1980 to US\$4.2 billion in 1988 — stating in its election manifesto that an incoming PNP administration would ensure that agreements with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) would have to be consistent with Jamaica's development needs.

Debt servicing currently amounts to 48 per cent of export earnings.

The manifesto also stated that economic growth would be a priority for a PNP government.

After years of economic stagnation, Seaga's free market policies did eventually produce a 3 per cent expansion in 1986, followed by 5.5 per cent in 1987. But apart from tourism, the country's traditional industries (bauxite, sugar, bananas and light manufacturing) face serious difficulties and the once dominant bauxite industry has contracted disastrously.

The US\$1 billion damages caused by Hurricane Gilbert last September is also said to have cut growth to 2 per cent for 1988.

Throughout the campaign, Manley expressed his willingness to work with the private sector, saying that the PNP would seek a 'social contract' with government and labour and strengthen local and national consultation procedures.

While recognising the importance of foreign investment, he also criticised the Seaga government's almost exclusive concentration on North America. He stressed the need for closer regional economic cooperation with Jamaica's partners in the Caribbean Community (Caricom).

The JLP campaign

The main feature of the JLP campaign was to claim that a PNP government would lead to confrontation with the United States and to a dangerous alliance with Cuba.

But Manley acknowledged that the United States was a major trading partner and source of tourists, and emphasised that a PNP administration would work cooperatively with the new administration of President George Bush.

Jamaica and the United States shared a common interest over many issues, such as drugs, debt and economic growth, he stressed.

He also confirmed that a PNP government would 'in due course' seek to restore diplomatic relations with Cuba (broken off by Seaga in 1981), but said that he did not expect the renewal of ties to affect relations with the United States.

During the campaign, Seaga also predicted widespread violence as the poll approached, suggesting that it would be instigated by the PNP. But the police reported that more PNP than JLP supporters were injured in the 50 recorded incidents of political violence; and while 13 people were killed in rival clashes in the run-up to the vote, this was a marked improvement on the 1980 elections when some 700 people lost their lives.

Manley's team

Prime Minister Manley (who is also in charge of the information and defence portfolios) drew on trusted past collaborators in the formation of the new administration's first cabinet.

P J Patterson, the former foreign minister, became deputy prime minister and heads the Ministry of Production, Development and Planning — a newly-created 'super-ministry' which coordinates all areas of production and long term planning.

The Ministry of Finance and Public Service was allotted to Seymour Mullings, the shadow

SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

JAPAN

finance minister since 1981, who served as Manley's health minister in 1972-80. Hugh Small, who served as finance minister in the 1970s, was given the mining and energy portfolio.

Meanwhile, David Coore, the former deputy prime minister and finance minister, made a comeback as minister for foreign affairs and trade, as did General Carl Rattray as minister of justice and attorney-general.

Portia Simpson became the only woman in the cabinet as minister of labour, welfare and sport.

The other ministers were: K D Knight (national security); Easton Douglas (health); Claude Clarke (industry and commerce); O D Ramtillie (construction); Bobby Pickersgill (public utilities and transport); Horace Clarke (agriculture); Ralph Brown (local government); Carlyle Dunkley (education); Douglas Manley (youth, culture and community development); and Frank Pringle (tourism).

• A special economic council was also set up to advise Finance Minister Mullings. Its members included G Arthur Brown, a former governor of the Bank of Jamaica and deputy secretary-general of the United Nations Development Programme, and Alister McIntyre, a former secretary-general of Caricom, who has worked with the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and is currently the vice-chancellor of the University of the West Indies.

Eli Matalon advises the prime minister on crime, violence and drug trafficking.

• In March, Manley visited Washington for the first time since becoming prime minister. He met President Bush and also to hold talks with the heads of the IMF, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. He also visited Canada and had discussions with Prime Minister Mulroney.

JAPAN

Recruit hits LDP

The Recruit corruption scandal struck at the heart of the Japanese government on 25 April, when Noboru Takeshita announced his resignation as prime minister and president of the ruling Liberal Democratic Party (LDP).

He was replaced by Sousuke Uno, who had served as Takeshita's foreign minister.

Scandal

Japan's biggest post-war political scandal stems from events from 1984-86 when the Recruit business information and employment corporation sold bargain pre-flotation shares in its Cosmos property development subsidiary to a large number of prominent politicians, senior officials and businessmen.

When the subsidiary was floated in late 1986, the shares rose sharply in value, enabling the recipients to make windfall profits estimated to average over US\$500,000 per person.

The full scale of the corruption began to emerge in late 1988, when the LDP government gave in to opposition demands for a legislative inquiry. It had been revealed that a Recruit employee had offered bribes to an opposition member of parliament in attempt to prevent him from asking questions about the affair.

The Tokyo public prosecutor appointed a special investigating team led by Yusuke Yoshinaga, who had played a major role in uncovering the 1970s Lockheed bribery scandal.

Resignations

The first major casualty of the scandal was Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Kiichi Miyazawa who resigned from the cabinet in December 1988.

A flood of resignations by

government ministers and senior LDP figures then followed, as more and more evidence was uncovered on the extent of Recruit's financial penetration of the ruling party.

In February the former prime minister, Yasuhiro Nakasone, admitted that his family members and aides had bought Recruit-Cosmos shares and that the proceeds had been used as political funds.

February also saw the arrest of a number of senior Recruit executives, civil servants and other industrialists involved in the web of corruption.

By the beginning of 1989, evidence had also begun to mount that Prime Minister Takeshita had himself received some of Recruit's financial largesse. For several weeks he tried to outface his critics, but his earlier statements to parliament were soon found to be incomplete or misleading.

On 11 April he was forced to admit to parliament that he or his supporters had received a total of \$1 million in payments from the Recruit group between 1985 and 1987.

Takeshita's popularity in opinion polls slumped from an abysmal 9 per cent to 3.9 per cent, with over 80 per cent disapproving of the government's conduct.

By this stage, the crisis in the LDP had reached such proportions that its unity as a party was now under strain. Takeshita was eventually forced to announce his resignation on 25 April.

The following day, Takeshita's former secretary, who had received Recruit money on his behalf, committed suicide.

Alliance

Takeshita's fall was due in part to pressure on the government by the opposition parties which had announced a boycott from 8 March of all budget debates in parliament in an effort to force a full investigation of the Recruit scandal.

Then in mid-April, the leaders of the Socialist Party (SPJ), the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP), the Komeito ('clean government') party and the Social Democratic Federation (Shaminren) announced that

they were forming an alliance to press for immediate general elections and to force Takeshita's resignation.

The parties also declared that they had agreed to put their differences to one side and to form an alternative centre-left coalition government.

In an initial policy statement, the alliance pledged that in power it would introduce new legislation on political ethics, overhaul the tax system, improve welfare and pension benefits, promote better land use and strengthen environmental protection laws.

Election test

The first true test of the LDP's standing in the wake of the Recruit scandal came in a bye-election for an upper house seat in the Fukuoka prefecture on 12 February.

The SPJ candidate won the seat with 45.6 per cent of the vote, more than double the party's share in the 1986 general elections while the LDP fell from 45.1 to 34.3 per cent in what was one of the latter's strongholds.

The LDP also suffered setbacks in two gubernatorial elections on 19 March.

In the Mayagi prefecture an SPJ-backed independent candidate won a victory unopposed. The LDP nominee had withdrawn after admitting receiving money from Recruit.

Meanwhile, in the Chiba prefecture an LDP-backed candidate did win election. But this was with a hugely reduced majority, as the Communist candidate almost trebled his party's share of the vote in comparison with the 1985 result.

Opposition casualties

As time went on, it became increasingly clear just how far the LDP body politic had been riddled by the Recruit scandal.

However, individual members of the opposition parties were not exempt from the affair.

On 4 November, the SPJ deputy, Takumi Ueda, became the first member of the Diet to resign, after acknowledging that his secretary had bought Cosmos shares. But he alleged that the LDP was trying to use his name

'to divert attention from their involvement.'

Subsequent claims by a government minister that the SPJ had received covert funds from LDP sources were also described as diversionary tactics by the Socialist leadership.

A more serious case was that of DSP leader Saburo Tsukamoto who announced his resignation as party chairman on 7 February. Admitting that he had bought and sold 5,000 Cosmos shares, he denied breaking the law or any wrongdoing, but said that his continuation as leader might put the party at a disadvantage for the upper house elections due on 23 July.

Later in the month the 34th annual convention of the DSP elected Eiichi Nagasue to replace him.

Another opposition casualty was the deputy general secretary of Komeito, who also admitted receiving Cosmos shares.

- The LDP government finally managed to force through a major tax reform package on 24 December 1988. Two previous attempts by the LDP, the last in 1987, had failed. Effective from 1 April 1989, the changes reduce income tax and introduce value added tax for the first time.

The proposals had met major resistance from the opposition parties throughout 1988, including a boycott of parliament. But the DSP and Komeito dropped their opposition after the government agreed to publish a list of persons implicated in the Recruit scandal. The JSP and the Communist Party continued the campaign.

LEBANON

Conflict deepens

The political crisis in the Lebanon, highlighted by the failure to elect a new president in September 1988, has deteriorated into a full-scale



Beirut: heavy fighting and devastation

Rex

military confrontation between Christian and Moslem forces in recent months.

By April 1989 Beirut was experiencing some of the heaviest inter-communal fighting yet in the 13-year-old civil war.

Background

Events began in August and September 1988 when the Lebanese parliament (last elected in 1972) made two unsuccessful attempts to elect a successor to President Amin Gemayel.

The deadlock became apparent in mid-August when the Syrian-backed Suleiman Franjeh, Lebanon's president from 1970-76, announced his candidature for the forthcoming elections.

The move was immediately attacked by the commander of the (Maronite) Lebanese Forces militia, Samir Geaga, who warned that Franjeh would 'return the country to a climate of war.'

According to Lebanon's unwritten 1943 National

Covenant, the presidency is reserved for a Maronite Christian, while the position of prime minister and parliamentary speaker are given to Sunni and Shia Moslems respectively.

Seaga announced that there would not be a quorum in the national assembly unless Franjeh withdrew. His forces physically prevented deputies from attending the session called for 18 August.

Christian and Moslem militias began to exchange fire across the 'green line' separating (Moslem) West and (Christian) East Beirut for the first time in 16 months.

In the run up to a second attempt to hold an election session in the assembly on 22 September, a rapid series of negotiations took place in an effort to break the deadlock.

In mid-September the United States and Syria agreed to support the candidature of a Christian deputy, Michel Daher; and following a lightning visit to Damascus on 21 September, where he held talks with President Hafez al-Assad of Syria, President Gemayel

returned to Lebanon the same day to recommend to Christian deputies that they should vote for Daher.

But Geaga and Christian leaders, as well as the commander-in-chief of the Lebanese Army, General Michel Aoun, denounced these moves as an 'imposition,' and the assembly again failed to gather the necessary quorum on 22 September.

Rival governments

Minutes before the expiry of his six-year term on 22 September, Gemayel appointed an interim government with General Aoun (who was also a fellow Maronite Christian) as prime minister leading a six-member military cabinet.

Moslem and pro-Syrian groups condemned this appointment as a de facto military coup and the existing Sunni Moslem prime minister, Dr Selim al-Hoss, refused to recognise the new cabinet. The Moslems appointed by Gemayel also declined to take up their posts.

Lebanon in effect now had two governments, a Christian

military government in East Beirut led by General Aoun, and a Moslem government in West Beirut led by Hoss.

The split was confirmed on 18 October when a boycott by east Beirut Christian deputies meant that the national assembly was unable to elect a new parliamentary speaker to replace Hussein al-Husseini, whose term of office came to an end that day.

On 9 November the Hoss government, now bereft of Christian members, announced the dismissal of General Aoun as army commander and his interim replacement by General Sami al-Khatib, a Sunni Moslem. The decision was ignored by Aoun, whose forces had been of wholly Christian composition since the withdrawal of the army's Moslem brigades in 1984.

Showdown

While Syria continued to back the Hoss government, the Iraqi regime — the Syrians' arch-enemies — quickly recognised the Aoun government and reportedly began supplying the Maronite Lebanese Forces militia with large quantities of arms.

The scene was thus being set for a full-scale Christian-Moslem confrontation which would inevitably involve the Syrian forces occupying much of eastern and northern Lebanon.

In January the rival Shia Moslem militias — the Syrian-backed Amal and the Iranian-backed Hezbollah — also began another phase of heavy fighting in southern Beirut and southern Lebanon. However, at the end of the month the two sides signed a comprehensive peace agreement in Damascus under which Hezbollah recognised Amal's primacy in southern Lebanon but was accorded the right to maintain bases there.

Attention then centred on the looming Christian-Moslem showdown which began on 7 March with General Aoun's declaration of a naval and air blockade of illegal ports operated by Moslem and Druse militias on the southern coast. The move was widely seen as an attempt by Aoun to extend his

authority into areas of West Beirut.

As Aoun's forces moved to implement the blockade, Moslem and Druse militias responded by shelling Christian-held ports in Beirut and Jounieh. Major artillery exchanges then broke out across Beirut's 'green line'. Over 130 people were left dead by the end of the month and great devastation was caused.

Aoun's justification for the blockade was that illegal shipments of arms and drugs should be halted and that regular trade should be conducted through the proper channels.

He also claimed that in the previous month the Maronite militia had been compelled by army action to return ports under their control to the legal authorities.

But this was disputed by Druse leader Walid Jumblatt, the president of the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP) and a minister in the Hoss cabinet.

In a speech on 5 March, Jumblatt suggested that the hostilities between the army and the Maronite militia had merely been 'tactical' and that the two Christian forces were in fact involved in a new anti-Moslem alliance.

In the course of March General Aoun made it clear that his aim was to secure the complete withdrawal of Syrian forces from Lebanon, describing the hostilities in Beirut as a 'battle of liberation' on 14 March. At the end of the month the Christian side claimed that missiles which hit an East Beirut fuel depot had been fired by Syrian troops. By then it was clear that Syrian artillery was actively engaged in the bombardment of Christian areas.

Through April and into May the artillery battle in Beirut continued remorselessly, bringing economic life in the capital to a virtual standstill and causing a mass exodus of people.

Truces and ceasefires negotiated under the auspices of the Arab League collapsed almost as soon as they were announced. French mediation efforts also proved abortive, mainly because the Syrian-

Moslem side regarded the French government as pro-Christian and pro-Aoun.

• Anouar Fatayri, 42, a former PSP general secretary and close associate of Walid Jumblatt, was shot dead in a car ambush on 9 February. The murder occurred at Jahlieh in the Chouf mountains as Fatayri was returning from a mission connected with the Druse leader's initiative to facilitate the return of Christians to their villages in the Chouf.

MIDDLE EAST

Elections plan

The Labour defence minister in Israel's national unity government, Yitzhak Rabin, put forward a plan for the holding of elections in the Israeli-occupied territories on 20 January.

Under the proposals, which emerged against the backdrop of the Palestinian uprising (which has cost, according to various estimates, the lives of over 400 Palestinians and some 40 Israelis since December 1987) elections would be held in the West Bank and Gaza three to six months after peaceful conditions had been restored there.

Reaction

Rabin's initiative was initially given a cool reception by Likud Prime Minister Shamir and his foreign minister Moshe Arens. But when the prime minister visited the United States in early April, it had been reworked and formed a major part of a four-point peace plan that was outlined to President Bush.

According to the plan advanced by Shamir, elections would be held in the West Bank and Gaza Strip in an atmosphere that would be free of 'Palestinian violence.' This would produce non-Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) representatives with whom negotiations could be held.

In line with the 1979 Camp David peace accords signed by Israel, Egypt and the United States, the elections would be the first step towards creating a self-governing administration for a five-year transitional period, during which the Israeli military presence would be scaled down.

At the end of the period, further negotiations would be held to determine the final status of the occupied territories.

While welcoming the Shamir plan, President Bush expressed his hope that Israel would come forward with 'new ideas' to break the deadlock. He also stated that the United States supported neither an independent Palestinian state 'nor Israeli sovereignty over, or permanent occupation of, the West Bank and Gaza.'

Obstacles

One major obstacle facing Shamir's elections plan is the absence of Arab negotiating partners.

Under the terms of the Camp David accords, the transitional arrangements and a final peace settlement were to be negotiated with Egypt, Jordan and 'representatives of the Palestinian people.'

However, Jordan has consistently refused to become involved; and Egypt, while retaining diplomatic relations with Israel, is anxious not to jeopardise its status in the Arab world. It would like to play a constructive role that would command greater consensus.

Another major difficulty is the unabated rebellion in the occupied territories which leaves a question mark over who the 'representatives of the Palestinian people' sought by Shamir as a valid interlocutor might be.

The PLO has categorically rejected Shamir's determination to exclude the organisation from a settlement. It has also made it clear, both before and after Shamir's visit to Washington, that it will not accept the holding of elections in the West Bank and Gaza while the Israeli occupation continues.

Pressure

Faced with this impasse, Shamir

has come under increasing pressure to change the government's line on the PLO and an independent Palestinian state.

A report published on 8 March by a Tel Aviv University think-tank headed by Aharon Yariv (a former director of military intelligence and Labour minister) concluded that some form of Palestinian statehood was inevitable. It claimed that only the PLO, or Palestinians identified with the PLO, could authentically represent the Arabs of the occupied territories.

The report was described as 'intelligent analysis' by Labour leader Shimon Peres. But Shamir refused to receive a copy.

More controversially for the prime minister, a report submitted to the inner cabinet by the three Israeli security and intelligence agencies and leaked to the media at the end of March, reportedly concluded that there was no alternative to negotiations with the PLO, now that it had 'joined the pragmatic Arab camp'.

Although Shamir denied the existence of the report, other government officials confirmed that it had been presented.

Diplomatic initiatives

In a reflection of Moscow's renewed interest in promoting an Arab-Israeli peace settlement, the Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, went on a major tour of the Middle East in late February.

Covering Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Iraq and Iran, the tour was the most concerted diplomatic effort by the Soviet Union in the region in recent years.

During his visit to Egypt — the first by a Soviet foreign minister in 15 years — Shevardnadze held talks with his Israeli counterpart, Moshe Arens.

Shevardnadze argued that UN mediation leading to an international conference with PLO participation was the best way forward. The key requirements, for success, he suggested, were Palestinian self-determination and a secure existence for Israel within recognised borders.



Rabin: election proposal

Earlier in January, the Council of Ministers of the European Community had announced a new EC Middle East peace initiative. This also involved a call for the holding of an international peace conference under the auspices of the UN.

A diplomatic 'troika',

comprising Spain, Greece and France, was formed to pursue this aim in a series of visits to the region. At the end of the month, the foreign ministers of the three countries met with the PLO leader, Yassir Arafat, in Madrid.

Arafat also met the French president, François Mitterrand, for talks in May.

Arafat elected

Meeting in Tunis on 31 March - 2 April, the PLO central council elected Arafat president of the independent state of Palestine (proclaimed by the Palestinian National Council, PNC, in Algiers in November 1988). The head of the PLO's political department, Farouk Qaddumi, was appointed Palestinian foreign minister.

By then the PNC-declared state had been formally recognised by all Arab League states (with the exception of Syria), the Islamic Conference Organisation, other non-aligned states and by China.

The Soviet Union recognised the Algiers proclamation (which formally accepted key United Nations resolutions implicitly recognising Israel) but not the new state itself.

LEBANON: Conflict deepens,
page 87

Tension continues: a funeral march in the shadow of the intifada



PARAGUAY

Irregularities mar general's victory

The new military leader of Paraguay, General Andrés Rodríguez, won an overwhelming victory in presidential elections on 1 May, as foreign observers and opposition politicians pointed to irregularities in the poll.

The elections came three months after General Rodríguez had overthrown military dictator General Alfredo Stroessner in a coup on 3 February.

Father-in-law of Stroessner's son and second-in-command of the armed forces, Rodríguez mounted the takeover when news emerged that Stroessner intended to demote him to the less influential position of defence minister.

The putsch also followed long-simmering differences within the ruling Colorado Party, with the 'traditionalist' faction arguing that the party should prepare itself for a post-Stroessner era and the 'militants' wishing to maintain the status quo.

Stroessner had ruled the country uninterrupted for 34 years and had again been reelected in a fraudulent election in February 1988.

Results

Standing for the Colorado Party, General Rodríguez took 74 per cent of the vote, his nearest challenger, Domingo Laino of the Authentic Radical Liberal Party (PLRA) winning 19.6 per cent.

Fernando Vera, the candidate of the Revolutionary Febrerista Party (PRF), the SI's member party in Paraguay, won 1.4 per cent, the rest of the vote divided among five other candidates.

In parallel congressional elections, the opposition did marginally better. The PLRA won 19.8 per cent of the national vote, while the PRF — which polled more strongly in the capital Asunción with 6.5 per cent — took 3.74 per cent. The

Colorados won just over 70 per cent.

However, electoral legislation introduced by Stroessner (and retained by Rodríguez) ensured that the Colorados would continue to maintain a solid grip on parliamentary life.

According to the laws, the party that gains a simple majority automatically captures two thirds of the seats in both the 72-seat House of Deputies and the 36-seat Senate, the remainder being divided proportionately.

Of the 36 seats reserved for

the opposition in the two houses, 30 went to PLRA.

Denunciations

Following Rodríguez's victory, the four main opposition parties grouped together in the so-called National Accord (of which the PRF and the PLRA form part) denounced 'grave and numerous irregularities' in the balloting.

They pointed to the lack of privacy and intimidation at polling booths, the adulteration of indelible ink used to prevent repeated voting, and the use of fraudulent electoral lists. New voters, they claimed, had been

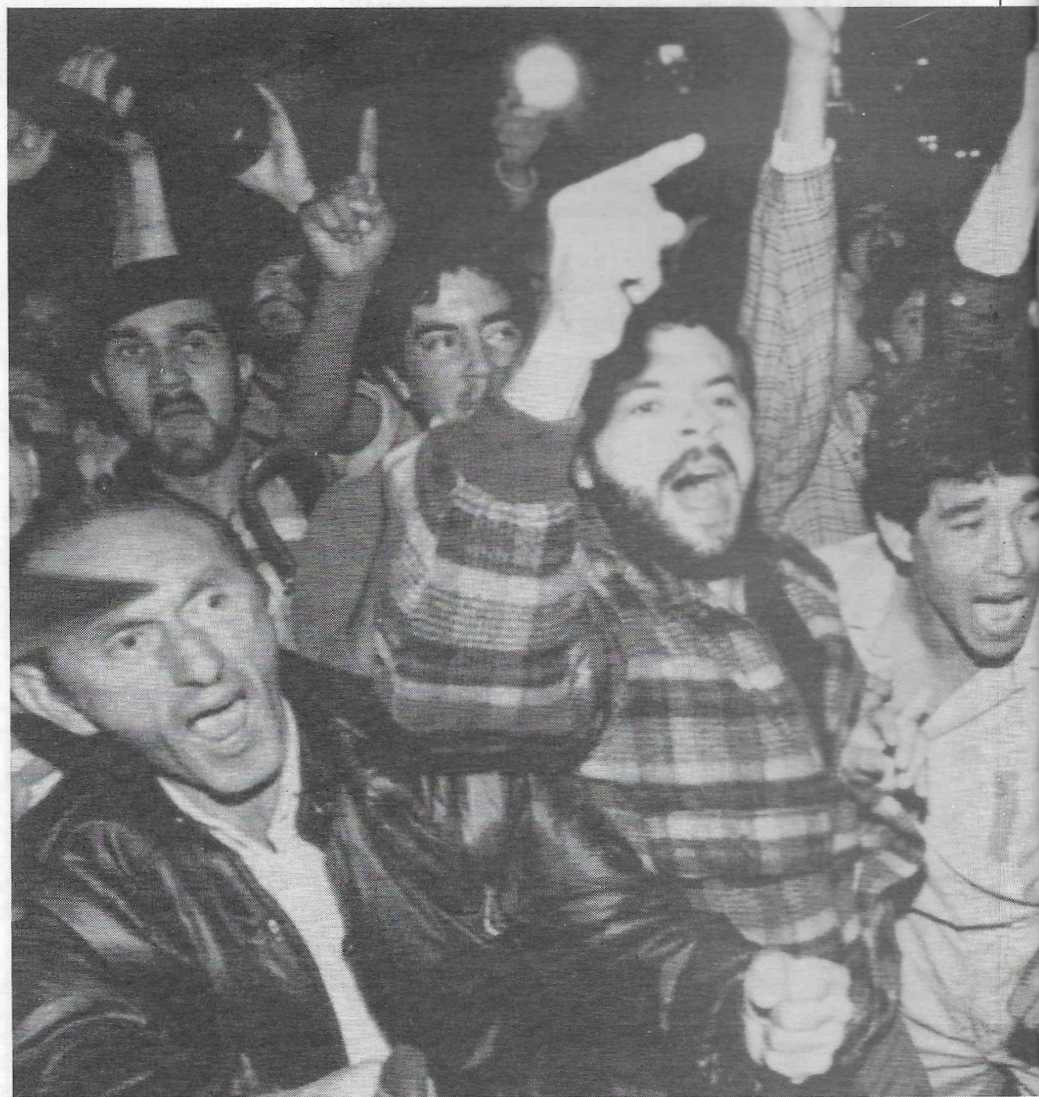
added to old lists which included fictitious persons and people long since dead.

Nevertheless, they stopped short of rejecting the elections as an outright fraud, preferring instead to see the contest as a step, albeit imperfect, towards a more democratic political system in the future.

It would also appear that support for General Rodríguez was helped by the general relief in Paraguay at the removal of General Stroessner.

In the wake of the coup, Rodríguez legalised banned political parties (except the

Democratic point: demonstration for democracy in Asunción



Paraguayan Communist Party), relaxed media censorship, and promised agrarian reform and an end to human rights violations as well as the investigation of past abuses.

He also pledged that he would depoliticise the armed forces and the civil service and introduce a number of constitutional and electoral reforms, adding that he would not stand for reelection in the next elections in 1993.

In spite of such promises, however, the new military leader failed to agree to the concessions demanded by the opposition parties following the February takeover.

The opposition's main demand had been for a repeal of the electoral laws and for the elections to be postponed until September. They pointed out that the Colorado Party enjoyed an unfair advantage after 41 years in power and that the date of 1 May would not give them time to organise a proper campaign. A new electoral register had also been demanded.

SI NEWS: 'SI watches Paraguay poll', page 46

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Namibian independence agreement pulls through storm

Plans for Namibian independence entered major crisis in April, as heavy fighting broke out between the occupying South African forces and the South West Africa People's Organisation national liberation movement (Swapo).

By 7 April, it was reported that 259 Swapo guerrillas and 26 members of the South African security forces had been killed.

The exact circumstances of the clash, which erupted on the very day that the transition process to Namibian independence was due to begin, were hotly disputed.

Confusion reigned over the precise terms of a tripartite peace agreement on Namibian independence signed in New York on 22 December 1988.

New York agreement

Signed by the foreign ministers of South Africa, Angola and Cuba at the United Nations headquarters in New York, the agreement was the culmination of intensive negotiations that had been held throughout 1988 under the sponsorship of the



Sam Nujoma

United States.

It followed an earlier accord that had been endorsed by the three parties in August (see 1-2/88, pages 85-86).

Under the December agreement, the date of 1 April was set for the implementation of the 1978 UN Security Council resolution 435 on Namibian independence to begin.

Within three months of this date, South Africa also undertook to withdraw all but 1,500 of its 50,000 troops from Namibia under the supervision of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (Untag).

On 1 November, elections will be held for a constituent assembly which will draw up a new constitution. A date will then be agreed for the final withdrawal of the South African administration in Windhoek and for Namibian independence.

In a related agreement, Angola and Cuba set out a

timetable for the withdrawal of Cuba's 50,000 troops from Angola over a 27-month period.

Beginning on 1 April 1989, 3,000 troops would depart immediately and half the contingent by the time of the Namibian elections. The remainder would then retire to 550 kilometres from the border and finally complete withdrawal in stages by June 1991.

Under the agreement, South Africa and Angola each agreed not to allow their territory to be used as bases for guerrillas operating against the other.

At the same time, Angola reaffirmed its political support for the anti-government African National Congress of South Africa, while South Africa reiterated its sympathy for the US-backed Unita guerrilla movement attempting to destabilise the left-wing government in Angola.

On 16 January, the New York

Popperfoto



SOCIALIST NOTEBOOK

SOUTHERN AFRICA

agreements were formally endorsed by the UN Security Council, which then requested the UN secretary-general to arrange a formal ceasefire between South African forces and Swapo on 1 April.

Conflicting accounts

The South African government and Swapo gave conflicting accounts over the outbreak of violence in April.

South Africa claimed that hundreds of Swapo guerrillas had infiltrated into Namibia from Angola on 31 March-1 April in direct contravention of the New York peace agreement and the ceasefire.

This version was supported on 3 April by an investigation carried out on behalf of the UN Security Council.

But according to Swapo president, Sam Nujoma, the Swapo members had already been operating inside Namibia and were starting to regroup in anticipation of being confined to base by the Untag forces.

In addition to maintaining that South African forces had attacked pro-Swapo civilians celebrating the beginning of the peace process, Swapo officials also criticised the UN's special representative responsible for supervising the transition.

They alleged that he had accepted the South African version of events and agreed to the joint deployment of South African forces with Untag troops on ceasefire and border control duties.

In Swapo's view, it was the South African forces — which should have been confined to base by Untag — that attacked first and broke the ceasefire.

Other reports claimed that South African counterinsurgency forces were well aware of the Swapo forces' movements and were lying in wait.

Confusion

Confusion over the implementation of the New York peace agreement would appear to stem from the fact that Swapo had not been a direct participant in the 1988 peace negotiations.

In condemning the Swapo 'incursion' into Namibia, the South African government claimed that the national



Victims of 'peace': members of the South West African police lower the body of a killed Swapo guerrilla into a mass grave

liberation movement had violated its agreement to respect the so-called 'Geneva Protocol', agreed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba on 5 August 1988.

The protocol, the text of which was only made public on 5 April, stated that Cuba and Angola would ensure that Swapo withdrew to the sixteenth parallel 200 kilometres inside Angola.

But Swapo was not a signatory of this text and none of its subsequent communications to the UN made reference to a commitment to withdraw to the sixteenth parallel.

Confusion also surrounded the precise relationship between the 1988 peace agreements endorsed by South Africa, Angola and Cuba and the independence plan envisaged by UN resolution 435 which concerns South Africa

and Swapo only.

Responding to South African claims of violation of the ceasefire, Swapo pointed out that UN resolution 435 provided for the assembly of the organisation's forces inside Namibia.

Criticisms

As violence escalated at the beginning of April, the UN came in for criticism for its handling of the affair.

In addition to the confusion as to what the precise terms of the peace process were, critics pointed out that less than 1,000 of the 4,650 Untag forces were in place on 1 April, and that it had therefore been impossible to monitor movements on the Angolan-Namibian border. They also emphasised that no mechanisms had existed for dealing with the situation once

the ceasefire had been broken.

Swapo had earlier criticised the UN Security Council's decision in February to cut the Untag forces from 7,500 to 4,650 troops on economic grounds.

Back on course

By late April, however, the threat to the survival of the independence process and the peace agreements had receded.

Intensive diplomatic activity, including the involvement of both Washington and Moscow, resulted in a further ceasefire agreement between South Africa, Angola and Cuba on 9 April.

This provided for Swapo guerrillas inside Namibia to withdraw north of the sixteenth parallel in Angola under Untag supervision. The Swapo leader, Sam Nujoma, also appealed to his forces to withdraw.

Initially, few Swapo personnel appeared at the designated assembly points, fearful of further attacks by the South African forces. But a new round of tripartite talks led South Africa to agree to confine its forces to base for 60 hours from 26 April, thus allowing Swapo forces safe passage across the border.

Meanwhile, in preparation for the November elections, Swapo has sought to reassure the white population that there would be no wholesale nationalisation of land if it gained power.

The movement committed itself to running a mixed economy, to joint enterprises with private companies and to a moderate taxation regime. But it has said that some redistribution would be necessary to correct existing inequity.

- The signing of the New York peace agreement on 22 December 1988 was overshadowed by the death of the UN Commissioner for Namibia, Bernt Carlsson. A former general secretary of the Socialist International, Carlsson was killed in the Lockerbie airliner as he was travelling to New York on 21 December for the ceremony marking the peace agreement.

TURKEY

Social Democrats win in local polls

The opposition Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP) scored a major victory in municipal elections throughout Turkey on 26 March, emerging as the strongest political formation in the country.

The SHP reduced the ruling conservative Motherland Party (ANAP) to third place behind the centre-right True Path Party (DYP).

This was the government's second humiliation at the polls in six months, having failed to win popular approval for bringing forward the date of the municipal elections in a referendum in September 1988 (see 1-2/88, page 88).

With 28.7 per cent of the popular vote (against 24.8 per cent in the 1987 general

elections), the SHP took 40 provincial mayorships and won control of Turkey's three largest cities, Istanbul, Izmir and Ankara (the capital), from ANAP.

The DYP vote rose to 25.1 per cent from 19.3 per cent in 1987, while ANAP slumped from 36.3 to 21.7 per cent.

The smaller Democratic Left Party (DSP) — like the SHP a consultative member of the Socialist International — performed creditably, winning just over 9 per cent of the vote as against 8.5 per cent in 1987.

ANAP's defeat was attributed to the government's unpopular economic policies and to the controversial style of the prime minister, Turgut Özal.

Having said before the elections that he might resign if the opposition made strong gains, Özal declared afterwards that the government would soldier on for its full five-year mandate.

He also threatened to restrict municipal funding to cities and towns that had fallen into opposition control in the elections.

SHP Leader Erdal Inonu

Rex



ELECTIONS WORLDWIDE

ARGENTINA

Peronists return

Carlos Menem, the candidate of the (Peronist) Justicialist Front of Popular Unity, won a decisive victory in presidential elections in Argentina on 14 May.

The result swept the Peronists back into power for the first time since 1976, when the armed forces overthrew the administration of President 'Isabel' Martínez de Perón.

Results gave Menem over 47 per cent of the vote, as against 37 per cent for his nearest rival, Eduardo Angeloz, of the ruling Radical Civic Union (UCR), and seven per cent for Alvaro Alsogaray of the right-wing

Democratic Centre Union.

The Peronists also won control of both houses of Congress, with the UCR left as the strongest opposition party.

The swing to the Peronists was almost exactly equivalent to the Radical victory in 1983, when President Raúl Alfonsín formally brought seven years of repressive military rule to an end.

The scale of the economic crisis afflicting Argentina, including the return of hyperinflation, meant that Menem was due to take over for a six-year term in July instead of December as planned.

The elections were the first since 1928 in which one democratically elected government succeeded another in Argentina.

TUNISIA

RCD's clean sweep

The ruling Constitutional Democratic Assembly party (RCD), led by President Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali, made a clean sweep of presidential and legislative elections held on 2 April.

The elections were the first since the deposal of President Habib Bourguiba by Ben Ali in November 1987.

Ben Ali was elected unopposed to the presidency with 99.3 per cent of the votes cast.

In the national assembly elections, the first contested by opposition parties since 1981, the RCD (formerly the Destour Socialist Party) won all 141 seats, taking 80.5 per cent of the vote.

The main challenge to the

ruling party came from fundamentalist candidates standing as independents after the authorities had declined to recognise the Renaissance Party (PR).

Their vote share reached over 20 per cent in several constituencies and the PR leader, Rached Ghannouchi, won around 30 per cent in a Tunis suburb.

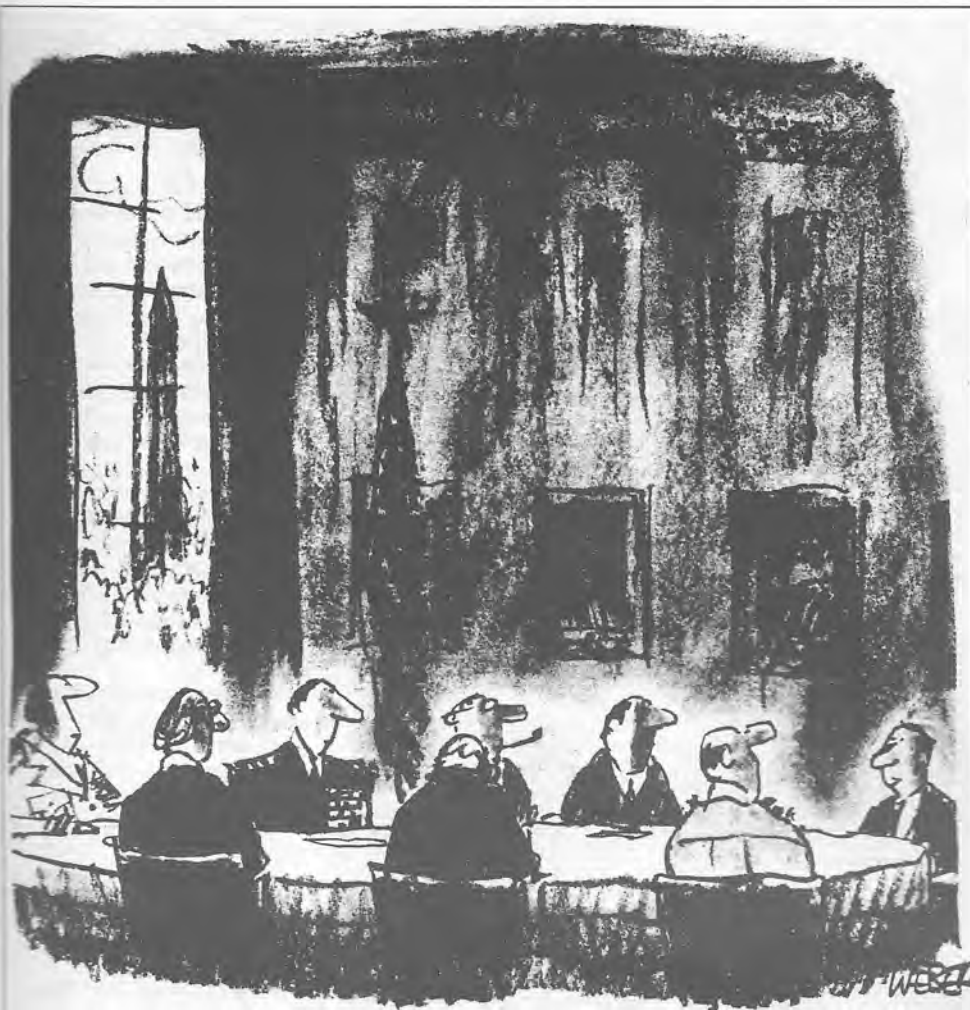
The Movement of Democratic Socialists (MDS) led by Ahmed Mestiri was the only registered opposition party to make any impact, with about 3 per cent of the vote. Five other opposition lists all obtained less than 1 per cent.

Mestiri later claimed that there had been serious irregularities in the conduct of the voting. But his allegations were categorically rejected by the electoral authorities.

Sworn in for a new term on 9 April, President Ben Ali proposed a general amnesty for those imprisoned for 'their opinions'.



LAST WORD



"In my plan, the atomic bomb is used only for emphasis."

The New Yorker

Pizza Politics

Italy's Green Party has called on the government to lay down laws as to what constitutes the proper pizza.

The Greens have tossed a sticky question onto the De Mita government's plate, already heaped high with problems cooked up by the Socialist leader, Mr Bettino Craxi. Previous governments have fallen over less ponderous challenges than when a pizza is not a pizza.

The Greens are alarmed over the myriad of places in Italy that now claim to be selling 'pizza'. These include coffee bars, American-style hamburger joints, railway station canteens, grand hotels and ambulant vendors with stalls clustered around tourist sights. No one is ever actually seen making a pizza.

A traditional pizza, of which these purveyors show little knowledge, is a flattened disc, decked with melted mozzarella cheese and smeared with tomato paste.

It only has two possible final flourishes — a sprinkling of chopped mushrooms or some anchovies.

Today what is passed off as 'pizza' arrives at the point of sale in long, thick, sodden strips, decorated with anything handy that will sink in and not roll off. The manufacturers of these phoney items could be located around the corner or in a plant a hundred miles away.

The Green MPs have asked for the 'urgent intervention' of the Minister of Trade 'in drawing norms defining the characteristics of the Italian pizza, and advising this House how he intends to protect the consumer in the absence of any present law.'

From **The Guardian**

Skirting the issues

On International Women's Day yesterday, Spanish feminists donned an unusual garment of protest — the mini-skirt.

In the balmy seaside city of Santander, thousands of Spanish women marched through the streets yesterday wearing *minifaldas* and denouncing the Spanish justice system as unashamedly sexist.

Once the scourge of feminists, the mini-skirt was chosen as an appropriate apparel of dissent after two recent cases which have infuriated women and liberal jurists

alike. A 50-year-old boss in Saragossa was cleared of sexually harassing his secretary because, he claimed, she was dressed provocatively in a short skirt. The outraged secretary appealed against the court's decision but in vain, even though she was able to prove that no skirt in her wardrobe could be called a mini by any stretch — or shrinkage — of the imagination.

From **The Independent**, 9 March 1989

Longman International Reference

- an accessible, accurate and objective reference service on key world affairs issues.

Trade Unions of the World, 1989-90

second edition

TRADE union movements throughout the world are constantly challenged by the changing social, economic and political environments in which they operate. Current trends include: declining membership, shifts in the labour market to home and part-time work and increasing numbers of women workers in developed countries; the Soviet policy of *perestroika* in Eastern Europe and government austerity policies aimed at meeting debt repayments in developing countries.

The second edition of this well-respected directory continues to bring together reliable and accurate data on trade union organizations worldwide. Arranged alphabetically by country, each section contains an introduction tracing the broad historical development of the trade union movement, establishing its current status and the economic circumstances within which it operates. For each federation information given includes history, leadership, structure, political orientation, affiliated unions, current activities, policies, membership of government bodies, publications, number of members, international affiliations and full contact details.

£55.00 480p 0 582 03908 8 April 1989

Political Parties of the World

Editor: Alan J Day third edition

NOW an established and authoritative source of reference, this book covers all legally active political formations in virtually every country and territory of the world, with prevailing political conditions in each being described in introductory sections. Major worldwide trends are highlighted in these sections: the impact on communist parties of *glasnost*; the rise of parties based on Islamic fundamentalism; and the growing importance of "Green" parties.

In one coherent volume, the latest edition provides details of over 2,000 political parties encompassing: official title, historical development, structure, policy orientation, leadership, size of membership, official publications, headquarters' address and full contact details. The book includes appendices on international party organizations as well as an index of parties, personal names and publications.

£70.00 776p 0 582 02626 1 July 1988

Political and Economic Encyclopaedia of the Pacific

Editor: Gerald Segal

THE major issues and forces at work in what has become one of the key geopolitical entities in the closing years of the 20th century, are brought sharply into focus in this new reference work. All countries of the Pacific Basin, the Pacific dimension to the USA, the Soviet Union and Latin America are examined. The subjects covered encompass: political parties, treaties and alliances, ideological currents, religion, rebel movements, new technologies, territorial disputes, military capabilities, key enterprises, business and financial systems, trade agreements and disputes, the media, resources and international organizations.

Gerald Segal is a lecturer in International Politics and Strategic Studies at the University of Bristol. He is also a Research Fellow at the Royal Institute of International Affairs and editor of *The Pacific Review*.

£60.00 c.500p 0 582 05161 4 Nov. 1989

Order these books on 21 days approval from:
Sales Dept., Longman Group UK Ltd,
Westgate Hse, FREEPOST, HARLOW, Essex
CM20 1YQ.

Tel: 0279 442601. Fax: 0279 444501

Registered office no.:
872828 England

Elections since 1945: A worldwide reference compendium

THIS comprehensive new reference title covers all national legislative and presidential elections worldwide since 1945, or since accession to independence.

For our readers' convenience we preface each country section with a concise narrative outlining the current electoral system and parliamentary structure. Each section then encompasses the following: evolution of the suffrage, concise accounts of each political party and its antecedents, narrative summary of electoral results since 1945, and tabular and graphical representation of results (both in percentage terms and by the number of seats won).

£85.00 c.650p 0 582 03620 8 June 1989

Western European Political Parties:

A comprehensive guide Editor: Francis Jacobs

COVERING all Western European countries (both EC and non-EC), this timely guide presents much specially researched material which is not available elsewhere in published form. The editor, Francis Jacobs, is an official at the European Parliament and has conducted exhaustive interviews of party officials and leaders throughout Europe.

Organised by country and covering both national and regional parties, each section includes: description of national political context, map of electoral geography and full details of most recent election results in text and tabular form. For each party we cover: leadership, membership, historical background, level and character of electoral support, organizations, structure, policies, key personalities and full contact details. A separate section describes transnational political groupings.

£95.00 c.750p 0 582 00113 7 Sept. 1989

Political Scandals and Causes Celebres since 1945: An international reference guide

FIGHTING your way through a web of intrigue once it's hit the national headlines can prove difficult and time-consuming. With this new reference guide the facts behind hundreds of political "scandals" are at your fingertips. In a clear and unbiased manner the essential facts behind each affair are documented and its impact on the political scene examined.

Country-by-country sections open with an introduction to the national political context, including details of relevant legislation. Detailed accounts of major scandals are given and a subsidiary section gives shorter accounts of other cases involving individual public figures.

Full cross-referencing makes it possible to trace related cases within and across national boundaries. The comprehensive index covers all individuals, issues and cases mentioned.

£40.00 c.380p 0 582 03065 X Sept. 1989

Religion in Politics:

A world guide Editor: Stuart Mews

THE rising impact of religious forces on political life has been a key phenomenon of the 1980s worldwide: the Christian fundamentalism of the Moral Majority in the USA; the revival of religion as a vehicle for nationalist aspirations in the Soviet republics under Gorbachev; the prominence of Bishop Tutu and other clerics in opposition politics in South Africa and the destabilising consequences of Islamic fundamentalism in the Middle East.

In *Religion in Politics* top experts have been brought together to describe and explain the phenomenon on a country-by-country basis. Stuart Mews lectures at the University of Lancaster and is co-editor of the journal *Religion*.

£35.00 c.300p 0 582 05058 8 Nov. 1989

Longman 



*'Workers of the world unite: an eight-hour day and the right to vote for all'
Turn of the century poster of the Swedish Social Democratic Party*