Strengthening the United Nations
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In June the Socialist International celebrated the anniversary of its re-establishment in Frankfurt in 1951 after the destruction and dislocation caused by the Second World War.

At one level the International of 1991 bears little similarity to the International of forty years ago. Today's SI embraces three times more parties and organisations than did the SI which re-emerged in Frankfurt: the range of its present activities would surely surprise Morgan Phillips, Erich Ollenhauer, Louis Lévy and the other post-war pioneers if they could see them.

While the outward appearance of the International is much changed, the commitment to peace, democracy and social justice which was adopted by those pioneers - and by their predecessors from the earliest years of the International - has not altered, indeed it has been extended and strengthened to meet the challenges of an increasingly inter-dependent planet.

As the countries of the world tackle the many problems which are common to all - from the growing gap between rich and poor nations to the management of the environment - they need that concrete and active commitment that the International and its member parties and organisations represent today.
IN THE SPIRIT OF SAN FRANCISCO

The changed relationship between East and West has provided new and exciting openings for the world in the 1990s. The end of the Cold War has freed both minds and resources that for so long were bound by sterile confrontations.

At the same time the conflict in the Middle East, following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, has revealed the weaknesses in the present system for international peace and security.

Freed from the constraints of the Cold War, the United Nations did respond with unprecedented speed to the crisis. Yet the organisation was not in a position either to prevent the crisis or to solve it in a peaceful manner.

These issues were discussed in detail at a unique gathering in Stockholm, Sweden, on 22 April 1991. Nearly thirty political leaders from around the world came together there to discuss how to take advantage of these new opportunities for strengthening international cooperation in the 1990s.

Several of us had a background in the independent international commissions of the 1980s. These had dealt with development and relations between North and South, with disarmament and security, and with global environment issues.

Those behind this 'Stockholm initiative' also have, or have had, leading political roles in their own countries. They include among others Willy Brandt, former chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany; Julius Nyerere, former president of Tanzania; Gro Harlem Brundtland, prime minister of Norway; Kalevi Sorsa, former prime minister of Finland; Edward Heath, former prime minister of the United Kingdom, and Benazir Bhutto, former prime minister of Pakistan.

The question before us in Stockholm was how to use the unique opportunity presented by the transformation of relations between East and West. We asked ourselves how we could best take advantage of the end of the Cold War and found a world order which would serve us all better than in the past.

We now have a truly historic opportunity, similar to that which existed in 1945, after the Second World War. At that time, there was agreement that the world must try to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. To this end the United Nations was created and the IMF and World Bank were founded to foster reconstruction and a prosperous world economy.

The challenges we face today are even more complex. New generations are not only threatened by war. The threats also include environmental destruction, poverty and mass migration.

But there is now an opportunity to overcome these threats.

The lesson of the 1980s is clear: that no nation can resolve its own problems without relying on others. The independent international commissions spelled out our interdependence. They emphasised that we must work together if we are to live in one world, to achieve common security and have a common future.

All this is now more evident than ever before. Security for any nation must be built on mutual trust across national borders. Improved and more stable economic conditions in both North and South require common action. In order to avert environmental
Peace-keeping in Cyprus

The Stockholm Initiative, set out in our paper ‘Common Responsibility in the 1990s’ is a response to that spirit. We have spelled out some elements of a new programme for international action. We give priority to proposals for strengthening international institutions and organising the way we handle world affairs together.

We propose improved United Nations capabilities for anticipating and preventing conflicts. We suggest a global United Nations emergency system and the establishment of a global law enforcement arrangement, to focus both on sanctions and on military enforcement measures.

In order to curb the flow of arms, we propose stricter monitoring of the world arms trade, with a view to agreeing eventually on global norms to regulate and limit this trade.

The benefits of the new world political climate are not only political. There is also a unique chance to release substantial resources – the material aspect of the ‘peace dividend’. We propose that governments in industrial countries pledge to allocate a specific portion of the peace dividend to international cooperation. If a target were set of one-third of the savings on military expenditure, some US$ 30 - 40 million would be released annually for such cooperation.

In the field of development, the tasks are numerous. One billion people – one in every five human beings – are defined as living in extreme poverty. We propose that the world community set the goal of eradicating extreme poverty within the next 25 years.

We are suggesting a number of concrete steps towards making this possible. One is a strengthened debt strategy which would radically cut debt overhang. Another is that all developed nations set and publicise a target date for allocating one per cent of their GNP to international development cooperation.

Previous failure to protect the human environment already threatens many of our planet’s life-support systems. Action must now be taken in many fields.

We propose, for example, the levying of fees on the emission of pollutants affecting the global environment, in particular carbon dioxide emissions. The 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development must serve as a breakthrough for achieving sustainable development. For the future, the United Nations should be encouraged to take up environmental issues at the highest level in all appropriate fora.

We want to see the international institutions of the future constitute a system of common security and global governance. As a wider understanding of security has developed, economic and ecological issues are also seen to have clear security dimensions. The United Nations Security Council should therefore take on a wider mandate. Both the composition of the Council and the use of the veto need to be reviewed.

Increasing the authority of the United Nations must involve strengthening the position of the Secretary-General. The system of financing also needs to be reviewed. We must ensure that failure to make the necessary contributions holds no advantage – countries who do not comply with the financial rules should simply be deprived of the right to vote.
Today's global challenges urgently demand a stronger system of global governance. That is why we now propose the convening of a World Summit on Global Governance, with tasks similar to those of the meetings held in the 1940s in San Francisco and at Bretton Woods. Such a summit would be a concrete manifestation of political unity in support of comprehensive efforts to strengthen the international institutions.

A World Summit of this kind requires detailed preparation. We will encourage the establishment of an Independent International Commission on Global Governance, which would carry out this preparation. By pulling together a number of dedicated national and international leaders for a few years' ambitious work in such a group, a good foundation could be laid for creating a new world order which would serve us all well.

We now see a historic opportunity to change the ways in which our increasing interdependencies are met. This opportunity may be fragile, but it is now present, as it has not been at any time since the creation of the United Nations. It must not be lost. Nations must seize it; political leaders must seize it. There can be no more noble task than living up to our common responsibility in determining the future of humankind.

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**THE STOCKHOLM INITIATIVE: Proposals**

**PEACE AND SECURITY**

We propose:
1. improved United Nations capabilities for anticipating and preventing conflicts, in particular the establishment of a global emergency system;
2. the elaboration of a global law enforcement arrangement, in line with the United Nations Charter, focusing on the role of sanctions and on military enforcement measures;
3. organisational and financial measures to strengthen the United Nations capabilities for peace-keeping and peace-making operations;
4. Regional Conferences on Security and Cooperation to be tried in regions also outside Europe;
5. that the monitoring of world arms trade, particularly by the United Nations, be strengthened with the purpose of eventually agreeing on global norms, regulating and limiting trade in arms, and focusing on both supplier and recipient countries;
6. a pledge by governments in the industrialised countries to allocate a specific part of the peace dividend for international cooperation;
7. a commitment by governments in the South to substantially reduce their armed forces, with the purpose of creating a peace dividend to be invested in human development.

**DEVELOPMENT**

We propose:
8. that the world community sets the goal to eradicate extreme poverty within the coming 25 years, through a committed effort to achieve sustainable development;
9. that the following targets for the year 2000 be emphasised and that countries' achievements be monitored closely:
   - primary education for all children;
   - equal participation of boys and girls in schools;
   - reduction in maternal mortality by half;
   - by terms and conditions in Paris Club reschedulings that go far beyond today's in providing relief and applying to a broader range of countries;
   - by commercial debt restructuring that better corresponds to the secondary market value of that debt;
10. a strengthening of the multilateral framework of trade-related agreements, reducing protectionism on all fronts, and expanding opportunities for developing countries' participation in world trade;
11. a strengthened debt strategy, introducing a strong element of debt forgiveness to radically cut the debt overhang;
12. that all industrialised nations set public time-targets to provide one per cent of their GNP for international development cooperation.

**ENVIRONMENT**

We propose:
13. that fees are levied on the emission of pollutants affecting the global environment, in particular carbon dioxide emissions from the burning of fossil fuels;
14. an international energy dialogue promoting a more efficient use of the world's energy resources, and, in particular, the use of alternative and renewable energy sources, eg solar energy;
15. that the United Nations be encouraged to take up environmental issues at the highest level in all appropriate fora;
16. that nations resolve to make the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development a breakthrough for sustainable development;

**POPULATION**

We propose:
17. that national and cultural leaders mobilise the political commitment and the technical means for making a breakthrough in limiting population growth;
18. that the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development promote the implementation of policies and programmes to reach population stabilisation goals;

**DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS**

We propose:
19. the strengthening of the United Nations role in monitoring how countries live up to their commitments to conventions and declarations concerning human rights and democracy, recognising that democracy can develop only through popular internal will;
20. the strengthening of independent international institutions that offer to monitor countries' observance of democratic rules and principles, in particular at time of elections, respecting the constitutional order of each country.

**GLOBAL GOVERNANCE**

We propose:
21. that the United Nations takes on a broadened mandate at the Security Council level, following the wider understanding of security which has developed, and that its composition and the use of the veto be reviewed;
22. that the Secretary-General be given a stronger position and the means to exercise authority, and that the method of appointment of the Secretary-General and of higher-level staff be reviewed;
23. that the system-wide responsibilities and authority of the Secretary-General concerning inter-agency coordination and cooperation should be firmly established;
24. that the financing system of the United Nations be reviewed, and that countries who do not adhere to the financial rules be deprived of the right to vote;
25. that the activities of the United Nations in the economic and social fields be strengthened and rationalised;
26. that the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank be coordinated, among themselves and with the United Nations system and GATT, with the aim of a clearer division of labour, better harmony and full universality in their work;
27. that a World Summit on Global Governance be called, similar to the meetings in San Francisco and at Bretton Woods in the 1940s;
28. as a matter of priority, the establishment of an Independent International Commission on Global Governance.
Björn Engholm, the new leader of the German Social Democratic Party, talks of the tasks facing his party.

Europe is starting to come to terms with Germany. We, as German social democrats, should make no bones about our feelings. Unification of our country is the fulfilment of an old dream and the achievement of a great aim of German social democracy.

Today we are at the beginning of a new era which requires new answers. Many people maintain that capitalism has now won the race against communism. Democracy beats dictatorship; West triumphs over East. This is certainly not untrue, but I think this view is all too facile. The real test of the superiority of the western system is still to come. Earlier we had to fight against Stalinism; that proved relatively simple. Today's task is to demonstrate superiority under the close scrutiny of millions of people in the East whose living standards are worse than ours. How are we to create jobs, protect our environment, make disarmament a reality, and build bridges between the well-fed and the hungry Europe? The answer is still lacking, and we will have to find it.

Many voices have recently been heard and are still being heard proclaiming the end of the social democratic era. I am convinced that there is a lasting new opportunity for social democrats in the whole of Europe. We have not reached the end of a social democratic century; we are at the beginning of a new one.

If we want to carry out our great task successfully we will have to understand the different systems under which people have lived in East and West. I emphatically contradict all those who claim that living in the West has always been sheer paradise. Here in western Germany there has been and still is depressing hardship. Millions of recipients of social security can tell you all about that. But in the western part of our country we have been decidedly better off than our friends in East Germany. We received help from the West. We were able to speak out freely. We had the inestimable right to travel freely. Alfred Andersch said of this: 'to be stopped from leaving one's country is to be stopped from living in it voluntarily'. Which of us can imagine what that meant in terms of depression, stress, despair and loss for 17 million people in the former GDR? We in the West were not the better Germans, we were luckier and had better opportunities and we are obliged now to share our good fortune.

The SPD will be prepared to collaborate with others, if this is for the benefit of people in the East. However, this should not be misinterpreted: German social democracy is not an ox to pull the government's cart out of the morass.

The new tasks in the East must not make us forget the old problems which we still face in our republic. The old West was not exactly the land of promise either. Over a quarter of our society lives in the basement of the house of wealth – a fact which has been forgotten by the present federal government. Hundreds of thousands are looking for housing. Many people are still reduced to receiving pocket money once they are old and need care, although it was they who made this republic great.

The moral quality and political credentials of a society are not proven by offering more to the privileged, but solely by that society's ability to help those in need.

The SPD is Germany's oldest European party. Our political colours are republican, social and European. Even today there is a great and unique opportunity to unite those two virtues which the young Kant called the greatest virtues of the future: patriotism and cosmopolitanism. I think that this is the right way forward for us in Europe. To borrow and adapt a phrase of François Mitterrand, who used it of his own country: Germany is our home, Europe is our future.

By this I do not mean a weak Europe with an overpowering Germany at its centre, but a stronger Europe, to which the expanded Germany may bring its entire strength. Europe
gave a unanimous yes to a united Germany. It is therefore our clear duty now to become
the leading advocates of a yes to a united Europe.

Furthermore I believe that anybody mindful of the pointless victims of two pointless
world wars knows that the vision, and hopefully soon the reality, of Europe is the only
alternative to the terrible temptations and the false doctrines of nationalism. It is
therefore time now in Europe for those things which belong together to grow together.

It is time for a pan-European security system to be developed out of the CSCE. It is time
for decisions to transform the European Community into the pillar of a greater Europe,
to open the EC, now especially, to those EFTA states who want more than the European
economic forum. German social democrats will do everything in their power to open the
door to Norway, Sweden and the whole of Scandinavia to form an integral part of this
Europe, if that is what they want. And the same applies of course to Austria, our neighbour
to the South. Now is also the time for us to prepare for a gradual opening of the EC to the
reformed states of central and eastern Europe.

Those in the East who want and are able to join must not be left outside locked doors.
I particularly want to make the point that the Community alone does not constitute
Europe. Prague, Warsaw and Budapest are just as much European cities as Paris, Berlin or
Rome. Political reality has to reflect this.

Sound neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union are a precondition for the survival
of perestroika, and the survival of perestroika is an important basic premise for the
existence of long-term stable development in Europe. Therefore I can only repeat that we
in Europe have a political obligation to help Gorbachev to continue his path in the Soviet
Union.

I have some doubts as to whether we have all really understood what a difficult
development eastern Europe is facing. I would like to put a question: are we prepared
finally to meet the migration from East to West with police power or would we not be
better advised to start showing more solidarity than hitherto with the hungry people who
look to well-fed western Europe?

It is high time for a reform of the European Community. If we do not achieve
convincing common standards for environmental protection in the near future, as well
as social standards for all Europeans, the impulse to turn to Europe will subside. Without
both economic and monetary union, the influence of Europe on developments in the
global economy will remain negligible. Without a common foreign and defence policy
there can be no equal partnership with the United States.

Therefore it is my opinion that those who still harbour old-fashioned concepts of
hegemony with regard to the future of Europe must be told that such concepts have been
out of date for generations.

We in Europe have to risk greater parliamentary democracy. It is simply ludicrous that
the Reichstag in imperial times had more parliamentary rights than the European
parliament today.

It is also high time that European democracy was efficiently organised. At every party
congress in Europe we talk about global inter-dependencies in terms of the economy, the
environment and other issues, yet our social democratic parties are organised in a
classically national manner. We are unable to instigate even a modest joint campaign
across national borders.

Even if Europe continues to grow together, the United States still remains Germany’s
and Europe’s partner. We are bound together by many joint convictions; by remembering
their invaluable help in the re-building of Germany; by the jointly organised security
structures of the period of East-West confrontation. These things form powerful pillars
in a partnership and cannot in any way be questioned. It is only in parenthesis that I
would add that between friends and partners it should be possible occasionally to say a
critical word about each other.

The end of global thinking in terms of blocs and the arms race opens up unexpected
opportunities, but the Middle East is precarious and many parts of the world are sinking
deeper and deeper into indigence.

We Germans are now being asked what kind of responsibility we are prepared to take
on in the world. I would like to answer this with six comments:

Firstly, nobody should over-estimate the power of the Germans. We will need about a
decade to complete the process of domestic social, economic, mental and cultural
unification. We will have an awful lot to do in our own country. The idea that Germany
could become a super-power of a completely new dimension during this time is absurd.

Secondly, we want to employ our efforts anywhere in the world where the causes of
conflicts can be eliminated. I have absolutely no problem with the idea of Germany
playing a leading role in the world, but this should mean a leading role in the fight against
Hans-Jochen Vogel, Björn Engholm, Willy Brandt

hunger, against impoverishment and against the destruction of the environment.
The Gulf war has shown us sharply that the idea that regional wars can be fought and
brought to a close, thereby successfully solving problems, does not work.
After the experiences of the Gulf war we will have to oppose the notion latent in the
heads of many Germans, especially in the heads of many conservative politicians, that
war could once again gradually become a means to the decisive solution of political
conflicts.
Not long ago, the mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kollek, reached his 80th birthday. He is
a man who has been striving for a compromise between the diverse groups and peoples
of his region with all his heart, in the most admirable way. I assure our friends in Israel
that we German social democrats are fully aware of our historical duty to hold a protective
hand over the existence of Israel however we can.
We also acknowledge the historical need to facilitate a life for the Palestinians in self-
determination and dignity.
I therefore support a peace conference in the Middle East, perhaps according to the
pattern of the CSCE, since the problems requiring solution are almost identical. I hope
that solutions can now be found to the problems of this region - including the suffering
of millions of Kurds.
In fourth place, as we attempt to put aside military solutions in favour of civilian ones,
we in Germany have to take practical steps. One such difficult practical step would be the
restriction of arms exports.
It is a rather depressing thought, not to say a perverse one, that young German soldiers
could be sent to the battlefields of this world to be killed by German weapons. I believe
we will have to face difficult consequences in the world-wide trade in death by German
weapons.
Fifthly, I am in favour of the participation of German soldiers in peace-keeping ‘blue
helmet’ missions which are clearly defined by the United Nations.
In Sweden and Denmark, Norway and Finland, all political forces from the far left to
the far right take a justifiable pride in their participation in such missions.
Lastly, if we want a permanent peaceful ordering of the world we cannot ignore the
question of whether we in the western industrial nations can continue living in this
privileged manner and keep those in the southern part of the world permanently and
exclusively under-privileged.
We must ask ourselves who can be permanently happy if his happiness is based on the
unhappiness of others? Who can survive peacefully in politics if his benefit becomes the
burden of others? How do we intend to save the world’s environment if billions of people
are forced to harm that environment out of sheer poverty? And who in the world is
supposed to purchase German goods and services while national incomes sink from year
to year?
For moral, political, economic and ecological reasons, I believe that we in the North can
no longer stand by and watch the South sink into poverty. We will have to do more than
we have done up to now.
40 YEARS SINCE FRANKFURT

Forty years ago this year the Socialist International was re-established after the destruction and dislocation of the Second World War. Delegates from 28 democratic socialist parties and organisations convened in Frankfurt on 30 June 1951 to re-forge the historical links which had been broken during the years of fighting in Europe.

The parties which came together in the German city on that day had some clear ideas about what they wanted. Meeting in Antwerp in 1947, they had resolved to create the Committee of International Socialist Organisations, COMISCO, which met for the first time in London the following year. When they met in Frankfurt therefore there was immediate agreement ‘that the International Socialist Conference change its name to the Socialist International’ and ‘that the conference here assembled is to be entered in the minutes as the First Congress of the Socialist International’.

The Congress elected Morgan Phillips of the British Labour Party as chairman of the International, with Erich Ollenhauer of the German Social Democratic Party and French Socialist Louis Lévy as vice-chairmen. Julius Braunthal, an Austrian Jewish socialist long exiled from his country and then living in London, where the International would have its secretariat, was elected secretary.

At that historic Congress the International adopted a Declaration of Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism, enshrining the commitments which still hold good today: to freedom, democracy, peace and solidarity; to opposing discrimination; to assisting development of the poorest countries, to supporting the United Nations.

The Congress also ratified a decision taken at a meeting earlier that year, after some debate, which was to prove crucial to the nature and success of the International, and which is still at the heart of all our work: the new Socialist International would not be tightly centralised but would work solely through ‘the principle of cooperation by consent’.

The shared vision and priorities on which that consent would be based were reflected in the words of party leaders at the Frankfurt Congress.

In his opening address Kurt Schumacher, chairman of the German Social Democratic Party, said, ‘political freedom and social progress are inextricably bound up together... To find the common ground for the establishment of a just social order and for the freedom of the peoples, nationally and internationally, will be the foremost task of the future Socialist International. We must not be deterred by the magnitude of the difficulties’.

‘Socialism’, Danish Social Democratic leader Alsing Andersen told the Congress, ‘has always fought against the suppression of individuals and nations. For a century the socialist movement has been the champion of democratic rights and freedoms and of national independence. Socialism and democracy are indeed inseparable’.

We easily recognise and identify with these words of the leaders of forty years ago.

The political landscape of 1951 was one of Cold War divisions. But social democrats never accepted these as inevitable and throughout these forty years the International fought against divisions and for shared progress and cooperation.

Linked to a belief in a need for global cooperation were concerns about the abolition of colonialism, and development assistance to the newly-independent and often very poor countries, disarmament, and cooperation within a reconstructed Europe.

In the years following its re-establishment, the International drew attention to the repression in Franco’s Spain, to South Africa, where racial discrimination was intensifying, and to eastern Europe, where social democratic parties were being violently suppressed.

Whilst the Pax Sovietica imposed by Stalin and his successors snuffed out political activity by democratic socialists in central and eastern Europe, in Spain and Portugal
Democratic socialism was throttled by dictatorships. It fell to the more powerful and established democratic parties in the rest of Europe, to channel moral and political support to parties working in exile or in clandestinity.

Europe was never the exclusive focus of the International’s concerns and energies. Some long-established parties from Asia and the Pacific, North and South America were already among those present in Frankfurt, and a number of parties from Asia and Latin America were among those newer members which by the mid-1970s had swelled the ranks of the International to more than 50 parties. Much activity, however, centred in Europe, and particularly in London.

This was to change. The International which convened at the Geneva Congress of 1976, 25 years after Frankfurt, was an organisation sure of its identity and looking outward. Following his election to the presidency of the International at that congress, Willy Brandt said, ‘Much will depend on how we shape our relationship with parties and movements of similar orientation in regions where conditions differ from our own traditional ones: in both parts of America, in Africa, in Asia. We must draw on the things we have in common in order to get closer to our common objectives. ... International solidarity includes, at least in my understanding, every country and every state with their own road to democratic freedom and social justice’.

Within the next few years, the International extended its activities into a number of new areas. In 1977 the party leaders met in Tokyo - the first such gathering in Asia, although a meeting of the SI Bureau had already been held in Australia in 1974. That same year Olof Palme led a mission to southern Africa. In 1978 the International held a ‘round table’ on the Middle East in Vienna, following a series of missions to the region led by Bruno Kreisky. Later that year, the SI held its Congress in Vancouver, the first outside Europe. Also in 1978, the first Bureau meeting to be convened in Africa was held in Dakar. Meanwhile, contacts with Latin America were also intensifying and, following the establishment of the SI Committee on Latin America and the Caribbean, a regional conference was held in 1980 in Santo Domingo. Concrete shape was also given to the long-time commitment to peace and disarmament and to ending the Cold War. In 1978...
the first Socialist International Disarmament Conference was held in Finland and the SI Disarmament Advisory Council was founded. In the following years, a number of SIDAC missions were received by Soviet and US leaders.

During the 1980s all these commitments were continued and deepened. The Arusha Conference of 1984 and the Gabarone meeting in 1987 exemplified the solidarity of the International with the liberation movements of southern Africa. The SI Committee on Economic Policy, established at the Albufeira Congress in 1983, and its subsequent reports reflected the International’s contribution to the North-South debate. The struggle for democracy and human rights in Latin America and the Caribbean, already a major concern in the 1970s, became a central focus of attention, as did the search for a peaceful solution to the conflicts in Central America. The previous work on the Middle East led to the establishment of a permanent committee and regular exchanges and initiatives in the region.

Our development continues. In 1991 the Socialist International embraces 90 member parties and organisations from all continents of the world, representing more than 200 million voters. Close to 30 of our member parties are currently in government. Others form strong parliamentary oppositions and many have good prospects of returning to power or of forming governments for the first time.

In today’s Europe, very different from that of forty years ago, democratic socialism has spread out from its post-war strongholds and is a very significant force. After the momentous events of the last two years, social democratic parties are also active again in the countries of central and eastern Europe and have resumed their place in our movement. Our parties have a major role in shaping the continent’s common future.

In Latin America, where political democracy has triumphed over dictatorship, we have many strong and active member parties, a number of which are now in government. The International has expanded its membership in Africa, where there are also increasing exchanges with political forces active in the movement towards democratisation.
At the conference of SI party leaders in Australia, in March of this year, we saw reflected the dynamism and influence of our established parties in the Asia-Pacific region and the growing interest in our organisation from other political forces.

Our longstanding objectives of peace, democracy and social justice - which are as relevant now as they were in 1951 - today embrace new challenges and urgent issues demanding an international response. The defence of our environment is high on the agenda, as is the need for a more just North-South relationship, and cooperation for the solution of international and regional conflicts.

Over recent years, the International has become a point of reference not only for member parties but for a wider spectrum of democratic forces who look to us for dialogue and cooperation. There are new calls on us to play a role in situations of tension and confrontation. In this respect we have been able, for example, to make a contribution in Central America and are now playing an acknowledged role in the search for peace in the Middle East.

The scope of today's International is such that in the last year alone major meetings or conferences have been held in Cairo, Tampere, New York, Vienna, Sydney, Aruba and Istanbul, while we have also been convening meetings of our standing committees, sending fact-finding missions and delegations, and observing elections in different parts of the world. More than at any time in its history the International now provides an important forum for advancing common initiatives and international action.

When we look back to the re-establishment of our organisation and its development over these last 40 years, I think we can appreciate how sound and valid the principles and methods then laid down have proved to be, and how universal democratic socialism has become.

Those who gathered in Frankfurt 40 years ago would, I believe, be proud of the International into which they breathed new life.
The New Zealand Labour Party lost the general election which was held in the autumn of last year. The conservative National Party was returned after six years during which the Socialist International’s member party in New Zealand had guided the country’s destinies.

The defeat is no more than another round in a perennial fight, not least because the Labour Party’s leader, former Prime Minister Mike Moore is, as he is always saying, a battler.

Still in his early 40s, Mike Moore took on a herculean task in September 1990 when he was elected to lead the party only a few weeks before the general election was due. David Lange, the New Zealand leader who had inter alia ruffled so many feathers because of his unyielding opposition to nuclear arms and the entry of foreign warships carrying nuclear weapons to his country’s ports, had retired in August 1989 in an atmosphere of high drama. He was replaced by Geoffrey Palmer, a retiring constitutional lawyer who defeated Moore in a contest to lead the party. But, with his academic style, Palmer was able to do little as prime minister to halt the decline in Labour’s fortunes. He lasted just over a year and, as the party saw no halt to its electoral decline, was replaced last September by Moore - the only man in the cabinet without a university degree, but the only man too who Labour thought could pull off a victory for the party.

The circumstances of Mike Moore’s life had given him little alternative to battling for survival. He was brought up in poor surroundings. His father kept a very modest shop which stocked second-hand goods. The family home in the north of the North Island was regularly flooded in winter. Holes had to be drilled in the floor in order to let the water out. When Moore was six his father died and there was no alternative to his being sent to a home for destitute children in Auckland. Moreover he was partially lame, suffering even at that age from the ill-health which was to continue to dog him. He left school at 15 to work as a labourer and a printer. While he was still in his teens he began to make his mark in trade union and Labour affairs for, among other things, his opposition to the Vietnam war. He was elected to parliament for the first time when he was 23 and, representing Auckland, became one of the youngest MPs the country had ever had.

Three years later he was defeated and had to seek jobs where he could, first as a night-watchman on a harbour dredge, then as a nurse in a mental hospital. In 1979 he was re-elected to parliament, but contracted cancer. Few people in New Zealand political life would have given much for his chances of future advancement. But his battling instincts had not left him and he fought the disease off.

He rose quickly to number three position in the cabinet of Prime Minister Lange, collecting many portfolios even for a minister in a country where ministers are used to having more than one major responsibility. He ended up as minister for external relations, overseas trade and marketing, deputy finance minister, member of the planning board and minister for the Americas Cup. The latter reflected the determination of the sports-mad New Zealanders to make sure that the famous yacht race, subject to international litigation, should be held in their country’s waters.

He was unashamedly on the trade union wing of the Labour Party. While a minister he expressed unhappiness at Labour government cuts in spending on health, pointing out to audiences that he himself would have died when he was younger had he not had the free health care which was now less widely available. He was also against the decision to cut unemployment benefits. ‘I know what it’s like’, he said. ‘I’ve been unemployed. It hurts me beyond words to see the pain in this country’.

With the policies of the present National Party government proving more unpopular more quickly than anyone had expected, Labour’s chances are recovering fast. Public opinion surveys show that Prime Minister Jim Bolger can count on the support of only 17 per cent of the electorate, while Mike Moore commands 22 per cent, the collapse in enthusiasm for the victors of the last elections being due in large measure to the massive reduction in government spending on the country’s social programmes.

Before last year’s elections, Mike Moore - a colourful speaker as always - said he would attack the National Party ‘with a blowtorch’. The blowtorch is still alight.
Since December 1975, despite resolutions from the United Nations, Indonesian troops have been occupying East Timor. Hugh O'Shaughnessy assesses the present situation.

INDONESIA IN EAST TIMOR: AN ILLEGAL OCCUPATION

'Thank you for coming. Thank you for taking an interest', said the young Timorese as he pressed on me a letter for Mario Soares, president of Portugal and a vice-president of the Socialist International, on the last day of my stay in Dili, the capital of Indonesian-occupied East Timor. 'It's better for security purposes if I don't put his name on the envelope. But you'll remember who it's for, won't you?'

His gratitude for a visit was touching and his anxiety understandable. After fourteen years of isolation, imposed on the 700,000 people of this former Portuguese colony by the Indonesian forces of occupation since their invasion in 1975, the invaders are having to relax their grip. Foreign visitors are at long last permitted to travel to the territory and the full horror of the Timorese experience, which has been a constant concern of the SI, is beginning to reach the outside world.

The bare facts of the recent history of East Timor can be quickly told. In 1975 the Portuguese, whose colony it had been since the early 16th century, were in the midst of their own efforts to end an era of fascism, and decolonisation was in full swing. As Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and the other African territories moved towards independence, Lisbon fixed a date, 1978, for its former eastern colony to decide on its own fate. Indonesia, in the person of Foreign Minister Adam Malik, gave every indication that it would make no move to swallow East Timor before its inhabitants had had a chance to express their views on their own future.

The Timorese meanwhile were at odds with each other over that future. The vast
majority, taking their lead from the Portuguese Socialist Party and other forces in the metropolis, wanted a socialist East Timor independent of Portugal and organised themselves in a party which is today known as Fretilin, the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor. A small nucleus, the UDT or Timorese Democratic Union, made up principally of people linked with the Portuguese administration, wanted a continuing relationship with the former metropolis while a tiny group, APODETI, wanted Indonesia to absorb East Timor entirely.

UDT and APODETI came together in 1975 in a confrontation with Fretilin in a short but bloody civil war in which several thousand people died but which left Fretilin victorious.

The Portuguese administration meanwhile withdrew from Dili on 17 August, to the neighbouring island of Atauro a few miles off shore, effectively putting an end to four and a half centuries of Portuguese presence. Then began the first threats of military action from the Indonesian government headed by President Suharto who had already been in power in Jakarta for ten years. Attentive to the dangers, on 28 November Fretilin declared their country to be the Democratic Republic of East Timor.

Nine days later on 7 December the Indonesians invaded and the Timorese drama moved into its most tragic stage. Troops poured over the border and the atrocities began. Typical was the shooting of 59 men on the quay at Dili in front of a crowd who were forced to count as each was killed and his corpse fell into the water; a group of journalists who had been able to chronicle such events for the outside world were themselves done away with.

The United Nations Security Council and General Assembly passed a series of resolutions condemning Indonesia’s action and ordering Suharto’s troops to withdraw but, in contrast to the response to this year’s crisis in Kuwait, nothing effective was done to ensure Jakarta’s compliance. The envoy of the UN Secretary-General, Winspeare Guicciardi, was prevented from inspecting the conditions under Indonesian occupation and announced in April 1976 that he was unable to complete a full report on the situation.

On 31 May the Indonesian dictatorship convened a puppet ‘Popular Assembly’ which approved a petition addressed to General Suharto, calling for the full integration of East Timor into Indonesia. (Malik had already signed a declaration formally integrating East Timor into Indonesia in November 1975).

Since then, the country has lived for a decade and a half under a blanket of isolation and censorship, with only occasional muffled reports reaching the outside world of the atrocities going on under the illegal Indonesian occupation and the armed resistance to it.

From the beginning of the occupation, the Indonesians have been opposed by the Falintil, the Armed Forces of National Liberation of Timor. In the mountains and jungles...
of the island they have fought a guerrilla campaign against the invaders, despite the fact that they were unable to acquire weapons and munitions from outside Timor and were constrained to keep up the fight with the material which they acquired from the Portuguese in 1975 or were later able to capture or secretly buy from the Indonesian troops.

The Indonesian response to the Falintil was ferocious. Adam Malik commented in March 1977 that ‘perhaps 80,000 people might have been killed’. In 1978, the cautious Far Eastern Economic Review said that some 165,839 Timorese were in ‘resettlement camps’.

Early in 1979, 17,000 people rushed to apply for repatriation to Portugal when the International Committee of the Red Cross, allowed back by the Indonesians into occupied East Timor, opened an office in Dili for two days in order to receive applications. Later the same year, Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja admitted that 120,000 had died since the Indonesian invasion.

The Falintil has kept up the fight to this day, though for much of this year in particular it has been going hard with them. José Ramos Horta, a leading member of Fretilin who teaches at the University of New South Wales, declared that the guerrillas had lost the ability to initiate offensive operations. Xanana Gusmão, the Falintil leader, has been a master of evasion.

In the early 1980s, the Indonesian invading forces developed the technique of forcing civilians to march in front of the soldiers towards places where the Falintil were suspected of being active. The invaders tried to put the guerrillas into a position where they had either to retreat or to fire on their own people. The cost in human life was horrendous.

As many East Timorese went to an early grave in warfare or in the famines and epidemics which sprang from the Indonesian attacks, they have been replaced by immigrants from Indonesia. This forms part of a strategy by the regime in Jakarta which simultaneously relieves the overcrowding in the Javanese heartland of Indonesia and dilutes the proportion of native-born people in occupied East Timor.

Some 100,000 Indonesians have arrived in occupied East Timor, plying every trade from fisherman to bank clerk, but concentrated mainly in commerce and administration in the capital. At the same time, the Portuguese language, which was spoken by an elite in colonial times and which offers some sort of line of communication with a world beyond Indonesia, is scarcely being taught any more to East Timorese children. The invaders have dramatically expanded the percentage of young Timorese being offered a secondary education, but they have made sure that education is through the medium of Bahasa Indonesia, their country’s language.

In such circumstances it would be logical to suppose that, as a new generation grew up who had had no experience of their country but that of Indonesian occupation, the East Timorese would start to lose their national identity. All political observers, however, coincide in the view that, far from dying out, East Timorese identity is growing stronger, particularly among young East Timorese who see their country overrun by foreigners who are occupying the positions they themselves might once have aspired to in an independent East Timor.

The visits to Dili of Pope John Paul in October 1989 and of US Ambassador John Mongo in January 1990 brought strong demonstrations of Timorese opposition to Indonesian occupation onto the streets. One celebration by the catholic church in September 1990 brought an estimated 60,000 people out to express their feelings against Indonesia. Meanwhile, Portuguese President Mario Soares and the United Nations continue a search for a peaceful way of allowing the East Timorese to voice their own wishes for the future of their country. Portugal, which did not accept as valid the ephemeral November 1975 declaration of independence by East Timor, considers itself still to be charged with finishing the task of bringing the country out of colonialism.

Talks between the Portuguese and Indonesian governments took place in New York under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General in May 1989 and in September of last year, when a visit by a delegation of the Portuguese parliament to occupied East Timor was discussed. At the time of writing, the form such a visit would take had not been agreed by the two countries.

The government in Jakarta is caught in a political vice. After fifteen years of illegal occupation of East Timor, General Suharto, in an effort to convince the world that the Timorese are living a normal life in the youngest of Indonesia’s provinces, must allow visitors in and even try to attract tourists. The Timorese for their part, long cut off from the outside world, are taking every opportunity to tell visitors of the horrors they have lived through.

As a result, the tide of international opinion and diplomatic advantage is flowing in the direction that President Mario Soares wants it to flow.
Malaysian Members of Parliament do not enjoy much parliamentary immunity. Opposition MPs can be charged with sedition on the basis of what they say in parliament on specified categories of issue. They can, moreover, be removed from office if they are convicted of such an offence of sedition or of any offence under the Official Secrets Act, which is one of the most draconian in all parliamentary democracies, with a mandatory minimum one-year prison sentence for any offender and, in the case of a Member of Parliament, automatic disqualification from his elected post in the legislature.

If an MP resigns his seat on an issue of principle in order to seek a new mandate from his constituents, a new law bars him from standing for election - not only in his old constituency, but in any constituency within the next five years.

An MP can be removed from a parliamentary sitting even if he has not committed any offence or been charged in any court of law. Opposition members and the leader of the parliamentary opposition have not been spared the effects of the Internal Security Act, ISA, and its powers of detention without trial.

I was first detained under the Act eight days after my first election to parliament in 1969. I did not regain my freedom for 17 months.

I was detained a second time under the ISA in October 1987, 15 months after I was elected as an MP for the fifth time and 14 months after I became parliamentary opposition leader. I was deprived of my liberty for 18 months.

This time I was not the only parliamentarian in detention. Sixteen leaders of the Democratic Action Party, DAP, were among the 106 persons detained in the infamous 'Operation Lalang', and among the 40 served with formal two-year detention orders after the 60-day interrogation period, seven were DAP MPs.

Those detained under Operation Lalang were a cross-section of likely victims of the ISA - opposition leaders, critics of the government, trade unionists, environmentalists, conservationists, religious and social workers.

MPs can also lose their parliamentary status under the Police Act if charged with and convicted of unlawful assembly or unlawful procession (any gathering of more than three persons without police permission).

Opposition MPs do not have access to the broadcast media operated by the government or to important sections of the print media which are owned or controlled by the ruling political parties. The highly repressive Printing Presses and Publications Act, with its wide powers to close down newspapers, is itself enough to silence and intimidate any press which is not owned or controlled by the government parties.

Human rights is therefore a subject of grave concern to parliamentarians concerned about democracy, freedom and social justice. MPs themselves have been denied human rights - not only freedom of the person, but also freedom of speech, expression and assembly.

Public rallies have been banned since 1978 by reason of the armed communist insurrection. Although the 41-year armed struggle of the Malayan Communist Party ended with a peace agreement in December 1989, public rallies, even during general elections, are still banned.

The DAP moved a motion in parliament for the ratification of the International Covenants on Political and Civil Rights and on Social, Economic and Cultural Rights, with a view to obtaining national and governmental recognition and respect for human rights. We were not successful in getting this motion passed.

In the recent general elections in October 1990, opposition parties came together for the first time, transcending ethnic, religious and cultural differences, to present a common platform to the voters on the four great issues of saving democracy, restoring human rights, establishing socioeconomic justice and promoting national unity.

One of the planks in the general election manifesto of the opposition alliance, known as Gagasan Rakyat (People's Might), was the repeal of the repressive laws which violate the human rights of Malaysians. Another was the repeal of the State of Emergency.

In the 34 years since independence, Malaysians have had only five years of normal government, free of the shadow of the State of Emergency. Malaysia is at present subject to four Proclamations of Emergency, the first proclaimed 26 years ago and the fourth 14 years ago.

The ruling parties have refused to revoke the four Proclamations, although the situations with which they were intended to deal have long ceased to exist. These Proclamations endow the government with extraordinary powers - not available under the ordinary laws passed by parliament - to infringe the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the people.

In the recent general elections the opposition front gave priority in its manifesto to the upholding of democratic government based on the rule of law, the guarantee of fundamental freedoms and the restoration of the independence of the judiciary.

Although we fell short of our general election objective of forming a government, an important start was made in presenting an alternative to the ruling coalition which has been in power in Malaysia since independence in 1957.
Glenys Kinnock reviews ...

Solidarity Against Poverty: A Socialist Programme from Holland

Amsterdam, Evert Vermeer Foundation, 1990, ISBN 90 70985 12 8

Published in Dutch, English and Spanish. Obtainable free of charge from: Evert Vermeer Foundation, Nicolaas Witsenkade 30, 1017 ZT Amsterdam, Netherlands.

Solidarity Against Poverty has a clear and important aim: to present a social democratic development policy which stimulates the organisation of the poor and removes international barriers to that goal. The book’s approach and the vital challenge that it throws up set the agenda for members of the Socialist International and for progressive agencies for the 1990s. It should be widely read.

The Evert Vermeer Foundation, EVS, is a Dutch non-governmental organisation working on international development cooperation and solidarity and associated with the Dutch Labour Party, PvdA. One of its key aims is to help generate development policy which serves the needs of the poor.

Solidarity Against Poverty is the result of two years’ discussion and activity by a group of Dutch specialists on development policy and cooperation. It is the blend of strategies for empowering the poor and a programme for modifying international economic relations which is so positive.

Jan Pronk and Eveline Herfkens, in the chapters they have contributed, provide an excellent guide to the progress and failures of the international attack on poverty since the Second World War. They both chart the way in which policy has been taken over by blanket theories. Eveline Herfkens writes: ‘the focus of the debate on development shifted to fit within a macro-economic framework...long-term strategies were eclipsed by the need for a short-term adjustment policy, ideologically dominated by the IMF and the World Bank’. She goes on to point out the simple truth that there is not one single ‘third world’ and that it is therefore impossible to arrive at an economic formula for development at macro-level. In the 1990s human development must become the focus of policy, with priority being given to qualitative improvement. Both these contributors also point to the limits of aid and to the much greater importance of dramatically improving the terms of trade for goods from the South and their access to the increasingly protectionist North, especially to the European Community, the USA and Japan. The clear demand, therefore, is for more and better aid, but more importantly for an improvement in the situation of the developing countries - and of all the poor and exploited of those countries - within the global economic and political order.

These demands represent one half of the programme outlined. Their fulfilment must take place in tandem with ‘the real participation and integration of the entire population in the development process’. There is no romantic glorification here of grassroots organisations in isolation from power structures. The authors ‘are simply convinced that the only way permanent development can be achieved is by organising the poor from the bottom up’. This is seen as confronting one of the major blocks to development: ‘the lack of political will amongst the richer countries to confront the development needs of the majority of the world’s population, and the continued insistence on a ‘top down’ approach to development. Empowerment means countervailing power structures to represent the poor.

Centre stage is also given to the notion that democracy and other social, economic and political rights are essential to development. The book states clearly that development is really the process by which all members of society are increasingly able to realise these rights. As a result, development is seen not as apolitical and neutral, but as being at the heart of economic, social and political change.

Here we have clear proposals for solidarity with the poor and for empowerment of their organisations, linked to demands for full human rights and an understanding of the international economic and political structures which act against these goals.

The EVS has drawn these ideas into a political programme which has been adopted by the Dutch Labour Party. Its key points are:

1. To increase the amount and improve the quality of govern-
clear challenge to socialist parties, especially in the North, to include the issues and policies here in their action. This will be a difficult process and there are still many unanswered questions, specifically on the redistribution of the world’s resources which this will imply and on how such adjustments will be dealt with politically in the North. However, some of the key coordinates for the policy debate of the 1990s have been laid out here and the EVS is to be congratulated on an important book.

Glenys Kinnock is the chair of One World Action, which was founded in Great Britain in memory of former SI General Secretary Bernt Carlsson. One World Action says: ‘The work of this new development agency is attracting the attention of many in both North and South who support the view that we need to strengthen the democratic tradition which will enable the poor to take control of their own development. One World Action believes in taking bold innovative steps to end poverty, inequality and discrimination, and supports those who challenge the unequal distribution of the world’s resources.’

Enquiries or donations to: One World Action, 59 Hatton Garden, London EC1 8LS, UK.

Hugh O’Shaughnessy

Cubans
by Lynn Geldof

When the Irish journalist Lynn Geldof got off the plane in Havana at the beginning of her three-year stay in Cuba she marvelled at the robust state of health of Cuban children as compared to the ones she had just left behind in Central America.

In this wide-ranging compilation of interviews she carried out with Cubans in the island and in exile, she makes clear how much the achievements of the 1959 revolution of Fidel Castro are taken for granted by many in Cuba. She also shows how much they are valued by other Cubans, those who knew the US-supported tyranny of Fulgencio Batista and those who opted for a life in the US and who are now facing the many poverty traps which that country spreads out for the weak and the unwary.

‘As an Irishwoman - and a very perceptive one at that - it did not take her long to find the echoes of the island of her birth in the island of her temporary adoption. The similarities, in broad strokes,’ she comments, ‘between the history and geo-political location of my country, Ireland, and that of Cuba are important. We are both tiny islands in the shadow of a major world power and have both had to fight, bloodily, for the right to assert national identity and sovereignty.’

As one who lived for years in Cuba working in the Cuban press and getting to know all sorts and conditions of people, Geldof is expert in choosing her interviewees and in getting the best out of them. From their conversations she has put together a skillfully woven patchwork of pictures of the society of the island which is remarkable for the insights it offers.

Over the lives of all of the interviewees, pro-government or anti-
Johnson, did all this, can all this, its so ul. Are there forces in the of which Lisa is only one of many York, in 1988 at the age of six, a on the United States, a biopsy on come to pass? any way stimulate the appe tite for bru tality, the casual cruelties so urces. Just how, asks Joyce to middle class, educated died in Greenwich Village, New ent's ' were middle class, educated the short life and cruel death of Lisa knew two 'parents' who all At one level, this is an uncomfor table but compelling narrative of able but compelling narrative of island for more than three de cade

The shape of post-Castro Cuba is under a shadow which may not be lifted even at the forthcoming congress of the ruling party, much postponed, but now due to be held in Santiago later this year. It is the tragedy of Cuba that not even as acute an observer as Lynn Geldof can give us a clue to the island's prospects in the years to come.

James Murphy

What Lisa Knew: the Truths and Lies of the Steinberg Case

by Joyce Johnson


At one level, this is an uncomfortable but compelling narrative of the short life and cruel death of Lisa Steinberg. Illegally adopted, Lisa knew two 'parents' who all too literally gave her hell. She died in Greenwich Village, New York, in 1988 at the age of six, a victim of terrible abuse. Her 'parents' were middle class, educated and not lacking in material resources. Just how, asks Joyce Johnson, did all this, can all this, come to pass?

At another level, this is an optic on the United States, a biopsy on its soul. Are there forces in the moral and social order which in anyway stimulate the appetite for brutality, the casual cruelties of which Lisa is only one of many victims? Can these forces be named and opposed? In What Lisa Knew, Joyce Johnson reaches for the US at its worst and states it gusity in the face. The result is a book that sings like a bonfire and howls like a warning. The individual lives of Joel Steinberg and Hedda Nussbaum are painstakingly stripped down to what can be known of their component parts: who they were, what they did, how they came to meet... On the surface, both had respectable careers and prospects. Labouriously Ms Johnson locates all kinds of early peculiarity in behavioural and tracks the progress of defect into outright degeneration. In a grand pollution of the American dream, the lawyer and the book publisher come together and slowly fashion a home built on personal violence, substance abuse, neglect and viciousness towards two adopted children. The author, who plainly mounted an enormous research effort to get to know her subjects, justifies both of them. Steinberg is a charisic lawyer with the seediness of connections; Nussbaum is a tripwire prone epileptic who falls inexplicably under his spell. They both emerge as deeply unlovable characters. And, through never wishing to modulate their guilt by too much expiatory social analysis, Joyce Johnson does see them as products of their age:

For young people like Joel Steinberg and Hedda Nussbaum, freedom became a misunderstood and empty concept, synonymous with licence - the licence to enjoy unbounded sexual gratification, one thrill after another, anything to escape Boredom.

By the end of her life, Lisa's 'parents' had hoovered huge amounts of cocaine into themselves. There is, to Joyce Johnson, a whole generation of Americans whose heads are stuffed with the pop of therapy and the potion of drugs - therapy and coke: a degenerative fuel which fills the soul. In this social context, notions of personal responsibility, courage and guilt are drowned in self absorption, marginalised in the pursuit of pleasure. If anything goes, then decency goes too.
attracted doubtlessly deserved praise, What Lisa Knew is a long litany of sin and stupidity. Most controversially of all, Joyce Johnson pins much of the final blame on Hedda Nussbaum, whose testimony against her lover sent him down on first-degree manslaughter. Nussbaum, who appears to have had a violent-sexual relationship with Steinberg, attracted the support of feminist lobbies who saw in her another victim heroine. But Nussbaum was clearly Steinberg's soulmate and her indifference to Lisa's fate is positively chilling. Johnson refuses to turn off the glare of accusation. Nothing that happened to Hedda Nussbaum could excuse her association with Lisa's short, tormented life. It is a devastatingly delivered indictment.

One hesitates to say that all this is one terrific read. The grinding horror of the story renders any kind of enjoyment unseemly and meretricious. But rarely does a book remind one with such narrative force that a society all talked-out of ethics and personal responsibility is a dangerous place to live, a place where the worst fairy tales come true. It is vital to have no illusions. The sheer scale of child abuse (not just in the United States, of course) recalls how close to the jungle thousands of innocents live. The whole ghastly subject matter of this grim and gripping book clearly warrants more and more open debate. But for now, it is just good to know that someone has cared enough to find out what Lisa knew.

James Murphy is the Editor of Socialist Affairs' Books Section

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A World in Need of Leadership: Tomorrow's United Nations

by Brian Urquhart and Erskine Childers

Uppsala, Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, ISBN 91 85214 16 7

As Javier Pérez de Cuéllar's term of office as Secretary-General of the United Nations moves towards its conclusion at the end of this year there is much talk of who should be his successor. The search for a new Secretary-General gives the opportunity of focusing not just on a new personality but on what should be the scope and influence of the post in the future.

The argument of this short book, written by two people with the finest UN credentials, is that the organisation must have stronger leadership. This argument, with which few would disagree, has seldom been put more forcefully.

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Nuestra Socialdemocracia (Our social democracy)

by Marco Tulio Bruni Celli

Obtainable (Spanish edition only) from Casa Nacional Acción Democrática, Calle Los Cedros, La Florida, Caracas, Venezuela

Bruni Celli, a well-known spokesman for his country, Venezuela, and his party, Acción Democrática, has produced a thoughtful analysis of the problems besetting a democratic socialist in the developing world. He disdains demagogy but, sagely, he adds, 'No economic programme can be based on the impoverishment of the majority'. Those who set policy at the United Nations World Bank and International Monetary Fund in Washington must read this frank, elegantly written pamphlet.

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Salazar e O Seu Tempo

by César Oliveira

O Jornal, Lisbon, 1991
ISBN 972 692 087 6

A fascinating chronology of Portugal's dark years. More inventory than criticism, it contains some excellent photographs and clippings. The successes of 25 April 1974 may have made us all too readily forget the excesses of the Salazar period, especially in Africa where his legacy is still being buried. The development of modern Portugal has been a key component in the evolution of the Left in many different places. It is wise and worthwhile to know our own histories better.
The SI Middle East Committee has been continuing its intense programme of activities. The committee met in Cairo on 29 April shortly after the liberation of Kuwait from Iraqi occupation and reconvened in Istanbul on 10 June on the eve of the SI Council meeting that City.

The Cairo meeting yielded a resolution which noted the committee's deep sense of satisfaction that with the freeing of Kuwait, "notions of international legitimacy were upheld and the principle of sovereignty and territorial integrity of all members of the United Nations was asserted". The document went on to say that the end of the Gulf war provided a good opportunity for furthering the peace process and commended the efforts of the Arab Republic of Egypt, the US government and the European Community to find a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. At the same time it regretted the inflexible and rigid policies of the Likud government in Israel, one of the major obstacles to the peace process. It made special reference to the continuing construction of Israeli settlements in occupied Arab territories, adding that Soviet Jews, though entitled to emigrate from the Soviet Union, should not be allowed to settle in these territories.

The committee supported the initiative of Spain, Italy, France and Portugal in starting a process for a Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean (CSCM) and hoped that the assertiveness shown by the United Nations in the Gulf crisis would be repeated in an effort to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian problem.

On the question of Lebanon the committee reaffirmed the need to observe the territorial integrity of a united, free and democratic Lebanon from which all foreign troops had to be withdrawn.

In its special session in Istanbul, which was attended by a number of guests, including representatives of the PLO, of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, and of His Highness the Crown Prince of Jordan, the committee returned to a detailed discussion on developments in the region.

With the aim of getting an up-to-date and first-hand view of the Kurdish question, a mission of the Socialist International visited Turkey at the end of April to hold discussions on the plight of Kurdish refugees with leaders of the Social Democratic Populist Party and Turkish government ministers. The mission, led by Freimut Duve of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and including Conny Fredriksson of the Social Democratic Party of Sweden, Didier Billion of the French Socialist Party and Gabriel Lansky of the Socialist Party of Austria, also visited the Turkish-Iraqi border areas.

The visit followed a number of statements by the International on the issue of the Kurds. In a statement issued on 5 April, SI President Willy Brandt called for an end to the 'contemptible atrocities of the Iraqi regime against the Kurdish people' and pointed out that a sustainable peace in the Middle East had to take account of their legitimate interests. Brandt's words were followed on 15 April by a demand issued by the chair and vice-chair of the SI Committee on Human Rights, Peter Jankowitsch of the Socialist Party of Austria and Anita Gradin of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, that a political decision about the future of the Kurdish people had to be arrived at. The Human Rights Committee went on to call on the United Nations to provide a political framework for such a decision. It further appealed to the international community to combine humanitarian and political initiatives that would end "one of the most tragic chapters in the history of the twentieth century."

Meeting in the Egyptian capital on 29 April, the SI Middle East Committee recorded with deep concern the human suffering caused by the callous and repressive measures pursued by the Iraqi regime particularly against the Kurds.

The SI Council, at its meeting in Istanbul, returned to the Kurdish question (see page 32).
COMMITTEE ON THE ENVIRONMENT HOLDS MEETING IN SWEDEN

‘All of us - and especially people in the rich part of the world - have to change our patterns of production and consumption so that resources are used effectively to give opportunities to all societies in the world and coming generations to achieve good living standards’. This was one of the principal conclusions of the SI Committee on the Environment which met in the Swedish city of Malmö on 25-26 May. The committee is chaired by Birgitta Dahl, Sweden’s minister of the environment.

The Committee noted that one fifth of the earth’s population - the most affluent fifth - creates four fifths of the environmental problems and that Europe, the cradle of the industrial revolution, has a particular responsibility to support a new revolution based on exact sciences and aimed at harmonising today’s industrial and agricultural production processes with those existing in the natural ecosystems.

The Committee pledged to work for:
- an intensification of international cooperation to achieve an international environmental agreement which would establish rules and a forum for appeals against violations. Environmental protection should be seen as a human right;
- better interaction between the economy and the environment as a result of which environmental costs would be included in national accounts, encouraging environmental pacts between economic and social forces;
- the reduction of emissions from industrial processes in the rich industrialised countries to harmless levels by the turn of the century and as soon as possible thereafter by other countries;
- the reduction of environmental damage caused by manufactured products, making manufacturers responsible;
- a complete phasing-out of hazardous substances;
- clean, efficient and safe public transport systems, both urban and inter-city;
- clean, efficient and safe energy systems;
- sustainable agriculture and forestry,
- an increase in public awareness of environmentally sound practices so that individuals could take personal responsibility for the environment.

Maria Magnani Noya of the Italian Socialist Party, PSI, reported to the Socialist International on the general elections held in Albania on 31 March, which she observed on behalf of the International. The ruling Party of Labour received about two-thirds of the votes and subsequently installed Fatos Nano as prime minister. Magnani Noya reported that, as far as it was possible to ascertain, the elections were correctly carried out. She was told, however, of some cases of intimidation, particularly in the countryside and mountain areas. She reported that neither of the two opposition parties, the Democrats and the Republicans, could be compared to a democratic socialist party, but political events in the country should be followed closely, above all to prevent a recurrence of the dictatorship which had plagued Albania for 46 years.

ALBANIAN ELECTIONS

Albania: elections at last
The Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean, SICLAC, met on 10-11 April in Aruba at the invitation of the People's Electoral Movement, MEP. The principal themes of the gathering were the processes of regional integration (the River Plate Basin, the Andean Pact, Caricom and the free trade agreement between Mexico, the US and Canada); the human rights situation in Latin America and the Caribbean, and political events in the Caribbean countries.

On the question of economic integration the Committee resolved to support initiatives in this field. They were the only means by which the countries of the region could hope to negotiate on equal terms with the developed countries. They should have as their aim the creation of an efficient state.

Turning to human rights the delegates resolved to highlight their parties' attention to this subject. Concern was expressed at the continuation of human rights violations in a number of countries in the region and it was agreed that the subject would be a standing item of consideration at SICLAC meetings.

During consideration of the political situation in the Caribbean, Haiti, Puerto Rico, Guyana and Surinam were subject to particular comment.

Support was pledged to the government in Port-au-Prince; the idea of a referendum on the constitutional position in Puerto Rico was backed; the need for observers at the forthcoming Guyanese elections was reaffirmed, and there was condemnation of the military intervention in Surinam. Support was also expressed for the self-determination of those Caribbean peoples still living under colonial rule.

Backing was given in another resolution to the new government in Guatemala in its moves to establish a social pact among workers, government and employers and to efforts to negotiate an end to armed conflict inside the country. The talks aimed at achieving peace in El Salvador were also supported in a further resolution.

Turning to Colombia, SICLAC called for the freeing of two journalists who had been kidnapped in that country and appealed for reconciliation among those involved in violence.

Referring to Panama the delegates called for an end to the US military intervention and the holding of elections to secure a government that represented the popular will.

Delegates called for talks leading to a normalisation of relations between the US and Cuba and pointed out that the reintegration of the island into the inter-American system should lead to a political opening resulting in the normalisation of the internal situation and the effective functioning of political pluralism.

As well as representatives of the SI member parties from the region who constitute the committee, delegates from member parties in Germany, Israel, Italy and Spain and a number of guests from parties and organisations in Latin American and the Caribbean attended the talks.

SICLAC paid special tribute to Guillermo Manuel Ungo, leader of the National Revolutionary Movement, MNR, of El Salvador who had recently died; to Hector Oqueli, also of the MNR, who was murdered in Guatemala in January 1990, and to the late leader of the Aruban MEP, Betico Croes.

**DELEGATION OBSERVES SURINAM POLL**

A Socialist International delegation observed the elections in Surinam on 25 May. The poll followed the bloodless coup of last December, in which the army ousted President Ramsewak Shankar - whom they accused of insulting Colonel Desire Bouterse, the army chief - and installed an interim government headed by Johan Kraag.

The SI delegation was headed by Marco Tulio Bruni Celli, member of parliament and international secretary of the Democratic Action Party, AD, Venezuela, and also included Maartje van Putten, a Dutch Labour Party, PvdA, member of the European Parliament, and Liberato Cabloco, Democratic Labour Party, PDT, Brazil, a member of the Brazilian parliament. The four-party New Front alliance won 29 of the 51 seats in the national assembly, short of the two-thirds majority needed to name a president and change the constitution.
At the Council meeting in Istanbul on 11 and 12 June, the first to be held in Turkey, SI leaders stressed the country’s important position at the interface between three continents.

The Council meeting was hosted by the Social Democratic Populist Party, SHP, which became a full member party of the Socialist International at the Stockholm Congress in 1989. The main themes on the agenda were Peace, Security and Cooperation in the Middle East, and Central and Eastern Europe: Reform, Democracy and Economic Renewal.

Opening the meeting, SI President Willy Brandt said that everyone in the International was aware of the great importance which must be attached today to Turkey, given the country’s position at the interface between three continents. In terms both of regional peace and of economic cooperation, he added, it was no exaggeration to say that Turkey would play a key role in the Middle East.

On the work of the SI and its Middle East Committee, Brandt said that the organisation placed great value on the forum which had been established for an exchange of views extending beyond our own ranks. This important work of building bridges between spokesmen and women from all parties concerned would continue. He profoundly hoped that in future the positive logic of peace would prevail in the region and urged all parties to take advantage of the present momentum for serious negotiations. Recalling the European experience, he pointed out that regional peace would not be achieved in one conference alone, but only in a series of multilateral and bilateral negotiations addressing the wide range of regional problems.

The SI president welcomed the Kurdish representatives attending the meeting as guests, expressing both the solidarity of the Socialist International with the plight of the Kurdish people, and its appreciation of the assistance offered by Turkey in the very difficult circumstances of recent months.

Turning to central and eastern Europe, Brandt said that the revolutions of 1989 were already history. However, it would take at least a decade to master the challenge facing Europe. Unity, he said, was now the order of the day in all parts of Europe and the greatest challenge for the social democratic forces of the continent.

He mentioned the deep crisis in Yugoslavia and questioned why the members of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe had not yet used the instruments of conciliation at their disposal.

Whilst regional instruments
were very important, he also cited in this context the need to strengthen and reform the United Nations. This, he said, was something the Socialist International had been advocating for years. The United Nations must be given the authority to safeguard peace, to help preserve the environment and to improve economic and social development worldwide.

In concluding his remarks, Brandt recalled that it was forty years since the SI's post-war re-establishment in 1951. 'While we have been gaining ground in various parts of the world, we nevertheless should know that an enormous amount of work still remains to be done', he said.

Welcoming delegates to Istanbul, SHP President Erzal Inönü said that the Council's decision to hold this meeting in a region with so many problems gave one hope that the meeting might contribute to the elaboration of durable, just and peaceful solutions to those problems.

Turkey, he continued, was a bridge between Europe and the Middle East, between East and West, and between North and South. From such a geographical vantage point, his compatriots were well-placed to observe the changes in today's world climate.

They saw a growing consensus in the North on the peaceful solution of international conflicts, on the inviolability of national borders, on the supremacy of international law, on the need for collaboration and assistance to overcome international problems, and on acceptance of human rights issues as part of the international agenda.

These trends, he pointed out, had always been among the cardinal principles of social democrats. Right now, he believed, we had the right to assert that history had proven the validity of our principles.

Turning to the urgent search for peace in his own region, Inönü told delegates that in this search some universal principles must be obeyed, 'justice and fairness in the treatment of the two sides of the conflicts and respect for human rights of all the peoples concerned in the conflict. Common sense also dictates that one must not force any change of borders, but try to obtain political solutions which respect the democratic rights of every citizen within the existing borders. To accomplish the transformation from forced temporary solutions to negotiated, durable solutions is the real challenge now facing the United Nations, and the Socialist International can be the pioneer of this transformation'.

Of the Kurdish and other refugees who had fled Iraq, he stressed that as soon as these people had begun to mass at the Turkish borders, the local and central administrations in Turkey had done their best to try and provide food, shelter and medical care. But the sheer numbers involved, combined with the severe weather and mountainous terrain, had made this a daunting task.

'What we need now', he continued, 'is a political solution, an agreement between the leaders of all ethnic groups and the government, which, while maintaining the territorial integrity of the country, will allow all the ethnic and religious minorities in Iraq to live happily and securely with full respect for their human rights and their cultural identities'.

The plight of the Iraqi Kurds had naturally led to increased international interest in the condition of Kurdish-speaking peoples in other countries, including Turkey, Inönü said. He found this natural, but the historical, cultural and political differences between these countries must not be forgotten.

Protection of the rights of minorities, he added, was a crucial question in many parts of the world.

The Middle East

The major business of the Council opened with a debate on the prospects for peace, security and cooperation in the Middle East. Both the SI Middle East Committee and the SI Disarmament Advisory Council had held meetings in Istanbul on 10 June, followed by a joint meeting of the two bodies, in order to discuss disarmament and arms control issues affecting the region. Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski, chair of the Middle East Committee and Kalevi Sorsa, chair of the Disarmament Advisory Council, reported on the wide-ranging and positive talks at these meetings, opening a discussion joined by prominent leaders of SI member parties from Europe and the Middle East.

Israel Labour Party Leader Shimon Peres stressed the need to find common ground, the only possible source of hope for the people of the region. He set out a number of points supported by his party. These included the holding of an international conference - which could meet more than once if necessary - providing that conference had no power of imposition; the participation in such a conference of European and United Nations representatives; the presence of a Palestinian delegation, as part of a Jordano-Palestinian joint delegation, which could include Palestinians from East Jerusalem and Palestinians who had been deported from Israel; and the principle of land for peace, as long as that land was subsequently demilitarised.

The meeting was also addressed by Palestinian Leader Hanna Siniora, a guest at the meeting. Siniora expressed appreciation of the opportunity to take part in these discussions and willingness to work with all member parties of the International, including the Israeli parties, to build on a constructive vision of the future, and to end the long years of conflict in his region.

Also among the guests attending was Jalal Talabani, of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, PUK, a prominent leader of the Kurdistan Front in Iraq. Talabani spoke of the oppression, indeed genocide, suffered by the Kurdish people in Iraq over the past decade. At last, he said, following recent developments and the dramatic flight of millions of Kurdish refugees, international attention had been focused on the plight of the Kurds and its implications for regional and global security. He particularly welcomed the establishment of
safe havens within Iraqi Kurdistan, which had been a prime factor in obliging the government to seek negotiations with the Kurdistan Front.

The Council subsequently adopted a substantial resolution on the Middle East, dealing in particular with peace, economic development, the plight of the Kurdish people and disarmament (see p 32). A separate resolution on arms control was also adopted (see p 33).

**Prospects in Europe**

On the meeting’s second main theme of reform, democracy and economic renewal in central and eastern Europe, Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland said that Europe had a great responsibility not only for its own future, but for global cooperation, and concrete steps to take up new opportunities were needed as soon as possible.

As an example of such a concrete step, she described the new initiative being jointly launched by the Polish and Norwegian governments. This was a plan for the conversion of Polish debt into investment in measures for environmental improvement.

While some 50 per cent of Polish debt had already been cancelled, such conversion would apply to a further ten per cent. This concept, she stressed, could equally be applied in third world countries which were suffering crushing burdens of debt and in urgent need of money to finance sustainable development.

She went on to call for the opening of dialogue and cooperation with the Soviet Union. Norway, which like Turkey was a neighbour of the Soviet Union, had a strong interest in this and was advocating aid in parallel with reform, with urgent and positive consideration of how much conditionality was advisable and realistic.

Prime Minister Brundtland also referred to the proposed European Energy Charter, recalling that after World War 2 peace in western Europe had been crucially reinforced by the integration of the coal and steel industries of the former adversaries.

Leaders of a number of east European parties addressed the Council on the fast-changing situation in their countries. Jiri Horak, chair of the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party, spoke of the enormous problems accumulated in the past and only now becoming apparent in their full extent.

Bulgarian Social Democratic Party Chair Petar Dertliev told the meeting that in Bulgaria there still existed a well-organised nucleus of the former Communist party. Having won last year’s elections, the Bulgarian Socialist (former Communist) Party had invited the Union of Democratic Forces to join the government, no doubt wishing to share responsibility for the inevitable economic crisis. The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party had not been willing to join a government on those terms.

Right-wing forces of the UDF had assumed control of the economic ministries and were now carrying out pure monetarist reforms. With soaring prices and unemployment, the country was struggling for mere survival.

While Right-wing UDF leaders were now moving towards the formation of a new party of the Right, with support from Right-wing parties in western Europe, the Social Democratic Party hoped that at the next elections it would be in a position to put another alternative before the voters.

Marek Garztecki of the Polish Socialist Party, PPS, noted that much international attention was focused on Poland, since it had been the first country of eastern Europe to embark on the process of political and economic change.

The issue of disarmament, he said, was also an important one for Poland, as current agreements left the country still vulnerable to short-range weapons.

Sergiu Cunescu, president of the Social Democratic Party of Romania, referred with sadness to the one thousand violent deaths in his country in 1989. Ironically, after the only ‘violent’ revolution, Romania was the only country of eastern Europe still ruled by a re-elected communist government.

Vello Saatpalu of the Estonian Social Democratic Party thanked the Socialist International for its support in the reconstruction of the Estonian republic. He appealed now for support for the independence process of the Baltic republics and for a Baltic presence in CSCE meetings.

On the final day of the meeting
the SI Council issued a statement (see page 34), supporting democracy in the Baltic republics, recognising the right of the Baltic peoples to self-determination, and urging consideration of the Baltic question in the forum of the CSCE, whilst also urging increased economic aid to the whole of eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, as the best way to foster the political and economic reforms which are the only path to full democracy.

Also attending the Council as guests were representatives of the social democratic parties of Mongolia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan and of the Russian Federation, who all addressed the meeting on the current situation of their respective parties.

**Other Political Matters**

Other political issues on the Council's agenda included reform of the United Nations. Swedish Minister of Agriculture Mats Hellstrom addressed the meeting on the 'Stockholm Initiative' on global security and governance, launched by a group of political leaders from all continents at a meeting in Stockholm on 22 April. (Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson discusses the Stockholm initiative in an article on page 4 of this issue of Socialist Affairs).

In his closing words to the Council, SI President Willy Brandt urged all member parties to support this initiative, an important move in the spirit of the International's long-standing commitment to strengthening international cooperation and institutions, including the United Nations.

Reg September, a member of the ANC executive and guest at the Council meeting, spoke on the current situation in his country, stressing that the black leaders of the ANC still had no right to stand for elected office or even to vote in South Africa.

The Council adopted a resolution welcoming the consolidation of democracy in Chile (see page 34). In another resolution, it supported the progress of peace negotiations in El Salvador since the election of a new government there (see page 34).

Conny Fredriksson of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, SAP, reported on behalf of Swedish Environment Minister and Committee Chair Birgitta Dahl on the meeting of the SI Environment Committee held in Sweden in May (see page 24).

SI Secretary General Luis Ayala reported to the Council on the Party Leaders' Conference held in Sydney, Australia, in March, which had reflected both the increasing influence of the countries of the region in international affairs, and the great importance of the region in the months since the last Council meeting in New York.

**Membership**

Meeting in closed session in Istanbul, the SI Council agreed to revitalise the full membership in the Socialist International of the Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party, LSDSP. This meant that the social democratic parties of all three Baltic republics were once again full member parties of the International.

The Council also agreed to send a fact-finding mission to Hungary.

**Council to meet in Chile**

It was agreed that the next meeting of the Council would be held in Santiago, Chile. The meeting will take place in late November 1991.
SECRETARY GENERAL’S REPORT TO THE COUNCIL IN ISTANBUL

May I begin my report by thanking the Social Democratic Populist Party and all those who have helped to organise this our first Council meeting in Turkey.

I hardly need to say again here that since the last meeting of the Council in New York last October the international community has lived through a crisis centred in the Middle East. Consequently, during that period, many of the activities of the International concentrated on our response to the Gulf crisis and the situation in the region as a whole.

The International, however, also carried out in recent months a wide range of activities in many parts of the world, focused on many different concerns.

I will mention briefly a number of areas in which the Socialist International has been active since our last Council meeting.

Concerning the Middle East, our committee met in Bonn last November and again in January in London, in advance of the date which was set by the United Nations Security Council in relation to the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq. The committee monitored the situation closely and also examined possibilities for diplomatic solutions. In line with this, following the London meeting the chairman, Hans-Jürgen Wischniewski and other representatives of the committee held discussions in Paris with President François Mitterrand on the French government initiative.

When the fighting started, we emphasised the need for a speedy halt to the conflict and a durable negotiated settlement to the problems of the whole Middle East region.

At a meeting of the Disarmament Advisory Council held in Stockholm in late January, events in the Gulf and their implications for global security and disarmament were among the topics discussed.

An urgent meeting of the presidium was convened in Vienna on February 1 to discuss the Gulf crisis, a meeting which was also attended by a number of other leaders of our parties.

After the cessation of hostilities, our International held further discussions at the Party Leaders’ Conference in March in Sydney.

The Middle East Committee met again in Cairo at the end of April, in order to review the situation in the Middle East as a whole. The meeting was hosted by the National Democratic Party and we were also received by President Mubarak.

The positive exchanges we have had here in Istanbul on the Middle East will surely strengthen our role as a force for peace in the region.

At the end of April, a mission of the International came here to Turkey and, in cooperation with the Social Democratic Populist Party, held discussions on the tragedy of the Kurdish and other refugees at the borders and in northern Iraq, and visited the frontier areas.

A major event of recent months, which I have already mentioned, was the SI Party Leaders’ Conference held in Sydney on 9 and 10 March, to which I will refer again later this month, with the participation of international secretaries from eastern and western Europe.

On 31 March, long-awaited elections were held in Albania and our International participated in the observation of the ballot, which turned out to be but one step in the still-developing process of democratisation.

Our International also collaborated in the preparation of a conference on eastern and central Europe organised in Bonn in April by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and other foundations and convened by our president.

Turning to the Latin American continent, I must begin by referring to the sad death of our vice-president, Guillermo Ungo, last February. Together with other representatives of the Socialist International, I was at his funeral in San Salvador, which was also attended by many friends and colleagues from the National Revolutionary Movement.

Guillermo Ungo has been sorely missed, as much within our International as in his own country. He died at a time of advance by the democratic left in El Salvador and of renewed progress towards peace and stability in Central America.

A delegation from our International observed the first round of elections held in Guatemala last November. The SI group also took the opportunity to reiterate our grave concern at the
the unsatisfactory nature of investigations carried out in Guatemala into the assassination of Héctor Oqueli and Gilda Flores. Following the victory of President Jorge Serrano in the second round of voting our member party in Guatemala, the Democratic Socialist Party, have joined the new government of National Unity. An SI mission, in which I participated, travelled to Haiti to observe campaigning for the first free elections there for several decades. Subsequently, another group visited the country to observe the voting. Our member party, PANPRA, has welcomed the successful carrying out of these democratic elections, which resulted in victory for President Aristide.

Most recently, another International mission was in Surinam to observe the elections held on 25 May, a step towards democracy in that country. It is intended that a similar mission will observe the elections later this year in Guyana.

Since our congress in Stockholm, Socialist International missions have travelled to many countries to observe elections, from Namibia to Bulgaria, a part of our tangible commitment to the, at times slow and difficult, but always encouraging development of democratic societies.

Members of the Council will recall that in 1990 our International took part in the process whereby the M-19 in Colombia surrendered its arms and its members were re-incorporated into civilian political life. This was a new role for our International in the cause of peace and disarmament. Again recently, a delegation was present in Colombia at ceremonies in which the EPL guerrilla group surrendered its arms and re-formed as a civilian political party. Also in Ecuador, SI representatives acted as witnesses to the ceremony in which members of the Alfaro Vive guerrilla movement laid down their arms and returned to civilian life.

A meeting of the Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean was held in Aruba on 10-11 April, hosted by our member party there, the People's Electoral Movement. There we discussed regional integration; the human rights situation, and political developments in the Caribbean. Delegates attended from most of our member parties in the region, together with representatives from some member parties in Europe and observers from a number of other parties and organisations in Latin America and the Caribbean. A special report will be presented today by the chair of the committee.

In Sydney in March, we took the opportunity to review the rapid developments in South Africa. In a statement issued by that meeting, we welcomed the progress made towards the dismantling of apartheid, but stressed the long way still to go and the need to maintain international pressure on the South African government. We also urged the need for restraint and a turning back from violent confrontation.

Our contacts with parties and organisations in many African countries are intensifying, as change and democratisation in the continent continues to gather momentum. Here in Istanbul, the parties which are active in our committees on Africa held discussions before our Council and decided on a forthcoming meeting of both committees where we will examine our contribution to the new emerging democratic forces. A number of visits to African countries are also planned for the near future.

Our Human Rights Committee met in Lisbon last December, at the invitation of the Socialist Party of Portugal. The committee is currently working on a plan for adoption by the Council on the question of the rights of refugees and asylum-seekers. In Portugal, we also discussed the question of East Timor and issued a statement calling on Indonesia to apply United Nations resolutions, and to seek a peaceful solution to the conflict in that territory under the aegis of the UN. The next meeting of the Human Rights Committee will deal with the situation of minorities and ethnic groups. A future meeting in Caracas, Venezuela, is also planned.

At the end of May, the Environment Committee held a meeting in Malmö, Sweden, at the invitation of the Swedish Social Democratic Party, which will be reported in greater detail by a comrade from that party. The committee looked forward to the United Nations Environment Conference to be held in Rio de Janeiro next year. Prior to that, the committee will hold its next meeting also in Brazil later this year.

Our Disarmament Advisory Council, which has met twice this year, as our president said yesterday, will be concentrating more attention on European and other global security issues, in the context of the present changing international relations.

After our discussion on North-South issues at our last Council meeting, the Economic Policy Committee will also hold a meeting in the forthcoming months in the Netherlands at the invitation of the Dutch Labour Party, at which it will return to the North-South agenda last touched upon at our meeting in New York last year.

Our vice-president, Pierre Mauroy, yesterday announced an initiative to bring together socialist local authorities from our member parties in 1992, to which he will be dedicating himself in the coming months. This will go far to implement the decisions taken when the Local Authority Committee was established in Geneva in 1989. We welcome member parties' response to this idea and their collaboration in its implementation.

I think this brief sample of our most recent activities and the few I have mentioned which are planned for the immediate future bear witness to the relevance of our democratic socialist strategies today. As we look back on the forty years since the re-establishment of our International in Frankfurt in June 1951, we can appreciate how much our movement has grown, both intellectually and geographically. We must make certain that that development continues.
THE MIDDLE EAST

1. Peace

The Socialist International, on the basis of the work and the successive texts of its Middle East Committee, and especially the resolution adopted in Cairo on 29 April 1991, reasserts its will to see a just and lasting peace established in the whole Middle East, and this for all the peoples of the region. The Socialist International considers therefore that its main task is to assist the bringing together of all parties involved in the conflict. In Istanbul a real step forward has been taken in this direction with the common participation of the delegation of the Israeli fraternal party and the Jordanian and Palestinian guests in the work of the Middle East Committee. The SI will continue to increase its activities towards this goal. After the meeting with representatives from the Kingdom of Jordan, we seek to start a dialogue with Syria and other countries directly involved.

The welcome diplomatic activities, especially those of the United States of America, aimed at starting the peace process in the Middle East between Israel and the Palestinians, as well as her Arab neighbours, have unfortunately not yet to this day achieved decisive results. This situation would be extremely dangerous if it persists and might strengthen the extremist forces on all the parties.

The Socialist International stresses once again the importance of the peace process which should be initiated through a Peace Conference bringing together all the parties involved in the conflict, with the sole objective of facilitating the bilateral negotiations, taking into consideration the decisions made during the bilateral negotiations at agreed intervals, and eventually bringing its guarantee to an overall solution. The presence of the United Nations is indispensable, due to its role, and in particular that of the Security Council, in providing international legality, settling conflicts and maintaining peace. Each party involved in this conflict must decide for itself the composition of its own delegation.

In the interest of all parties concerned, the participation of the USA, the USSR and the European Community in the conference is imperative. Egypt, as the only Arab country in the region which has diplomatic relations with the State of Israel, has an important role to play in this peace process.

The Socialist International asserts that all the negotiations must be based on the following principles:

1. The right of the State of Israel to existence and security.
2. The legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, not excluding the establishment of their own independent state, of a Jordanian-Palestinian confederation, or any other solution which they choose;
3. Resolutions 242 and 338 of the Security Council of the United Nations, with all the principles stipulated therein, as well as resolution 681;
4. The lasting establishment of harmonious coexistence and of economic and other cooperation among all the peoples of the region, with the support of the international community.

All the parties involved must immediately commit themselves to creating the conditions required to start the peace process, and to refrain from all acts of violence or terrorism. The Socialist International demands that the Israeli government stops its settlement policy in the occupied territories and refrains from any bombardment of, or air-raids on, Lebanon, and likewise demands that the Palestinians avoid any terrorist activity and the involved Arab States avoid any act of belligerence.

The SI expresses its confidence in the efforts of the whole international community aimed at creating the conditions required for a final settlement of the conflicts in the Middle East by means of structures for dialogue and measures of mutual confidence similar to the CSCE procedures. It reasserts its strong belief in the fact that peace and economic development are inseparable from democracy, respect for human rights and the guarantee of the rights of ethnic and religious minorities.

2. Cooperation and Development

The Socialist International will form a study group which will plan an economic and social structure for the Middle East, to the satisfaction of all the countries of the region.

3. The situation of the Kurdish people

1. The Socialist International shares the great concern expressed by the world community during the recent and ongoing tragedy of the Kurdish people both within Iraq and concerning those hundreds of thousands who have fled into Iran and Turkey.
2. In March 1988, the Saddam Hussein dictatorship used chemical weapons against its own Kurdish citizens, killing more than 5,000 and driving more than 67,000 into refugee camps in Turkey. It was the fear of a repetition of this recent attempt to commit genocide that led the majority of the Kurdish citizens of Iraq to seek refuge outside the borders of their own country and far away from their homes. It was this fear for their lives which made international safeguards, guaranteed by military units, necessary. Such international help should be understood as a means to prevent further attempts at genocide and only within the framework of the United Nations. It does not represent any territorial intervention. These safeguards did respect the integrity of the Iraqi state and will have to be withdrawn as soon as other safeguards and international guarantees are established to the satisfaction of the Kurdish people concerned.
3. The SI welcomes the massive help extended to the refugees by both the international community and the Turkish and Iranian peoples. At the same time the SI is also aware of the tremendous strain which all parties concerned, including the refugees themselves, the border authorities, and the people living next to the refugee areas, have had to overcome. The immediate help and impressive solidarity of the Turkish and Iranian citizens in the area, some of whom are themselves of Kurdish culture and background, has gained admiration. At the same time the Turkish and Iranian authorities had to cope with almost insurmountable problems, sheltering millions. The Socialist International supports the Kurdish request for the international community to make available technical and financial support to rebuild villages destroyed as a result of the Iraqi scorched-earth policy.
4. The SI has learned with great respect that our member party, the Turkish Social Democratic Populist Party, SHP, has presented a constructive paper on the Kurdish question in particular, in the South-East of the country. The SI invites all political forces in the five states where Kurdish people live to endeavour to work in a similar way for the future of their Kurdish fellow-citizens.
5. The SI is convinced that only a peaceful perspective will help the Kurdish people to overcome this tragedy. The right answer is not a new division of existing states in the region, but democratisation of the states concerned, with the citizens of Kurdish origins, along with all other citizens, obtaining full democratic rights.
6. The European Community which has helped so much to overcome old feuds and conflicts, and the 34-country CSCE might provide a model for a peaceful
and better future for the Kurdish people. The Socialist International agrees to send a mission to northern Iraq to observe the problem of arms affecting the people of Kurdish origin there and to report back to the next Council meeting.

4. Disarmament

Uncontrolled trade in arms and weapons technology is a threat to international peace, security and stability. The Gulf War and the war between Iran and Iraq are a tragic testimony to this. Such trade creates regional disparities and encourages quests for dominance. It also aggravates the destructiveness of armed conflicts. A failure to tackle the problem would lead to continuing instability.

Bringing the international arms trade under effective control is crucial for the creation of a new world order. Progress in this question would concretely contribute to the political solution of regional conflicts. Every effort should now be made by both suppliers and recipients as well as the whole international community to this end.

The problem of arms transfers can only be solved through a comprehensive programme establishing a global regime. It should involve both suppliers and recipients. It should cover both the transfer and production of arms and weapons technology. Such a regime should be complemented by encouraging regional restraints and regimes.

The five permanent members of the Security Council, which are also the largest suppliers of arms in the Middle East, bear a special responsibility in preventing a new regional arms race in the Middle East. The recent arms control initiatives by President Bush and President Mitterrand should be followed without delay by concrete measures involving both the suppliers and recipients of arms and weapons technology. As has been proposed by a number of governments, openness and transparency in arms transfers should be promoted under the auspices of the United Nations.

In the Middle East, the supplier countries should show extreme restraint. The countries of the region should refrain from a conventional arms race. They should join all agreements banning weapons of mass destruction, including the Non-Proliferation Treaty and the future Chemical Weapons Convention.

At the global level, the process aimed at increasing openness and transparency should be started by creating, under the auspices of the United Nations, a clearing house or a centre of information on international arms transfers and national production. It should collect and process data and promote the coordination of national policies and legislation. It should act in cooperation with research institutions and non-governmental organisations.

The information processed should gradually be widened to cover specific weapons systems and production facilities. In conjunction with these measures, guidelines and constraints on the actual trade in arms should be worked out. Further, an arms control verification organisation, complementing existing verification procedures, could be established under the United Nations auspices.

Along with these measures, the United Nations should promote confidence-building measures both globally and regionally, by providing information and expertise. Here, experience from the existing confidence-building regimes could prove useful.

ARMED FORCES

The United States and The Soviet Union should soon make the START Treaty and then immediately continue negotiations on further reductions of strategic nuclear weapons. A basic element for these negotiations is the maintenance of the ABM Treaty. Negotiations on short-range nuclear weapons are long overdue and should begin now.

The reductions of nuclear weapons should not be accompanied by new resources thrown into a qualitative arms race. Rather the development and production of a new generation of nuclear weapons should be banned.

The naval arms race is a threat to the security of coastal states and it weakens regional stability. Maritime disarmament must be included in arms control negotiations at the earliest opportunity.

Progress in bilateral arms control negotiations should be followed by new multilateral steps, especially those concerning weapons of mass destruction. The decision taken by France to join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is welcome. China should follow suit. All countries should be prepared to sign and implement the future Chemical Weapons Convention.

Debates about alternative models of security in Europe should not overshadow our traditional concern with extending as far as possible arms control which is still the best means of ensuring stability.

CSCE offers in Europe a model of security that deserves to be studied and possibly extended to other areas. CSCE has the merit of having introduced revolutionary steps such as verification of disarmament, confidence-building measures, and a better guarantee of civil rights, political, economic and cultural cooperation among its members.

The Mediterranean area, Middle East, South East Asia and some other areas may profit from the methods introduced by CSCE in defence of peace and security for all nations.

STATEMENT ON AFRICA

A growing number of African countries have started democratic changes in their political systems. This is a major change in the area. The spreading of democracy in Africa is encouraged and welcomed by the Socialist International as essential to the implementation of fundamental freedoms, the defence of human rights, the ending of many regional conflicts, and also to cope with economic development, environment control and famine problems. Some countries, notably in western Africa, have already peacefully stabilised their democratic regimes and there are positive signs of the changes still to come in many other countries. In this framework, the Socialist International, through the work of its specialised committees, supports the democratisation of Africa. The S1 parties have decided to intensify their relations with the parties fighting for a multiparty system and democratic socialism in Africa.

The successful completion of the peace process in Angola - under Portuguese mediation - is a major event not only for the country itself but also for the stabilisation of the whole region. The commitment of the parties involved in the peace agreement, as well as all of the other political forces and civilian society to peace, create favourable conditions for a stable transitional period until general elections are held.

Although these positive changes are increasingly taking place, the prevalence of many other regional conflicts - even civil wars - and deep-rooted religious and socio-economic problems in different parts of the continent are a cause of major concern to the Socialist International.

The specific political situation in the Maghreb has the attention of the Socialist International, which supports the development of the democratic process in
the region. The SI expresses its concern at the growth of fundamentalist tendencies which have been observed in the Maghreb, forming an obstacle on the path of progress towards a civil society and seriously diminishing the rights and freedoms of women in that part of the continent.

The refugee situation remains an extremely serious political and humanitarian problem. Along with international aid, only peace and democracy can provide the background needed to resolve the real causes of this dramatic problem. The Socialist International is fully aware that democracy is a condition of development, and calls upon the international community to provide additional economic support to the democratic African countries.

The Socialist International congratulates the secretary-general of the United Nations, Javier Pérez de Cuellar, for his efforts to bring the long conflict of Western Sahara to a just and lasting peace settlement, and welcomes the proposed holding of a referendum in early 1992 in the territory.

The Socialist International reaffirms its support for the right to self-determination of the people of Western Sahara; we expect that all parties involved in the conflict - Morocco and the Polisario Front - firstly will fully cooperate with the UN and the Organisation of African Unity in connection with this planned referendum, and then will fully respect the results of that referendum.

**EL SALVADOR**

The Council of the Socialist International expresses its satisfaction at the fact that in El Salvador the process of negotiation started in April 1990 with the mediation of the secretary-general of the United Nations has produced, albeit tardily, positive results on the questions of electoral freedom and the protection of human rights. The Council solemnly calls on the negotiating parties - the government of EL Salvador and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front - not to interrupt the negotiations and, in the cause of avoiding further harm and distress to Salvadoran society and of starting as soon as possible the peaceful reconstruction of the country, rapidly to agree on a ceasefire and to reach a definitive, negotiated solution to the conflict.

The progress made on electoral questions has contributed to the fact that at present in the National Legislative Assembly installed on 1st May 1991, there are representatives of our fraternal party, the National Revolutionary Movement, MNR.

At the same time the Council reiterates its full solidarity with the party as it recovers from the recent death of its beloved leader Guillermo Ungaro and prepares itself for its role as the democratic socialist option in the politics of El Salvador.

**SOUTH AFRICA**

The Socialist International has stated repeatedly that the reform process in South Africa must lead to a democratic, united and non-racial South Africa, with equal rights and governed by the principle of one-person-one-vote.

The Socialist International calls for the rapid abolition of the remaining apartheid legislation. It recognises however that significant steps have been taken during the past years and it welcomes the recent repeal of the Land Act and the Group Areas Act.

There remain other obstacles to negotiations. All political prisoners must be released. The way for exiles to return has to be cleared rapidly.

The developments in South Africa are overshadowed by the continuing violence in the townships. The SI supports all constructive proposals, especially those made by the African National Congress, to overcome this violence and urges the South African government to terminate the implicit and explicit collusion of security forces with one side.

The Socialist International remains convinced that any change in the application of sanctions should be related to the adoption of real and practical steps in the destruction of apartheid. Until the remaining obstacles to negotiations have been removed, existing measures should be maintained.

The road to a post-apartheid South Africa is open. But to be able to build a new society more than just the abolition of apartheid is needed. The black majority must be enabled to develop the necessary political and organisational structures. Big changes in the economic and social areas are needed to guarantee a stable society. The Socialist International calls upon the international community to support these changes.

**CHILE**

The Council of the Socialist International expresses its satisfaction at the consolidation of democracy which is taking place in Chile. The attempts at destabilisation made by sectors of different ideological tendencies have not achieved their aim of halting the passage of Chile to democracy.

The constitutional reforms that the democratic government is promoting are part of this process and the contribution that our member party has made in this respect are proposals which will improve the institutional framework of Chilean democracy.

**STATEMENT ON THE BALTIC REPUBLICS**

The Socialist International Council, meeting in Istanbul:

- supports the peaceful changes for democracy in the Baltic Republics and the transition from a command system to a free and open economy;
- recognises the rights of the Baltic peoples to full self-determination;
- recognises the Baltic question as being of an international magnitude that should be dealt with under the auspices of the CSCE process;
- considers that economic and financial aid to the Soviet Union and east European countries should be increased with the aim of promoting such political and economic changes that will lead to full democracy.
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**FRATERNAL ORGANISATIONS**

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**GUESTS/OBSERVERS: PARTIES/ORGANISATIONS**

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**ARGENTINA**

- Radical Civic Union, UCR
- Luis Alberto Cáceres

**BRAZIL**

- Brazilian Social Democratic Party, PSDB
- Moema Sao Thiago

**CAPE VERDE**

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- Pedro Pires
- Alvaro Tavares

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- Sergio Bitar
- Victor Manuel Rebolledo

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- Maria Paulina Espinosa
- Rodrigo Caravito
- Alvaro Tirado
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**JORDAN**

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- Porfirio Munoz Ledo

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- Punsagin Ulaanhuy
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- Sandinista National Liberation Front, FSLN
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**PHILIPPINES**

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- Chaco Molina

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- Socialist Democratic Movement, MDS
- Mustapha Benjaafar

**URUGUAY**

- Peoples Government Party, PGP
- Antonio Gallicchio

**ZAIRE**

- Union for Democracy and Social Progress, UDPS
- Orner N’Kamba
- Loka Woho Noel
- Beya Mulumba

**ZIMBABWE**

- Zimbabwe African National Union, ZANU (PF)
- Misheck T. S. Chinamasa

**AZERBAIJANI SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

- A. M. M. Ali-zade

**GEORGIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

- Gura Mchalidze
- Wladimir Sadowski

**Social Democratic Party of the Russian Federation**

- Oleg Abolín

**Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, PUK**

- Jalal Talabani
- Hafid Ahmed Talabani
- Arif Roshdi
- Abdul-Kadir Ali Kadir
- Saadi Mohamed
- Sarchi Kazaz
- Barham Salih

**POLISARIO**

- Mohamed Sidati
- Lamine Badi

**GUESTS: INDIVIDUALS**

- Fayçal Hussein
- Hanna Siniora
- Faiz Abu Bahme
- Hans Janitschek
Francois Mitterrand celebrated his tenth anniversary as president of France on 10 May. A dinner to mark the occasion was held in the Elysee Palace which was attended by many of his closest political friends and associates.

Mitterrand's road to the presidency was a long, hard and often disappointing one. He first stood for the leadership of France in 1965 when he was deputy for Nièvre. On that occasion he was beaten by Charles de Gaulle in the second round of voting by 55 per cent to 45 per cent. The death in office of President Pompidou in 1974 led Mitterrand to seek the presidency a second time in a contest which was won by Valery Giscard d'Estaing. He became France's leader only on his third attempt, in 1981, when he beat Giscard by 50.8 per cent to 49.2 per cent.

In a commentary on his ten years published in Vendredi, the journal of the French Socialist Party, Jérôme Jaffré, vice-president of SOFRES, the public opinion institute, said, 'In 1991 French society seems more united and more modern than ten years ago. The right-wing voter no longer considers that the presence of the left in power is a sacrilege. The left-wing voter no longer considers that the institutions of society or its laws are stacked against him and no longer necessarily believes that only a few wicked capitalists are preventing the people's happiness.... Unlike the right, the socialists have been able to modernise'.

A SOFRES poll showed that 56 per cent of French people believed that the balance sheet of the past ten years was a positive one.

Mitterrand himself commented, 'My regrets are not to have been able to reduce social inequalities as much as I would have liked - but our term is not yet over'. He added, 'The role of money in a society which is called 'liberal', where the market is paramount, is excessive... hence the need for state intervention'. The president said that France had been at the origin of virtually all international moves to relieve third world debt.

Congratulating him on his ten years, Willy Brandt said that under the French president's influence, 'the cooperation indispensable for the good of Europe that has been practised by our two countries has made solid progress'.

William Pfaff, a commentator for the International Herald Tribune said of Mitterrand, 'He became president by doing for France's left what Charles de Gaulle had done for the right. He liberated it from its myths...'
On 5 May, the centenary of his birth, the Socialist International remembered **Julius Braunthal**, first secretary of the SI after its re-establishment after the Second World War and the organisation's historian. Born in Vienna to a poor Jewish family, he left school early to become an apprentice bookbinder. He joined the Austrian socialist movement in his teens and embarked on a career in journalism. During the First World War he served as an artillery officer in Russia and Italy and in 1917 played an important part in the aftermath of the naval mutiny at Cattaro, helping to save many of the mutineers from execution.

He edited the Socialist Party's daily newspaper Arbeiter-Zeitung and various periodicals including the party's theoretical organ Der Kampf. After the suppression of the Socialist Party he was arrested in 1934 and spent a year in prison before being released on condition he went into exile. He lived first in Brussels, where he worked for Friedrich Adler, and from 1936 onward in London where he became the foreign editor of the recently founded Labour newspaper Tribune. With Victor Gollancz and Harold Laski he set up the International Socialist Forum which served as a platform for those who wanted the re-establishment of the International after its collapse in 1940.

In 1949 he became secretary of the Committee of the International Socialist Conference (COMISCO) and at the Frankfurt Congress of 1951 he was elected secretary of the re-established Socialist International. His literary monument is his three-volume History of the International, a model of political history, which combines great accuracy with great readability.

He died suddenly in London on 28 April 1972.

**Pierre Guidoni**, international secretary of the French Socialist Party and a prominent member of the Middle East Committee and other SI bodies, has been named by President Mitterrand France's ambassador to Argentina.

'Italy considered itself a non-racialist country. But the Italians woke up startled one day to realise we too have a strain of intolerance... The job is to keep that under control', said **Margherita Boniver** (below), the Italian Socialist who has for long played a prominent role in Socialist International debates, in an interview on her recent appointment as minister for Italians overseas and for immigration.

**Carlos González Márquez** (above) has been elected leader of the Chilean Radical Party in succession to Enrique Silva Cimma, now the foreign minister in the coalition government lead by President Patricio Aylwin.

González Márquez was born in humble circumstances in the northern Chilean city of Iquique, a centre of the nitrate industry. After the death of his father when he was nine, he grew up in a children's home. He started work as a teacher but later decided on a career in law. To finance his law studies he supplemented his small income by becoming a radio sports commentator, a job which made him one of the best-known voices in Chile.

During the years of the Popular Unity government before the coup d'état of General Augusto Pinochet in September 1973, González Márquez served as intendente (governor) of the province of Valparaiso. During the elections held in 1989, he won a seat in the Senate.
PRESSURE STILL NEEDED

You in the Socialist International have played your part in the struggle for the release of Nelson Mandela and others after 27 years of imprisonment. Some progress has been made on the issue of return of exiles and some legislation is being amended. What is most important now is to ensure that a new democratic constitution is put in place. Unfortunately, this process will not be easy. A great deal of mass pressure will be needed to ensure that the process is indeed democratic and that change will indeed be irreversible.

The National Party would like to be responsible for supervising the change, but how can we be expected to trust such an arrangement? They have designed, built and managed the apartheid complex over a period of 42 years. How can they be expected to honestly dismantle their own ‘work of art’ in accordance with the wishes of the democratic majority?

We appeal to the international community not to reverse its policy on sanctions at this crucial stage. It should not take too long before this position can alter. But meanwhile sanctions should be kept on hold. Do not be tempted to think that it is all over. It is not. Our people will feel deserted if you change your position now that we are so near the other side of the river.

Reg September
Member of the National Executive Committee, African National Congress
Athlone, Cape Town, South Africa

EASTERN EUROPEAN PROSPECTS

The prospects of the post-communist regimes in eastern Europe are increasingly troubled. Democracy itself is jeopardised by the demand that economies be exposed to the harshest of market discipline and to privatisation which will be a gold rush for the few while creating both mass unemployment and lower wages.

No popular regime can undertake such reforms and remain democratic, since a great deal of repression will be needed to deal with the ever-growing social unrest and trade union struggles.

This may come as a shock to some liberals, but the working people of eastern Europe did not topple the communist one-party dictatorships in order to live worse! On the contrary - and perhaps unrealistically - they expected visible improvements in living standards and help from the ‘West’.

Even stable, established regimes would have a great deal of difficulty staying in power with living standards falling by up to 50 per cent. No amount of nationalist, anti-communist demagogy will maintain the present Right-wing populist governments in power without scapegoats, and ultimately repression.

The obvious targets for scapegoating are the usual ones: Jews - even when they are very few; communists - even when they are powerless; intellectuals - even when they share the nationalist and clerical euphoria; and women who do not accept the new role planned for them by the resurgent clerical and nationalist forces as breeders of more Croats, Poles, Slovaks, Hungarians, Serbs etc.

Bogdan Denitch
Chair of International Affairs Committee, Democratic Socialists of America, New York, USA

MICHAEL HARRINGTON CENTER

Friends of the late Michael Harrington will be pleased to learn that the Michael Harrington Center for Democratic Values and Social Change began operations in September 1990. The Center has two offices, one located in the United States at Queen’s College, The City University of New York, and the other in Europe at Birkbeck College, University of London. The Center was named in recognition of Michael Harrington’s lifelong commitment to social justice, democracy and peace. Author, educator and political activist, Harrington stood in the tradition of Eugene V. Debs, A. Philip Randolph, Norman Thomas, and other US socialists who believed in both the promise of American democracy and in the vitality of the international socialist movement. Michael Harrington was the national co-chair of the Democratic Socialists of America and an honorary president of the Socialist International.

The Harrington Center has been created as a centre for research, education and international exchanges. It was founded in the hope that the end of the Cold War competition between the super-powers will allow us to turn our energy, resources and knowledge to bettering the lives of the vast majority of the world’s population. Through conferences, seminars, reports, workshops, exchanges and fellowships the Center will focus on public policy and its implications for the United States and the economic, human and environmental costs which regional conflicts and outside intervention still pose to the search for a just global order. The Center has helped to address the dangers of continued conflict in the Middle East by creating a regional project which brings together activists and scholars from Israel, the Occupied Territories, the Arab world, Europe and North America in an effort to find a common basis for dialogue.

Working in the tradition of Harrington’s famous book, The Other America, the Center is concerned with the problems of the bottom half of US society: all those who lack minimal food and shelter and access to decent medical care. The Center seeks to make North Americans aware of the widening gap which exists between the condition of the working and urban poor in the US and the international standards of decency accepted by most other industrial democracies.
The Harrington Center is also concerned with programmes that emphasise trade unions in US society and in the global economy: history informs us that the foundation of modern democracies rests on the strength and durability of a free independent trade union movement. In a world of transnational corporations, and massive international flows of people, information and capital, a key task for our different national labour and democratic movements must be to develop common global strategies. Of special importance here are the needs of third world nations and the societies of central and eastern Europe. The Harrington Center has created the Transitions to Democracy Project to help address the special problems of societies burdened by the dual legacy of political authoritarianism and economic underdevelopment. This project will bring together scholars and activists from North America, Europe and the third world.

One of the central missions of the Harrington Center is to build the human networks of communication and solidarity which Michael Harrington created through his lifetime's work within the Socialist International.

We will do this by bringing together an international community of scholars, journalists, activists, and public figures in order to develop links between democratic forces in the United States and abroad - links which are all too often neglected. The location of our two offices in New York and London will facilitate our work towards these objectives and make us part of a worldwide network of education and research institutions which share our concerns.

For further information on the Center's activities please contact our European office at:
The Michael Harrington Centre, Birkbeck College, University of London, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HX;
or in North America:
The Michael Harrington Center, Queens College, CUNY, Kissena Hall, Flushing, New York 11367-1597.

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ISTANBUL IS,
- presently the largest European city, larger than 16 European countries,
- the first metropolis in the world to reach a population of one million in the eleventh century,
- the city which houses Europe's oldest university, established in 330 A.D.,
- the only city in the world which has served as the capital of three major Empires -Eastern Rome, Byzantium and the Ottoman Empires,
- the only city in Europe where 45% of the country's industry is situated,
- the largest cosmopolitan centre in the world, founded in 622 B.C., which has served more than any other city in Europe to a better understanding, co-existence and preservation of diverse cultures and religions.

That is why King Charles XIIth of Sweden, Poland's national poet Adam Mickiewicz, Italy's national hero Giuseppe Garibaldi, Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky, intellectuals fleeing the Nazis including Ernst Reuter and many others throughout past and modern history took refuge in Istanbul and made this city their home for many years.

Next year, the 500th anniversary of the settling in Istanbul of the Sephardic Jews fleeing from the Spanish Inquisition and the 150th anniversary of the setting up of the "Polish Village" by Polish refugees will be celebrated.

The social democratic mayor of Istanbul, Prof. Dr. Nurettin SOZEN, well-known for his "Man Comes First" programme, has invited Mayors from all European countries, regardless of their political conviction, to take part on the EURODIALOGUE platform, for a concensus amongst local administrations on major issues, which he feels is vital for the establishing of democratic rule through participation and cultural integration of Europe. Re-designing of cities to protect and develop human rights and the city-way-of-life are some of the many issues that will be taken up at the EURODIALOGUE Assembly, workshops and committees.

EURODIALOGUE
Istanbul, Europe's Peace and Democracy Centre since 622 B.C.
If you want to receive free information about this meeting to take place in September 1991 and/or the quarterly bulletin regularly, write to the:
EURODIALOGUE Secretariat,
Bilin TOKER, Advisor to the Mayor of Greater Istanbul, Sarachane, Istanbul, Turkey.
Tel : 90-1 528 26 57
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Fax : 90-1-522 17 55
FACING UP TO THE NEW RIGHT

REGIONAL MEETING IN CHILE
At the suggestion of its Vice-President from Chile, Alejandra Faulbaum, Socialist International Women held a regional meeting in Valparaíso on 2 and 3 March 1991. It was preceded by a meeting of the SIW Executive on 1 March in Santiago. All SIW member organisations from Latin America and the Caribbean were invited, as well as other women’s political organisations. The theme we discussed attracted considerable interest from the media and coverage was unusually wide. There were 56 women participants from 14 countries. The host organisation, the Radical Party of Chile, had invited observers from all the political parties in Chile. The SIW meeting took place in the Senate Chamber in the new Chilean parliament building and was addressed by the Chilean Minister for Women, Soledad Alvear; Hortensia Bussi de Allende, and the chairperson of the host party, Enrique Silva Cimma, Minister for Foreign Affairs in the coalition government.

We publish here the introductory speeches and a contribution from the chairperson of this regional meeting.
A LATIN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVE

Alejandra Faulbaum

The history of humankind can be seen as a long process in which acts of violence, such as wars, are the basic elements which provide landmarks throughout the course of history. These acts of collective violence have their roots in politics and in the final analysis are the result of conflicts of interests, the nature of which are nearly always economic: imperialist policies, territorial disputes, revolutions, etc.

The logic of historical development has generated different types of socio-economic order where the dominant means of production is identifiable. These models of economic organisation condition and determine the manner in which the forces within society confront one another and defend their interests.

Under the capitalist system, such confrontation has evolved from the simple and cruel fact of subjugation, through the civilised form of reaching agreement known as ‘negotiation’, to its final manifestation in the institutional system called ‘social welfare’.

In the course of modern history we have seen how the ‘Right’ or the ‘ruling class’ maintains and controls ‘power’ through a variety of mechanisms, either ideological through education and the media, or by actual coercion, through the establishment of de facto governments. Traditionally the ruling classes in our countries have functioned as appendages of a world order created by the development of worldwide power bases.

In this way they have become an essential cog in the wheels of international economics, so widening the gap between rich and poor nations.

International division of labour was without doubt an efficient means of worldwide exploitation. The ruling classes enjoyed the crumbs from the feast and were not afraid to resort to force to crush any serious attempt to reverse this state of affairs. Economic growth, concentration of income, the creation of a proletariat and politico-cultural progress have imposed a new style on the activities of the Right in Latin America.

Notwithstanding, society is evolving and democratic institutions add appreciable weight to the ‘will of the people’. Force and economic coercion are no longer enough to maintain political and economic control. There is a new approach to the question of power.

Since the mid-seventies we have seen in the USA the growth of a political tendency, the New Right, which strictly speaking is no more than the reworking or adaptation of traditional ultra-conservative individualism. It really amounts to a change of strategy for the achievement of its longstanding ideological objective, namely, the free market.

This in turn has resulted in the rise of the Latin American New Right. This New Right sees the current crisis in the region not as the outcome of organisational or structural problems, but rather of the imminent collapse of an irrational state-run system and the dawn of a new civilisation based on rationality and efficiency. According to this view of the situation, Latin America’s immense problems are the result of the ‘excessive size of the civilian population’ and the consequent increasing power of the state. This in turn affects the likelihood of ‘rational decision-making’ within society, since such decision-making is part of a whole series of negotiations between different social groups: management and workers, government and the armed forces, political parties and other pressure groups. As a result of negotiations of this nature, society is
governed by irrational and ineffective decisions. This is the root cause of the crisis, insofar as it prevents market forces from utilising resources in an efficient manner.

Unsatisfied demand causes the disintegration of society and the loss of identity of its different strata (peasants, proletariat, middle class, etc.) which produces social demoralisation and de-politisation, that is to say apathy within the political parties, trades unions, etc. The new, and only, ingredient which will motivate society is the economic dimension.

The Latin American New Right’s declared intention is ‘to create a new majority’, a non-partisan, non-unionised majority with the precise aim of submerging or transcending political parties and trades unions. This would lead to the establishment of a new and clearer relationship between the state and the people, ultimately guaranteeing complete state autonomy and at the same time a formal and reasonable decision-making mechanism.

This new way of dealing with the crisis is based on the supposition of ‘impartiality’ in the management of society. To put it simply, decisions are based on criteria of rationality and efficiency within a framework of complete freedom and, of course, on the basis of the free market; that is to say ignoring completely the different influences acting upon the market and relying on the highly unlikely impartiality of these influences.

In this way, the New Right does not set itself up as the ruling class, but rather as an alternative form of government that is impartial and efficient. It sets itself up as the alternative for modernisation. Its enemies are no longer socialism, communism or nationalism. The foes to be conquered are the values and principles of the past which have helped to impede progress towards modernisation. From this standpoint, the enemies - or the irrational - are those who are removed from reality: idealists, ideologues and those ineffective individuals who quarrel with history and see this method as non-viable.

The New Right claims to focus beyond social classes and political parties on the individual, irrespective of his or her place in society. The responsibility for welfare does not lie with the class, trades union or political party. The New Right stresses that welfare policy should have a new objective: the individual citizen.

So the implication of the New Right is that we are moving towards the society of the future, where there is room neither for things of the past, nor for the historic principles, values and symbols whose origins lie in the revolution elsewhere, or which are rooted in the traditions of the people of Latin America. In general terms, this neo-liberal model is based on five principles which are recurring themes in Latin America. These are:

- realism
- pragmatism
- competitiveness
- efficiency
- discipline.

Of these categories, bases or principles, those that stand out are competitiveness and efficiency, which are not confined to the field of pure economics. Education, health and suchlike require competitiveness and efficiency, but these qualities are also demanded of the individual. It seems that these new principles and values are starting to define the new character of social relationships in Latin America. Pragmatism and idealism are required in trades union demands and realism is called for in the reorganisation of political parties. So we see that these qualities are not exclusive to economic policy but play their part in the socio-political reorganisation of society in Latin American countries.

In Chile over the past fifteen years, we have seen how this new ‘enlightened right’ works in practice. Imbued with the principles of the free market it is, in our view, less neo-liberalism than a return to the roots and origin of classic individualistic liberalism aimed at the predominance of the free market. These key notions of competitiveness and efficiency when applied to traditional public sector companies or activities, such as education, research, health and essential services, have been irrevocably linked with the need to self-financing. In a country like Chile where the distribution of wealth is
becoming more uneven and where there are vast differences, with at least 40 per cent of the population living below the poverty line and many in extreme poverty, the application of such a policy has meant that a huge section of the population has been deprived of the 'privilege' of education or health care. Thus social inequalities have been exacerbated and a free market system has become even less viable, since it assumes purchasing power and proper adaptation of the market to the needs of the community. In our experience, these solutions have proved, to put it mildly, retrogressive and have contributed to the transfer of public resources to the private sector in conditions damaging to the main interests of the community.

In raising the banner of efficiency, the New Right is attempting to haul down the flags of the progressive parties, claiming to offer an alternative which is allegedly 'objective' and 'free of ideology', to achieve prosperity for the population by offering each citizen individual advancement. For this reason, it maintains that social classes and political parties are in decline and falling into apathy, thus preparing the way for a political movement compounded and consolidated by the immediate economic objective of prosperity.

We believe that this so-called impartiality is no more than a refuge whose real purpose is to hide this very ideology.

We do not believe that the free market is the way to solve insoluble problems of poverty and social inequality which logic dictates can only get worse. Competition can only exist when there is a reasonable degree of similarity between the competing forces. For example, there can be no healthy competition between the poorly-dressed, ill-fed child of the underprivileged and a middle- or upper-class child, nor can a modest artisan compete with a rich industrialist.
It is precisely health care, education and basic services which should not be in private hands, since these are the very services which can contribute towards the achievement of greater social equality and ultimately to a greater likelihood of progress.

For us, the humanitarian, progressive parties of the people, the greatest need is to lay our own claim to the banners of efficiency and rationality. These cannot be considered as qualities or characteristics of the right. Economic resources are, by definition, scarce and the needs are many. For these reasons, efficiency is an essential requirement to secure higher levels of prosperity and social justice. We contend that it is both possible and necessary to achieve greater efficiency with a welfare state which will help to correct the defects of the market and provide greater equality of opportunity. For this, the state must intervene in the control of the market, in some cases as producer, in others in cooperation with the private sector. The goal at all times must be to increase, in terms of both quantity and quality, physical as well as human resources within the context of the re-distribution of income and to incorporate the underprivileged masses into the system.

Today the New Right presents itself and its policies in the political arena as highly qualified and programmed to reach its objectives in a businesslike way, taking advantage of all scientific and technological means at its disposal. We are confronting adversaries who are by no means inexperienced or ill-equipped. The great challenge is to enter the political fray in a highly specialised and professional manner. This is the only way we can counter their offensive so as to further our cause and ultimately to serve the interests of the vast majority of the people of our countries.

The major tasks for the social democratic parties and particularly for the women of those parties must be to:

1. Raise public consciousness of the great problems of our times and present adequate answers. Our motto should be 'There is nothing that does not concern us'.
2. Commit ourselves to the task of development, that is to say link our parties to a plan for national and regional development.
3. Advance with determination the cause of Latin American integration, which is of greater importance in the cultural, political and social fields than the economic aspect.
4. Work towards the modernisation of the state and the dismantling of bureaucracy. The myth of the 'inefficient state' must be dispelled. The state must be an effective instrument of development.
5. Continue to work for human rights, peace, de-militarisation and the protection of the environment.
6. Strive for political and social consensus between the parties and allied movements who support social democracy.
7. Encourage access to education and culture, and implement a Latin American policy of scientific and technological research and development directed towards the maximum use of resources.

Women have an important role to play in all these tasks. Our duty is to involve the largest possible number of activists in our crusade for development and in the tireless pursuit of the welfare of all members of society and the improvement of the human condition. In the words of the economist Juan Hernández, of the Radical Party of Chile, a sympathiser with our cause: 'in the fulfilment of our political objectives, we should always observe the criterion of efficiency. This is by no means the birthright of the right; on the contrary, it is the birthright of the thinking individual...'.

Alejandra Faulbaum is the International Secretary of the Radical Party of Chile and also International Secretary of the Women's Organisation of her party and a Vice-President of SIW. She is a medical doctor specialising in rehabilitation.
THE BRAZILIAN EXPERIENCE

Ligia Doutel de Andrade

I should like to begin with a quotation: 'After the collapse of the militarism which typified the sixties and seventies, there appeared in the world a so-called modern Right, a New Right. Its arguments, presented by people with nice kind faces, who use the word liberal a lot, are highly convincing. They talk about efficiency, democracy, a better standard of living. This is the New Right, selling a friendly image, making promises they have no intention of keeping, trying to steal the policies of the committed Left by espousing popular causes. It is a spectacular process of evolution, promoted by advertising and media know-how' (Cadernos do Terceiro Mundo, Nº 122, p.47).

Indeed, in an effort to replace their out-dated methods and realising the importance of technological developments in the media, the Right has had to change its style, seek out new leaders and find more creative ways of influencing a public opinion which is becoming increasingly divided and more subject to media pressure - a dishonest way of 'changing so that everything remains the same'.

This change of tactics and image is taking shape through a process which has been developed over a long period in national and international power bases. The election of the Reagan government could be seen as the start of the process.

Reagan's forceful rhetoric and determined action in favour of private initiative and unrestrained participation in the arms race, and against taxation, social security and state control of the economy, were a stimulus and an encouragement to the Right throughout the world.

In the defence of such principles, with their traditional fondness for the accumulation of wealth, privatisation of the economy and lack of concern for the fate of ordinary people, the Right began to use sophisticated terminology and slogans extolling the virtues of modernisation. They also hired competent marketing organisations to smarten up their image. Their leading representatives have been Thatcher in Great Britain; Giscard d'Estaing in France; the liberals in Italy, Germany and Canada; Sá Carneiro and, after his death, Cavaco Silva in Portugal.

Finally, the strategy of the New Right reached Latin America.

In Brazil, the formula is being strictly adhered to and achieved one of its major successes with the election of the current President, 'new face' of the Right in our country. In the two years leading up to his election, the media worked painstakingly on his image, eventually turning him into a legend. The support of a powerful television channel provided him with valuable technical help and ideal market conditions.

The conservatives have finally found a new star and new methods. They have transformed their image, adopting a modern, neo-liberal stance and making skilled use of the media, particularly television. They have also used opinion polls to shape the ideas of an ill-informed public and to dominate the state. Their ultimate aim is to maintain social and economic control, to the detriment of the majority of the electorate.

As in all capitalist countries, the Brazilian state has been a tool of the ruling class and has always clung to the principles inherited from the Portuguese. In developed capitalist countries, although the state may be a tool of the ruling class, governments still take account of the needs of the workers in order to make their plans dominate workable. The Brazilian state, however, has made the concentration of wealth in certain 'areas of affluence' one of its principal tasks, in order to win favour with the upper middle classes. Politicians in Brazil have never regarded workers as important to the bourgeois plan, with the result that the state is basically run by the corrupt private sector.
Against the background of this concept of the state, nationalised companies have been created as strategic tools for economic development, serving mainly private interests. This tendency has grown over the past few decades.

The Labour government of Getulio Vargas, which established the basis of an industrial development programme, particularly in the energy, transport and steel sectors, together with João Goulart’s Labour government, were the only ones in the history of Brazil who could be seen to have had a political awareness of the need to democratise the state, so that wealth and profit could be distributed to include the workers. Steps were taken in this direction, but resulted in coups d’état by reactionary forces.

Until the end of the seventies, government action played an essential role in achieving industrial and economic growth through the creation of an infrastructure, for example electricity supplies, roads, telecommunications; production of such basic materials as steel, petroleum and chemicals; provision of credits guaranteed by official agencies which financed the private sector and negotiated external loans; coordination of wages and foreign trade policies, etc.

While the state was efficient in its handling of the economy and this led to high levels of growth, after the military coup of 1964, its anti-democratic tendencies became more pronounced. This was demonstrated by the practice of wage reduction which clearly favoured capitalist interests against those of the people. Trade union activities were also banned.

So, despite economic growth, most of the population continue to live in appalling conditions. Wages have fallen and poverty and squalor have worsened.

The interests of capitalist private sector groups were protected by various mechanisms. These included investment in infrastructure and basic activities; subsidies for the production of goods and services by large companies; financial and tax incentives and exemptions, and tampering with foreign exchange policy. There were takeovers of bankrupt private firms through corrupt practices whereby false evidence was produced to prove that the companies’ activities were socially beneficial. Following reorganisation they were returned to private hands. Massive projects were also sanctioned which did nothing to serve the national interest; and overseas borrowings were approved to carry out sometimes huge-scale projects in the energy, transport and steel sector, amongst others.

All these activities have led to the intensification of the privatisation programme of a government which has abandoned its public functions and shown once and for all that it is only interested in the private sector.

As a result of this, Brazil has seen in the 1980s financial crisis, paralysis and a total incapacity to manage the economy and guarantee the kind of expansion seen at the end of the 1970s.

Faced with this situation, the liberal-conservatives propose the privatisation of state-owned companies, cuts in public spending, reduction of the work force and non-intervention by the state in the economy. They claim that the whole state system is incompetent, corrupt and inefficient. They blame the high inflation rates on the national deficit. They assert that social security does not meet the needs of the population. They blame the state for unemployment and under-employment and say that the state system has completely broken down.

All this is designed to mislead, to conceal the real economic and social roots of the crisis. Nevertheless, it succeeds in seducing some intellectuals and certain misguided sections of the Left. It is an argument which appears to call for renewal while disguising the true objectives of the New Right, which include splitting up the public sector to their own advantage and thus causing social breakdown.

Within this new strategy of retrenchment of the bourgeoisie, state-owned corporations will pass into private hands, either Brazilian or international.

Brazil’s de-nationalisation programme, which was set in train by an interim act of parliament which bears the number 155, permits the privatisation of all the country’s fully- and part-nationalised companies, except those in the telecommunications, oil, gas and uranium sectors. We should point out one very serious aspect of this programme: the matter of conversion of Brazilian national debt bonds into shares in state-owned companies. Under this arrangement, any Brazilian or foreign individual or corporation may acquire on the domestic or foreign market Brazilian national debt bonds, at a discount of 60 per cent. These bonds may be exchanged for shares in the best and most profitable nationalised or part-nationalised companies, which means that foreigners can control shares in the companies. Under the pretext of modernisation, the intention is the complete domination of our economy by capitalist groups both inside and outside Brazil and the transfer of public wealth to foreign capital, which is a serious violation of our
sovereignty. The final aim is international control of Brazil's economy.

The Democratic Labour Party, PDT, whom I have the honour of representing, contends that it is essential that the Brazilian state should face up to its responsibilities to the population and manage the economy in such a way as to redirect public spending through the re-distribution of income. This would guarantee a reasonable standard of living and attend to the basic needs of the people of Brazil, who are at present so deprived of health, education, housing, transport and other areas. It is not a question of allowing the state to go to wrack and ruin, but of bringing about democratisation and reform so that the state can act in the public interest and reduce social inequalities.

We believe that, as far as possible, state-owned companies should be preserved, restructured and re-organised so that they can operate efficiently for the good of society. Within this process, it is obvious that some of them should be abolished or privatised. What cannot be tolerated is the wrongful transfer, through the privatisation of strategic and profitable companies, of public wealth to the private sector, thereby endangering our autonomy.

It goes without saying that we do not advocate nationalisation of the economy, since what we stand for under the banner of democratic socialism is social justice, solidarity, freedom, participation and de-centralisation.

We acknowledge market laws and the dynamics of enterprise, but these should be subject to the democratic control of the people, through the state, the legislative power and the trade unionists.

Our major concern is to strengthen and increase the efficiency of state activities in areas directly related to social welfare.

We feel it our duty to denounce the insincerity of neo-liberal advocacy of indiscriminate privatisation and government actions in this connection. Our party, the PDT, together with other democratic groups and progressive parties, is fighting hard to avoid such an ignominious state of affairs becoming reality.

Another piece of duplicity that we must condemn is the neo-liberal claim that a market economy is the most effective way of stabilising prices. In the Brazilian market, the well-known 'law of supply and demand' still does not apply.

According to research carried out by the Getulio Vargas Foundation in Rio de Janeiro, only 1.7 per cent of companies registered in Brazil, including state-owned and private, national and multinational, control more than half the domestic market. Nearly all sectors of the economy are oligopolies. The degree of concentration in industry is 63 per cent and in commerce 71 per cent which results in an average mean of 67.35 per cent. Such concentration allows oligopolies, monopolies and cartels to dictate the rules of the market.

In addition to the oligopolies and monopolies, there are also true cartels in Brazil such as the wheat cartel, which is also an oligopoly. This cartel is made up of a group of 179 companies of which 20 dominate 80 per cent of the market.

In a desperate attempt to control prices and bring down inflation, the Brazilian government has tried to break up these oligopolies, monopolies and cartels. So far they have had no success because it is precisely these forces which support the government. This is one of many of this government's contradictions.

There is a further aspect of liberal ideology that we wish to put straight. According to this doctrine, the basis of a democratic society is complete freedom of information. In reality, however, the situation is quite the opposite.

A survey carried out by ILET (the Latin American Institute for International Studies, based in Mexico) concludes that 79 per cent of international news comes from four international agencies: AP (Associated Press) and UPI (United Press International), the French agency AFP and the British Reuters. In 1978, research revealed that 90 per cent of news items in the press, on radio, film and television originated in the United States, Japan and a handful in European countries.
The developing countries, despite the fact that they account for two-thirds of the world's population, do not receive nearly enough media attention. News about the poorer nations is sparse and distorted.

Today, the technology of microcomputers, satellite communications, optical fibres and information systems and the manufacture of computers and communications systems are monopolised by the giant multinational corporations.

The United States controls between 60 and 70 per cent of the export market in computer information and has a monopoly in technological and scientific information.

This vast apparatus makes it possible to manipulate and control information and even to produce disinformation. The main victims of this kind of power are the less developed countries. Although alternative communications media are emerging, which undermine the media monopolies, the latter still remain strong.

In Brazil the Globo Network has the monopoly in communications, with an integrated system of television, radio, newspapers and other publications. Its activities are responsible for the rise to power of the New Right. It is worth quoting here the words of Professor Muniz Sodré of the University of Rio de Janeiro: 'Civic institutions are weakened and television and the media enter the arena as representatives both of technology and of society's ruling elite, who claim to be a force for revival. That is to say, it is the power of aristocracy and the landowner in the guise of progressives, simply presenting a new image, as they have always done'.

The Democratic Labour Party is raising these questions as a modest contribution towards the encouragement of debate and the search to find effective forms of political action.

We wish to expose the sermonising of the neo-liberals, to condemn the tactics and strategies of the New Right and to show how the model is collapsing. All these are important stages in the struggle for a more just, free and independent society.

In Brazil, the bankruptcy of the neo-liberal model is obvious from the degree of suffering it has inflicted on the people. Mass unemployment resulting from the deep recession in which the country finds itself; worsening poverty, hunger, infant mortality and juvenile crime; the ignorance of the majority of the population who receive none of the advantages of a civilised society - all are examples of how they have reneged on their promises to create a modern, democratic welfare state.

On the contrary, what we see is the confirmation of a process of concentration of income and privilege for the few, to the detriment of the civil rights of the great majority of the population.

I believe this is the experience of many Latin American countries, bearing in mind the different characteristics of each and the diversity of their historic development and their social and political systems.

Within this framework, we must reaffirm both our socialist principles, and social democracy in its various forms, as the rightful and necessary alternative to imperialism and neo-liberal capitalism, with all its repercussions of suffering, poverty, under-development and anti-democratic oppression.

We must revitalise our thoughts and actions, and review our tactics and strategies in the light of the new realities which are emerging in a fast-changing world. The international nature of investment, information, technological and scientific research, and the computer industry; the influence of television and the media in the political process and the new realities of international politics are factors that we need to take into account in our thinking and planning. Our debates and political activities cannot be guided by dogma or pre-conceived ideas, lest we lapse into sterile inactivity. This would be to forget the dialectic of history.

Fortunately, democratic, progressive and popular forces opposed to imperialist and neo-liberal capitalist domination are appearing and developing throughout the continent. The parties of the Socialist International should work alongside these forces, seeking cooperation and unity of action as a foundation for the autonomous integration of the Latin American continent and the fulfilment of its vital needs.

We must revitalise our socialist and democratic programmes, our commitment to fight alongside our peoples to achieve economic and political autonomy founded on social values rooted in solidarity, and to create an integrated, free, just and independent Latin America.
CAN WE MAKE A PACT?

Maria Dolors Renau i Manen

The contributions from Alejandra Faulbaum and Ligia Doutel have outlined the main reasons for the birth to the New Right.

Their description has enabled us to identify the problem; this is always the first step towards finding a solution.

However, in addition to the arguments already raised, there are other features which we may find disconcerting. I shall simply add a few more obvious points.

-The New Right uses the same language as we do and employs phrases coined within the culture and political activities of the Left, but with different intentions.

-They accuse us of not reaching our goal of social equality and demand more of us in this respect, using feigned social concern as a weapon to discredit the Left.

-They exploit populist sentimentalism instead of applying reason, capitalising on the predicament of the very poor.

-Their organisational methods and their objectives are clearly corporatist, rather than adopting an approach which takes into account the interests of all members of society.

-Their economic policies are neo-liberal, their cultural policies are elitist and their social policies are based on paternalism and charity, instead of respect for civil rights.

-They support an out-dated notion of the traditional woman, clearly subservient to men, apart from the few exceptions who can prove their 'modernity'.

Having examined the workings of the New Right, other factors must be considered and a number of questions asked. Firstly we must accept that any democratic system requires an organised Right to represent conservative interests. Without this, the democratic system cannot function and there is a danger that conservative interests and attitudes will be expressed in an undemocratic way.

Therefore it is in our interest that the Right should exist. What we need to establish is whether this New Right which, in many countries, may still have strong elements of dictatorship, could evolve towards truly democratic ways of doing things or whether they will refuse to move and remain entrenched in a position hardly any different from that adopted by previous dictatorships.

As social democrats, we should consider the possibility that the New Right could offer potential for democratic development. At the same time, socialist parties have seen great changes in the course of their history. If they have succeeded in governing in many countries, it is because they have been able to progress from policies and strategies based on the emancipation of the working class to a comprehensive national plan to govern these countries through policies which receive the support of the majority of the population.

So it may be possible, if the New Right evolves towards a clearly democratic approach, that social democrats could under certain circumstances conclude certain pacts with the New Right with the aim of achieving cooperation between the different political parties, which would be to the advantage of the electorate.

In any event, the socialist task must be to champion and reinforce the role of the political parties and trade unions as social forces which influence community affairs, avoiding the facile populism offered by the New Right.

With reference to the interests of women, it has to be realised that the New Right is deeply antagonistic to any change which may lead to women's emancipation and the strengthening of women's rights. This antagonism is expressed in all matters relating to 'morality' (divorce, contraception, abortion). Meanwhile, the New Right shows greater

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understanding in questions involving women in the workplace, provided they do not have any obvious effect on the current concept of the family.

In this area too, we must also examine the possibility of collaboration or pacts covering some of the basic problems affecting women. Perhaps there could be agreement on some ‘lowest common denominators’ which could alleviate some of the most flagrant injustices suffered by women, provided there is evidence of progress towards an acceptance of democratic procedures. Meanwhile social democrats should continue in the vanguard of the struggle for equality, which must be considered a political priority.

SIW REGIONAL MEETING
VALPARAISO, CHILE
2/3 March 1991

STATEMENT

We express the concern of the members of SIW and women members of other progressive parties at the apparent rise in our countries of a New Right, which, in its various forms, is gaining ground both politically and in society in general. Through its neo-liberal economic policies, cultural elitist rhetoric, social policies based on social welfare rather than a respect for social rights, the New Right is taking advantage of vacuums in political, social, cultural and private life in order to uphold, possibly in a different guise, its traditional interests.

The possibility must be considered that this New Right, which we have identified, in response to public opinion might evolve towards genuinely democratic practices, which would lead to the strengthening of the democratic process and the solution of the most serious problems in the countries of Latin America.

Nevertheless, the Democratic Socialist parties must endeavour to advance on the following fronts:

- The role of the political parties and trade unions must be reinforced to the utmost so as to form the backbone of the collective decision-making process; to this end, the parties must do their utmost to democratise their internal functions, confront social needs with greater determination, strengthen their organisation and not lose sight of their objective, namely the achievement of the common good.

- We must aim for the consolidation of the kind of State which will work for the redistribution of economic and cultural wealth, so as to promote education, namely the achievement of the common good.

- It is essential to extend the presence of women in the workplace and in social and political life and in any kind of association which may lead to improvements in their training, quality of life and participation in public affairs.

- The presence of women in positions of political responsibility within democratic parties and institutions will do much to assist in determining the needs of a large section of the population, thus restraining the policies of social intervention typical of the New Right which lead to self-interest, the breakdown of society and which are the breeding ground for future violence.

We wish to express our desire that the New Right should move towards genuinely democratic policies and that the Democratic Socialist parties take a lead in bringing about the social changes needed to solve the serious problems faced by our countries. It is essential that meeting places be available for Latin American women to gather and debate and make their voices heard. SIW will provide the opportunity for continued advance in the struggle for democracy, freedom and the inalienable rights of women.
Resolution – Organising and Educating Women in Politics.

At its conference in 1986 in Lima, Socialist International Women declared a 'Socialist Decade for Women' with the aim of promoting women's participation in the member parties of the Socialist International.

In its Council meeting of December 1988, the Socialist International in a resolution pledged to 'closely monitor the progress made and will continue to support women's organisations in member parties in their struggle to achieve equality' and emphasised 'the importance of women's organisations in achieving equality and social justice in society', called 'on its member parties to strengthen by organisational and financial means their respective women's organisations', and called 'upon its member organisations to give political power for women the highest possible priority, including educating them'.

Socialist International Women welcomes progress in the adoption of quota regulations in SI member parties as well as the logistic support women receive for their work in a growing number of parties.

There are different forms of women's organisations. Autonomous organisations exist in some countries, while in others their work is accomplished within the party's own structure, through secretariats or specific divisions. In any case, it is indispensable that women have a strong and united organisation, so as to guarantee the defence of their rights in social and political life.

However, the necessity for women to organise within their own parties is not recognised throughout the Socialist International. Financial support for mailing, a secretariat and the participation at meetings of SIW and SI are often denied, political education of women regarded as secondary.

Women's organisations are often regarded as useful tools in election campaigns but not as autonomous partners in decision-making bodies.

The training of women is absolutely necessary for their full integration in political life. Specific programmes focusing on three aspects have to be implemented in all organisations:

- General political training.
- Training related to women's issues.
- Instrumental training (public speaking etc.).

Socialist International Women:

- Urges women in SI member parties to insist on their right to organise democratically within the framework of their party and to political education.
- Calls on SI member parties who receive state funding to set aside ten per cent of that sum for programmes of political education for women.

- Calls on SI member parties to give their women members all necessary material help to build up a women's organisation and to offer them political education, both separately and on a quota basis together with men. It also emphasises the need for joint seminars to educate both sexes on women's issues.

- Calls on SI member parties to ensure they will support proposals on quota regulations in favour of women in their national parties.

Emergency Resolution - Referendum in Western Sahara.

Socialist International Women welcomes the proposed holding of a referendum in early 1992 in the territory of Western Sahara under the auspices and authority of the United Nations. This will be an important step towards the self-determination of the Saharawi people.

Socialist International Women supports the presence of observers from the international community at the referendum process and will make a special effort to be represented on that occasion.

Socialist International Women expresses its continuing solidarity with the National Union of Saharawi Women.
Hawke looks to a fifth term

Addressing the Australian Labor Party, ALP, conference held in Hobart, Tasmania, at the end of June, Prime Minister and Party Leader Bob Hawke predicted a fifth victory for Labor in the next federal elections. Hawke launched a vigorous attack on the Liberal opposition, saying that 'in a real sense we begin the campaign now - a two year campaign not just to win the election, but to win the future for Australia'. He stressed the importance of the party’s relationship with the trade union movement, reminding delegates of his own long involvement with the Australian Council of Trade Unions, of which he is a former leader, and promised undiminished commitment to social justice for minorities and to environmental protection.

The conference, which coincided with the centenary of the party’s foundation, drew worldwide attention when delegates passed a motion, proposed by Senator Chris Schacht, to end allegiance to the British monarchy within 10 years, thus swinging the party firmly behind Australia’s growing republican movement.

Shortly before the conference, Hawke had defeated a challenge for his office and for the party leadership from his closest political associate, federal treasurer and deputy prime minister Paul Keating.

The 110-member ALP parliamentary caucus voted on 3 June by 66 to 44 in favour of retaining Hawke and, as is customary in these matters, Keating retired to the back benches. He had been in charge of the finance ministry since Labor’s 1983 return to power and Hawke’s deputy since the 1990 election. The brief contest opened with Keating’s declaration of his candidacy on 30 May. It was fought not only over Keating’s assessment that it was time for a change at the top, but over his claim - contested by Hawke - that the leader had explicitly agreed in 1988 to stand down in Keating’s favour after the next election.

Keating’s departure from office led to a minor cabinet reshuffle - the first since Labor’s victory in March last year. His successor as treasurer was John Kerin, hitherto minister for primary industries and energy, but the largely honorary title of deputy prime minister went to Brian Howe, who remains minister for health, housing and community services. Kerin’s old portfolio went to Simon Green, formerly the junior (non-cabinet) minister for science and technology.

AUSTRIA

Congress endorses modernisation

‘Future of Social Democracy: Future of Europe’ was the slogan of the 32nd national congress of the SI’s Austrian member party held in Linz on 14-15 June. Delegates approved a proposal to change the party’s name to Social Democratic Party of Austria (the well-known initials, SPOe, remain unchanged) and to adopt a new party logo. These decisions were symbolic of a wider process of renewal which lay at the heart of congress debates.

Party Leader and Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, in his address to the congress, spoke of the need for party reform, while also pointing to the long success of social democracy in Austria. He noted the importance of Austria’s participation in European integration, both within the planned European Economic Area and in seeking membership of the European Community. Vranitzky called for solidarity in improving the economic situation in eastern and southern Europe, stressing that a pure market economy is not the answer to the problems faced by those countries. He also emphasised the need for pension reforms, the struggle against unemployment, immigration and environmental policy. Vranitzky was re-elected to the party leadership by more than 98 per cent of delegates.

The congress endorsed the proposals put forward by the party leadership on: structural and organisational change in the party; foreign and security policy; women and society and family policy; education and culture; health, leisure and consumer protection; housing; employment and social security; economy, finance and transportation; and democracy, law, security and public administration.
The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, BSDP, marked the 100th anniversary of its foundation when it held its 38th congress in Sofia on 23-25 March. The 37th congress took place in 1947, but from 1948 the party was forced to suspend all public activities.

The BSDP, which was relaunched in 1989 and regained full membership of the Socialist International in 1990, has undergone a major upsurge following the years of repression and exile, holding 29 seats in the Grand National Assembly elected last year (see 2/90, page 55) and with a current membership of 84,000.

The main business of the congress was the renewal of the party leadership through the election of a 101-person national committee, which then elected a 15-person executive bureau; the revision of the internal statutes and manifesto, and the discussion of current political priorities including the forthcoming parliamentary and municipal elections.

The 1,053 delegates affirmed the BSDP's commitment to a rapid transition to a democratic constitutional order in Bulgaria. The new executive, consisting of 14 men and one woman, includes veterans of the 1948 leadership such as Dr Petar Dertliev, confirmed as party president, and Grudi Panchev, elected general secretary. Mikhail Petkov was elected vice-president and international officer.

Ontario budget bucks the trend

The New Democratic Party, NDP, has introduced a provincial budget in Ontario which, in marked contrast with the tight-fisted policies of the Conservative federal government, is aimed at promoting economic growth, employment and social well-being rather than obsessive short-term deficit reduction.

The NDP Ontario administration, installed in October 1990 (see 3/90, page 53), aims to create 70,000 jobs, cut taxes for low-income families, expand housing investment, provide credit support for recession-hit businesses and invest heavily in infrastructure development. The overall goal, according to provincial treasurer Floyd Laughren, is to create the conditions for recovery and sustainable prosperity, with social partnership and fairness as the guiding principles.

Election prospects bright

The recent resignation of the British Columbia premier William Vander Zalm after accusations of a conflict of interest came just months before his Social Credit Party faces a strong NDP challenge in provincial elections.

The NDP made substantial gains in opinion polls in the latter part of Vander Zalm's five-year incumbency, which was marked by a series of ministerial
resignations, controversial public utterances and attacks on the social welfare system. The NDP is also widely tipped to win the next provincial elections in Saskatchewan, currently held by the Conservatives. Added to its historic capture of Ontario and its recovery in Manitoba (see 4/90, page 58), a victory for the party this year in either province could open a new phase in the development of social democracy as a credible force in North America.

**CHILE**

**Europe welcomes Chilean government leaders**

Chilean President Patricio Aylwin, accompanied by members of his coalition government, including foreign minister Enrique Silva Cimma of the Radical Party, visited several European capitals in April, marking the definitive end of the diplomatic isolation which followed the 1973 coup. Less welcome was the visit to Europe in May of former dictator General Augusto Pinochet, which was denounced as 'an insult to those who were murdered, disappeared and tortured' under the dictatorship.

**CYPRUS**

**EDEK gains a seat**

The EDEK Socialist Party of Cyprus gained one seat in parliamentary elections held on 19 May. There was a massive 92 per cent turnout and support for EDEK ranged from 19.7 per cent in Paphos to under 7 per cent in Famagusta.

The overall EDEK share of the vote was little changed from the 11.1 per cent of the poll in 1985 to 10.9 per cent, despite advances for the two largest parties, the conservative Democratic Rally, DISY, and the communist AKEL, up respectively from 33.6 to 33.8 per cent and from 27.5 to 30.6 per cent. Both the latter parties, and a new communist faction which scored 2.4 per cent, had supported what EDEK leader Dr Vassos Lyssarides denounced as 'the bogus inter-communal dialogue' proposed by the independent President George Vassiliou's coalition government. The centrist Democratic Party, DIKO, which like EDEK opposes an over-hasty federal settlement with the administration in the northern sector, saw its vote decline from 27.6 to 19.5 per cent.

The distribution of the 56 seats in the unicameral House of Representatives was as follows: EDEK 7 (6 in the outgoing House), DISY and its smaller partner the Liberal Party 20 (19), DIKO 11 (10) and AKEL 18 (15). The ADISOK party, formed last year by five AKEL deputies, and a new Pancyprian Refugee Party, PAKOP, both failed to secure representation.

EDEK, which has consistently called for a UN-sponsored solution to the island's problems (see 1/91, page 53), has followed with interest the recent efforts by UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuellar to find a basis for settlement, but it rejects the demand by the Turkish Cypriot leadership that the Turkish-speaking community, including the 50,000 settlers who have arrived from Turkey since 1974, be recognised as a people with a right to self-determination, separate from that of the Greek-speaking community. Lyssarides, as the then president of the House of Representatives, was involved in discussions in April with Pérez de Cuellar, with delegates to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, CSCE, and with the European Community.

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

**Social Democrats set tasks**

The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party held its 25th congress in Ostrava on 6-7 April, when it re-elected its leadership and approved new party statutes and programme. The congress set the party's main task as rebuilding the historic strength of social democracy in Czechoslovakia, in particular through union of the Czech and Slovak wings of the movement.

The congress re-elected Jiri Horak as party chair with 75 per cent support of the delegates, who also elected Jaroslav Tuma as vice-chair and endorsed Jozef Wagner as party secretary-general. A new party executive elected by the congress held its first meeting on 28 April, when it elected four additional vice-chairs as well as the other members of the party's presidium.

The party's main tasks in the immediate future were agreed to include intensification of contacts with the Slovak social democratic movement. Cooperation with all social democratic forces still outside the party will also be sought.

Other priorities were identified as being to find and train more young members, to strengthen cooperation with the trade union movement, to step up propagation of social democratic ideas and to extend the distribution of the party's daily organ, Pravo Lidu.
EGYPT

Government addresses Gulf security and debt problems

Egypt resumed its traditional leadership of the Arab world on 15 May when its foreign minister and deputy premier, Esmat Abdel-Meguid, was unanimously elected secretary-general of the 21-nation Arab League. He succeeded Chedli Klibi of Tunisia, who had resigned in September 1990 during the Gulf crisis.

Abdel-Meguid's election confirmed Egypt's reintegration into the Arab League, whose headquarters had been returned from Tunis to Cairo some months earlier. Egypt was readmitted to membership in 1989 after a decade of isolation precipitated by its signature of a peace treaty with Israel in 1979.

In the resulting cabinet reshuffle on 20 May, President Mubarak elevated Boutros Boutros Ghali, who is an SI vice-president, from minister of state to deputy premier with overall responsibility for external relations, while Amr Moussa, hitherto ambassador to the UN, became foreign minister.

On his election Abdel-Meguid called for Arab unity in dealing with the aftermath of the Gulf war and stressed the 'indivisibility' of international law and UN resolutions insofar as other regional problems were concerned. He also reiterated the importance of the recent Damascus agreement by eight Arab states to create a Gulf peacekeeping force.

Concluded on 6 March by Egypt, Syria and the six Gulf Cooperation Council states (Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, the UAE, Qatar and Oman), the Damascus accord envisages the deployment in the Gulf area of 150,000 mainly Egyptian and Syrian troops, while the GCC states will make financial contributions to Egypt and Syria.

While actively pursuing a post-war Gulf security arrangement, the Egyptian government has made clear its support for the survival of Iraq as a unitary state.

Under a recently concluded agreement with the IMF, the government is to undertake economic restructuring and cut state subsidies on food and other items.

In his May Day address, President Mubarak said that the IMF package provided an opportunity to put the Egyptian economy back on its feet and to enable western aid and investment flows to be resumed. The required economic restructuring would be under Egyptian control, he said, and would be accompanied by political and party reforms designed to continue building real democracy in the country.

EL SALVADOR

Progress at last

Eighteen months into the UN-sponsored peace talks between representatives of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front guerrilla movement, FMLN, and the conservative government of President Alfredo Cristiani, both sides asserted that genuine progress had been made towards finding the basis not just for a cessation of hostilities but for the removal of the causes of the conflict. This remained the accepted view even after an eight-day negotiating session ended acrimoniously in Venezuela on 2 June without agreement on a ceasefire. A further round of talks began in Mexico in mid-June but the FMLN, which had previously proposed 30 May as the ceasefire date (see 1/91, page 55), reserved the right to continue its 11-year war.

The national assembly elected in March and including eight members of the Democratic Convergence, to which the SI-member National Revolutionary Movement is affiliated, convened in May. Convergence leader Rubén Zamora was elected its vice-president. The most urgent measure before the assembly is the ratification of electoral and other reforms, which in the event of a successful outcome to the peace talks would allow the FMLN to participate directly in the political process. Broad agreement on the nature of the reforms, also covering the armed forces and the judiciary, was reached in Mexico during April, and resulted in the signature on 27 April of a preliminary accord. Although the old assembly enacted the measures, despite far-right opposition, before its dissolution, constitutional amendments require approval by a two-thirds majority in the next successive legislature.

FINLAND

Social Democrats opt for opposition

After 25 years of virtually continuous participation in government, the Finnish Social Democratic Party, SDP, went into opposition in April to a centre-right coalition headed by the Centre Party. The change of government resulted from the general elections on 17 March in which both the SDP and their Conservative coalition partners lost ground (see 1/91, page 55).

Headed by the Centre Party leader, Esko Aho, the new four-party coalition also includes the Conservatives, the Swedish People's Party and the Finnish Christian Union. Committed to economic stabilisation through
Michel Rocard and prime minister Edith Cresson

cuts in state expenditure, the new government commands the support of 115 deputies in the 200-seat Finnish Diet.

In opposition, the SDP will concentrate its energies on policy renewal and preparation for the 1994 presidential elections. In the external sphere, the most important issue facing the party is whether Finland should join Sweden in declaring its intention to apply for full membership of the European Community.

As an initial contribution to this debate, the SDP chairman and outgoing foreign minister, Pertti Paasio, said on 27 April that Finland ought to be prepared to consider applying for Community membership. For the SDP - as well as for the new Finnish government - much will depend on the outcome of the current EFTA-EC negotiations for the creation of a 'European Economic Area'.

FRANCE

Mitterrand seeks 'new zest' from Cresson

Edith Cresson made history by becoming France's first woman prime minister on 15 May, in charge of a reconstituted government again led by the Socialist Party, PS. She replaced Michel Rocard, who had held the premiership for three years and bowed out a few days after François Mitterrand had celebrated his tenth anniversary in the French presidency. Her appointment was described by Mitterrand as intended to bring 'new zest' to government policies in the face of the challenges of the 1990s.

Mayor of Chatellerault and a close associate of President Mitterrand since the 1960s, Cresson entered parliament in the Socialist landslide of 1981 and successively held the agriculture and external trade portfolios in the 1981-86 Socialist-led governments. On the party's return to power in 1988 she was appointed minister for European affairs but resigned in October 1990 over policy differences with the prime minister (see 4/90, page 59).

She is on record as favouring industrial policies aimed at increasing French competitiveness on the international economic stage.

All senior PS ministers retained their posts in the new Cresson cabinet, which was reduced in size from 32 to 29 members. In the most significant change, Pierre Bérégovoy became head of a new 'super-ministry' combining his previous economy and finance portfolio with industry and trade. Other moves included that of Jean-Pierre Soisson, hitherto labour minister, to the ministry of state for the civil service and administrative reform, while Jack Lang added the post of government spokesman to his culture portfolio.

New faces in the cabinet included President Mitterrand's chef de cabinet, Jean-Louis Bianco, who became social affairs minister. Also newly appointed as full ministers were Martine Aubray (labour, employment and vocational training) and Frédérique Brodin (youth and sports). Entering the cabinet at minister-delegate level were Dominique Strauss-Kahn (industry and external trade) and Michel Sapin (justice).

Outlining her government's programme to the National Assembly on 22 May, Cresson identified its first priority as strengthening French industry in the framework of a more far-reaching European industrial policy. 'Europeans cannot depend on the outside for certain products essential to their technological future and their defence', said the new prime minister. Accepting the need for budgetary discipline and low inflation, she pledged that her administration would lead the fight against 'inequality, exclusion and unemployment' and would promote the creation of 300,000 new jobs a year, including a doubling of the number of engineers by 1993.

On 17 June, the new prime minister survived a parliamentary vote of no-confidence called by the right-wing opposition parties in response to the introduction of a wide-ranging finance bill.

Prior to the change of prime minister, the PS had held a national convention in Cachan...
on 6-7 April to consider in particular the prospects for a 'new world order' in the aftermath of the Gulf War. As proposed by the party executive, a policy text approved by the gathering asserted that events had vindicated the government's decision to participate in the multinational force which defeated Iraq.

Jean Jaurès Foundation

As decided by its 1990 Rennes congress, the PS has established a new foundation named after the 'father of French socialism', Jean Jaurès. Modelled on those linked to other major European social democratic parties, the Jean Jaurès Foundation will be concerned with policy research, training, cooperation with fraternal parties and socialist history, as well as being responsible for the PS theoretical journal, *La Nouvelle Revue Socialiste*. The foundation's first director is Gérard Collomb.

Germany

Engholm takes over as SPD fortunes revive

Bjorn Engholm was duly elected chair of the Social Democratic Party, SPD, at a party congress held in Bremen at the end of May. Nominated by the SPD council in December 1990 in the wake of the party's general election defeat (see 4/90, page 60), Engholm succeeded Hans-Jochen Vogel, who had held the post since 1987. In his acceptance speech, Engholm said that the SPD should open itself to the widest possible debate and influence, urging that 'the outside must be brought within the party'.

Government proposals to amend the constitutional ban on the deployment of German troops abroad featured strongly in the deliberations of the Bremen congress. The proposals need SPD support in order to achieve the required approval by a two-thirds parliamentary majority.

The Bremen delegates' eventual decision was to approve a 'blue helmets' option, envisaging German participation in UN-sanctioned peacekeeping missions. But the congress declined to support any other form of German military deployment overseas, basing itself on a clause in the SPD programme which excluded 'war as a means of politics'.

SPD's electoral recovery

The Bremen congress was preceded and accompanied by SPD victories in state elections. The SPD victory on 21 April in Chancellor Kohl's home state of Rhineland-Palatinate ended 44 years of CDU dominance there. The SPD climbed to 44.8 per cent of the vote, from 38.8 per cent in 1987, and increased its representation in the 101-member state parliament from 40 to 47 seats, while the CDU slumped from 45.1 to 38.7 per cent, losing 8 of its 48 seats, and the Free Democratic Party, FDP, retained its 7 seats on a slightly reduced vote (6.4 per cent). The remaining 7 seats went to the Greens, who registered their first advance for some time.

The outcome was the formation of an SPD-FDP coalition under the premiership of the Rhineland-Palatinate SPD leader, Rudolf Scharping. Its establishment meant that the SPD was now in government in 10 of the 16 German states (Länder) and regained its majority in the federal upper house (Bundesrat), which represents the state governments. In the city-state of Hamburg, a traditional SPD stronghold, on 2 June, the party had an even more impressive victory, gaining 48 per cent of the vote, 10 points up on the 1987 result, and thus securing an overall majority of 61 seats in the 121-member parliament, a gain of 6. The CDU slumped from 40.5 to 35.1 per cent and from 49 seats to 44, its worst showing since 1970. Of the smaller formations, the FDP slipped from 6.5 to 5.4 per cent and from 8 seats to 7, while the Greens improved slightly from 7 to 7.2 per cent and from 8 seats to 9. A post-election offer by the SPD to continue the previous coalition with the FDP was rejected by the latter, reportedly on the grounds that the Social Democrats would be too dominant. The Hamburg mayor (head of government), Henning Voscherau, therefore opted for a one-party SPD administration, whose narrow one-seat majority is expected to be bolstered by external support from the Greens.

The SPD's state election victories have been widely seen as an indication of popular dissatisfaction with the Kohl government's handling of German unification and with its spiralling cost. Having previously warned that Kohl had grossly underestimated the economic and social problems of integrating eastern Germany into the Federal Republic, the SPD has gained electoral advantage from the government's recent decision to increase taxes, in contravention of an earlier pledge not to do so.

SPD advises government

Alarmed by the erosion of support for his government, Chancellor Kohl took the unusual step on 7 April of proposing formal consultations with the SPD to work out a consensus approach to the situation in eastern Germany. The SPD's qualified acceptance of the offer resulted in the creation of two joint commissions, but the party leadership insisted that the
process must be more than political window-dressing and that the government must take SPD proposals seriously. Formation of a grand coalition with the CDU has been categorically ruled out by the SPD. The SPD has called for more interventionist industrial and regional policies, restructuring rather than privatisation, and greater emphasis on job creation, together with a switch from the policy of restoring land and property in the east to former owners to one of financial compensation.

**Labour gains**

The Labour Party registered impressive gains in local elections held in England and Wales on 2 May, following this with a comfortable parliamentary by-election victory in a previously safe Conservative seat. The local election results were seen as a popular verdict on the government’s disarray over local government taxation. Although the controversial Community Charge - universally known as the ‘poll tax’ - had been abandoned by the Major government in its original form, government indecision on what would replace it proved a handicap to Conservative candidates at the hustings.

In contrast, Labour’s proposal for a return to the aid property-based rating system, adapted to make it fairer than before, was well-received by the electorate. Labour candidates also gained from the accelerating collapse of Britain’s so-called ‘economic miracle’, particularly in the Conservative heartlands of southern England - now ravaged by recession, high interest rates and white-collar unemployment. The results showed a net gain for Labour of 190 local seats. In a parliamentary by-election on 16 May, the Labour candidate overturned a large Conservative majority to take the Welsh seat of South Monmouth.

By June, opinion polls were unanimously showing that the personal popularity enjoyed by John Major following his dramatic accession to the premiership in November 1990 was waning, with Labour resuming a lead over the Conservatives.

**GUATEMALA**

**Peace talks open**

Representatives of the new coalition government in which the Democratic Socialist Party, PSD, is participating (see 1/91, page 58) met in April with the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Union guerrilla movement, UNRG, in the first peace talks - apart from UNRG meetings with unofficial church and civic groups - since 1987.

The confidential negotiations in Mexico City, with Catholic Church mediation, were aimed at finding a way out of the 31-year cycle of insurgency and repression, and so facilitating demilitarisation and institutional and social reform. The UNRG presented a series of demands for political liberalisation, effective guarantees against human rights abuses by the powerful security forces, and protection of the rights of the indigenous peasantry.

The government indicated its willingness to consider the guerrilla proposals in the context of a full-scale pacification process leading to the disbanding of the UNRG and an end to the war, in which sporadic clashes have continued. There has recently been an upsurge in death squad activity, including the murder of a senior trade union adviser and other labour activists. Labour minister Mario Solorzano of the PSD denounced the killings as ‘worrysome and criminal’, and did not discount the possibility that the intention was to disrupt the peace process.

**ICELAND**

**Social Democrats continue in government**

The Social Democratic Party of Iceland achieved an increase in popular support in general elections on 21 April. In a contest dominated by the question of relations with the European Community, EC, the Social Democrats took 15.5 per cent of the vote as compared with 15.2 per cent in 1987, retaining 10 seats in the 63-member Althing (parliament).

The Progressive Party, dominant partner in the previous coalition government, won 18.9 per cent of the vote, retaining 13 seats; the communist-led People’s Alliance advanced from 13.3 to 14.4 per cent and from 8 seats to 9; but the populist Citizens’ Party, formed by Independence Party dissidents in 1987, slumped from 10.9 to 1.2 per cent and failed to retain any of its 7 seats. The Independence Party under the new leadership of David Oddson, mayor of Reykjavik, failed in its objective of winning an outright majority. It nevertheless climbed from 27.2 to 38.6 per cent and from 18 to 26 seats, thanks largely to the collapse of the Citizens’ Party. The remaining 5 seats went to the Women’s Alliance (down from 10.1 to 8.3 per cent), representing a loss of one.

Although the three surviving coalition parties commanded a narrow parliamentary majority of 32 seats, differences between them on the EC and other issues ruled out a continuation of the previous government alliance.

The final outcome of the election was the formation of a coalition between the Independence and Social Democratic parties, both less hostile to cooperation with the EC than the other Icelandic parties.

Central planks in the new coalition’s programme include cutbacks in public spending, agricultural reform and state-backed mortgage funds. It also envisages completion of the EC-EFTA negotiations to have Iceland included in a ‘European Economic Area’ and retain an open mind on a controversial draft treaty.
multinational consortium to establish an aluminium plant in Iceland.

Social Democrats have five of the 10 ministerial posts. Three incumbents were reappointed, namely party leader Jón Baldvin Hannibalsson (foreign affairs), Jóhanna Sigurðardóttir (social affairs) and Jón Sigurðsson (commerce and industry). The two new Social Democratic ministers are Sighvatur Björgvinsson (health) and Eidur Gudnason (environment).

IRELAND

Labour charts new course

At its national conference held on 5-7 April in Killarney, the Irish Labour Party looked forward to a new era of substantial advance in the aftermath of last year’s election of Mary Robinson, who was supported by the party, as president of the Irish Republic. Party Leader Dick Spring, in his address to the conference, said: 'I believe that we have the capacity and the will to build ourselves into the second biggest party in this state, challenging for power on our own terms'.

The 1,200 delegates adopted a new party constitution, enshrining a detailed statement of principles and objectives, many elements of which draw on the Declaration of Principles adopted by the Socialist International in 1989. A new organisational structure provides for the representation of women at all levels of party activity, through the introduction of a gender quota. A motion was also passed supporting SI policy on women in urban affairs. Both ministers of the Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSI, have new portfolios, Carlo Vizzini moving to posts and telecommunications and Ferdinando Facchiano to the merchant marine; the non-party socialist Pierluigi Romita retains responsibility for EC policy.

Andreotti, a Christian Democrat, resigned from the premiership on 29 March but remained at the head of his five-party coalition government pending the outcome of negotiations on a replacement. Two weeks later, he brought in a substantially unchanged 30-member government, the main change being the restoration of five left-of-centre DC ministers who left the cabinet in 1990. The overall leftwards shift in the cabinet, which won a vote of confidence on 19 April, reflected the fact that PSI general secretary Bettino Craxi had precipitated the change by his trenchant criticism of government inactivity in the areas of European integration, constitutional reform, and the fight against organised crime (see 1/91, page 59).

Local breakthrough

Elections to 60 town councils and to one regional council on 15 May saw the emergence of the PSI as the largest left formation, overtaking the Democratic Party of the Left, PDS (former Italian Communist Party). The polls involved some 850,000 electors and were widely seen as an indicator of voting intentions in the general election due within a year.

The PSI gained 20 per cent of the vote, as against 14.3 per cent in the 1987 general election. The PDS also advanced, by half a point to 3.6 per cent. The PDS saw its share slump from 26.6 per cent in 1987 to around 17 per cent, half its 1976 peak figure, while the Christian Democrats, DC, remained the largest single party with some 36 per cent.

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Gains in local polls

The optimistic atmosphere at the party congress was borne out in results of local elections held in Ireland on 27 June. Labour gained 32 seats nationwide, increasing the first preference vote for the party by 3 per cent over the last local poll in 1985 and by 1 per cent over the general election in 1989.

In the Irish capital Labour did particularly well, gaining 8 seats to become the second largest party on Dublin City Council.

Both the ruling Fianna Fail party and the largest opposition party, Fine Gael, lost substantial support, with Fianna Fail showing a drop of 7 per cent since 1985 and losing control of 14 councils.

Socialists in new government

In the new government formed by Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti on 15 April, seven ministers of the Italian Socialist Party, PSI, retained their former portfolios, while Margherita Boniver (see People, page 38) entered the government as minister for Italians overseas and immigration, and Nicola Capria as minister for civil protection.

The PSI reappointees were Claudio Martelli, deputy premier and justice minister; Gianni De Michelis, foreign affairs; Rino Formica, finance; Carlo Tognoli, tourism; Giorgio Ruffolo, environment; Antonio Ruberti, research, and Carmelo Conte,
proportional representation system for parliamentary elections. The 62.5 per cent turnout was above the 51 per cent of the electorate required to validate the result.

Both the PSI and PSDI had opposed the referendum.

In a statement issued by the PSI executive, the party called the referendum unconstitutional, stating that the proposed changes were anti-democratic and would favour rich candidates and disadvantage women and those from small constituencies. The party has called instead for wide-ranging constitutional reform, including the creation of a more powerful presidency.

**Party congresses**

At the 23rd congress of the Italian Democratic Socialist Party, PSDI, held in Rimini on 13-16 May, the party conducted a substantial policy review, with expert commissions meeting on a variety of subjects. The party re-elected Antonio Cariglia as general secretary by a very large majority.

The 46th congress of the Italian Socialist Party, PSI, convened a few weeks later on 27-30 June in Bari. In his speech to the congress, Party Leader Bettino Craxi made it clear that the party's cooperation with the Christian Democrats would continue until the end of the current parliamentary term. The congress marked 15 years of Craxi's leadership.

**JAPAN**

**Doi resigns after setbacks for SDPJ**

Takako Doi announced her resignation from the leadership of the Social Democratic Party of Japan, SDPJ, following countrywide local elections on 7 April, in which the party lost a third of its representation in local assemblies and failed to add to its tally of governorships, while the ruling Liberal Democrats, LDP, shook off the effects of the recent Recruit scandal and won some 57 per cent of the 2,700 seats at issue, making a net gain of 200.

Particularly disappointing for the SDPJ was the election for the Tokyo governorship, in which the party lost its deposit.

The local election defeat intensified debate on the SDPJ's identity, with some of the newer generation challenging the party's class struggle ideology and trade union links, and its opposition to the US-Japan security treaty.

At a meeting of the Central Executive Committee on 24 June, the whole executive joined Takako Doi in presenting their resignations, having endorsed a party reform plan to be presented to an extraordinary party congress on 30-31 July. The congress will elect a new leadership.

In an interview following her resignation, Doi said that two important tasks faced the party, 'to make politics more accessible to people ... and to square up to crucial problems.' She urged the party not to discard its historical heritage, but to approach today's reality in such a way as to get closer to its ideals.

**MALTA**

**Labour policy review**

The Malta Labour Party has been conducting a lengthy but productive process of revising its manifesto in preparation for a return to government in the elections due by mid-1992.

The policy review, covering a wide range of issues from environmental policy to international relations, youth and leisure, has involved grass-roots meetings, consultative papers, the formation of study groups and the holding of district meetings and conferences. The most exhaustive effort went into the reshaping of party policy on education, in the 1980s an area of great contention between the Catholic church hierarchy and MLP governments under the current leader Carmelo Mifsud Bonnici and his predecessor Dom Mintoff.

An extraordinary general conference of the party, held on May 17, heard Mifsud Bonnici announce that the next Labour government would, in concentrating its efforts on improving the quality of free state schooling, uphold the principle of choice and permit the continued functioning of church-run and private schools, provided that they operated in a non-discriminatory manner, met minimum curricular standards and did not foster social inequality. The conference, devoted exclusively to the education system, unanimously approved the policy document which had emerged from the consultation process.

**LITHUANIA**

**Party congress**

At the 15th congress of the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, held in Vilnius on 4-5 May, members reviewed the policies and action programme of the party. Aloyzas Sakalas, a member of parliament and chair of the Committee on Ethics of the Supreme Council of Lithuania, was elected party chair, replacing Kazimieras Antanavicius, who remains chair of the party's international affairs committee. Alvydas Medalinskas was elected general secretary.
NEPAL

Congress election triumph

The Nepali Congress Party, an SI member, emerged as the strongest party in general elections held on 12 May, the mountain kingdom's first democratic poll since 1959. The victory was tarnished, however, by the narrow defeat in Kathmandu of Congress prime minister, K.P. Bhattarai, who had headed an interim government since the overthrow of absolute monarchy in 1990 (see 4/90, page 65; 2/90, page 63).

The 205 lower house seats were contested by 20 parties and 1,345 independent candidates, who drew a turnout of over 60 per cent from the 11.1 million eligible voters in a population of 18 million. Polling was generally reported to have been conducted fairly, although in some areas electoral violence caused delays in the voting for some seats.

In one of the earliest results in Kathmandu, the capital, Prime Minister Bhattarai was defeated by the general secretary of the Communist Party standing as a candidate of the United Marxist-Leninist, UML, alliance - the margin being only 751 votes out of nearly 54,000 cast. Bhattarai immediately tendered his resignation, but was asked by King Birendra to continue in a caretaker capacity.

While the UML polled unexpectedly well in Kathmandu and other urban constituencies, later returns showed the strength of the Congress Party in the remoter rural areas. When all the results were in, Congress had amassed an overall majority of 110 of the 205 seats, against 69 for the UML and 26 for seven smaller parties and factions, including 11 seats for two communist formations outside the UML front.

On 26 May the Congress Party proceeded to form a one-party majority government under the premiership of Girija Prasad (G.P.) Koirala, the party's general secretary and brother of the late B.P. Koirala, Nepal's last democratically-elected prime minister. The new government replaced the coalition between Congress and the Communist-dominated United Left Front which had held office since the restoration of democracy in 1990. Koirala stated that 'improvement of the law and order situation will be our priority'.

NEW ZEALAND

Labour bounces back

Opinion polls have shown the New Zealand Labour Party, NZLP, surging back in popularity in the aftermath of its October general election defeat (see 4/90, page 66). The ruling conservative National Party, NP, has alienated a large section of its supporters by proceeding with plans to dismantle or undermine central elements of the welfare state - a concept pioneered by New Zealand at the turn of the century - and by an attack on labour rights through an Employment Contracts Bill, effectively ending collective bargaining and promoting deunionisation of the workplace. The bill was scheduled for debate on May Day and attracted protests from national and international trade union bodies, although the NP bloc of 68 in the 97-seat parliament was sufficient to ensure its passage with only minor amendments.

The foreign minister further damaged the party's standing in April by appearing to distance the government from the extremely popular anti-nuclear policies inherited from Labour. He was subsequently obliged to retract his remarks.

NORTHERN IRELAND

Together after all these years

SDLP Leader John Hume said on 3 July that his party much regretted the ending of the recent talks between parties in Northern Ireland and the UK's Northern Ireland secretary, Peter Brooke.

Parallel bilateral talks involving each of Northern Ireland's main political parties opened in Belfast on 30 April, planned as the prelude to a three-strand process of negotiations, as promoted by
**PARAGUAY**

New era in local government

The Revolutionary Febrerista Party, PRF, took part in Paraguay's first direct municipal elections, held on 26 May and 23 June in conditions recognised by international observers as free and fair. Municipalities had hitherto been controlled by mayors appointed by the central government.

The PRF, traditionally based in the urban working class, did rather better in the bigger towns (7 per cent) than its overall score of 4 per cent (according to provisional results from the May polls, which covered 175 of the 206 districts). In the capital, Asunción, Euclides Acevedo of the PRF won 10 per cent of the mayoral vote. The party did well to come third overall (excluding independents) while still recovering organisationally from the 34 years of repression, exile and clandestinity endured under General Stroessner's Colorado dictatorship.

The reformed Colorado Party, ANR, led by General Andrés Rodriguez who was elected president after ousting Stroessner in 1989, remains the largest party with 43 per cent of the vote. This was rather less than the 90 per cent or more which the carefully-supervised counts used to accord to Stroessner in his presidential ‘elections’. The Authentic Radical Liberal Party, PLRA, a centre-left formation, is with 33 per cent the main opposition party, except in the capital Asunción where there was a surprise victory for the mayoral candidate of an independent civic movement.

Various minor parties, including the Christian Democrats and the marxist Workers’ Party, failed to secure any mayoralties or significant council representation, except for the Asunción civic bloc. The PRF welcomed the elections, and the 82 per cent turnout, as representing a further stage in Paraguay's transition to democracy.

**SENEGAL**

Opening to opposition

A new government formed on 8 April is notable for its inclusion of representatives of two opposition parties as well as for the revival of the post of prime minister, to which Habib Thiam of the ruling Socialist Party, PS, was appointed. Thiam was previously prime minister in 1981-83, prior to the abolition of the post under constitutional amendments. The reinstatement of the premiership is intended to establish a degree of separation between the presidency and the cabinet and to facilitate the opening up of the latter to opposition formations.

The new cabinet consists of 22 PS ministers in addition to the prime minister, four from the Senegalese Democratic Party, PDS, and one from the marxist-oriented Independence and Labour Party, PIT. Among the PDS representatives is the party’s leader, Abdoulaye Wade, who has several times stood for the presidency and is now a minister of state.

Senegal’s ruling party since independence in 1960, the PS blazed the African trail of multi-party democracy in the 1970s and achieved a peaceful and
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democratic presidential succession from Léopold Senghor to Abdou Diouf in 1980-81. Its new initiative in bringing opposition parties into government is expected to be watched closely by other African regimes.

SPAIN

PSOE holds ground in local polls

The Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE, in power for eight years, was again confirmed as the largest national party in elections on 26 May for local authorities in 8,000 municipalities and in 13 of the 17 regions.

The party sustained a few predictable mid-term setbacks, although its overall share of the vote remained close to the 39.6 per cent score in the 1989 general election, and well ahead of its 37.2 per cent in the 1987 local elections. In national terms the worst blow to the party was the loss of the municipal council of Seville, one of Spain's largest cities and a stronghold of the PSOE - still the largest party there - until the conservative Popular Party, PP, made its latest alliance with right-wing regionalist parties.

Across the country the PP captured about 24.5 per cent of the poll (up from 20.3 per cent in 1987), giving it majorities in the city and regional councils in Madrid and the chance to form conservative coalitions in the cities of Seville and Valencia. The communist-led United Left, IU, increased its 1987 vote by two points to around 8.7 per cent, but the declining Democratic and Social Centre, CDS, lost two-thirds of its support, emerging with 3.7 per cent. The Socialists held on to two of the 'big seven' cities, Valladolid and Saragossa, and will govern Barcelona and some smaller cities with the support of the IU - the arrangement under which they previously ruled Seville. They lost Valencia and failed to regain control in Madrid, ruled from 1989 by a PP-CDS coalition. Basque parties held the seventh large city, Bilbao.

The strong economic growth experienced under Socialist rule has slowed recently to something over 3 per cent per year, a very respectable figure by many standards but one accompanied by high mortgage interest and unemployment rates. González and his economy minister Carlos Solchaga remain committed to a policy of wage restraint in order to pin down inflation and maintain competitiveness in the single European market.

NEPAL BEFORE THE COUP

'The Nepali Congress is opposed to methods that seek to achieve Socialism at the cost of democracy and spiritual values. It believes that it is not necessary to sacrifice democracy to achieve Socialism. In fact it believes that a true Socialist society can come into existence only when Socialism is wedded to democracy. The Nepali Congress therefore stands for the achievement of Socialism by peaceful and democratic means.'

From the manifesto of the Nepali Congress Party for the elections which King Mahendra allowed in February 1959. Mahendra subsequently staged a coup, dissolved parliament, suspended the constitution and arrested Congress Leader B. P. Koirala in December 1960. The Congress Party re-emerged as Nepal's leading party in the elections of May this year.
The Socialist International (SI), founded in 1864, is the world's oldest and largest international political association. It represents 90 political parties and organisations with the support of more than 200 million voters.

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

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

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

Committees, councils and study groups have been established for work on Africa, disarmament, economic policy, the environment, human rights, Latin America and the Caribbean, local authorities, the Mediterranean, the Middle East, Southern Africa, and finance and administration.

The SI is a recognised non-governmental organisation, collaborates with the United Nations, and works with a range of organisations and free trade unions internationally.
International amnesia is hit by the 1991 report of Amnesty International.
Cartoon in *Le Monde*.

‘In our folklore, there has always been a big white ship that one day is going to come and take the people away from trouble ... During Stalinism, it was an American ship. Then it was more recently a western ship. Now it seems there is no white ship. We will have to do it ourselves.’

Marju Lauristin, chair of the Estonian Social Democratic Party.

‘Christians should refuse to use the term ‘debt-servicing’. Why should polite language legitimise a death sentence on our people and environment?’

Bishop Gonzalo López Marañón of San Miguel de Sucumbios, Ecuador.

‘My personal prescription for developing countries is to shift our development strategy from what I call the ‘turtle’ syndrome to the ‘centipede’ model. Current development in most of the third world is like the turtle. A tiny head pushes out, trying to pull a heavy shell. In the Philippines, the head represents 10 per cent of the population shipping itself up to frenzied levels of activities that raise the gross national product, while the shell symbolises the 90 per cent who seem to lack the locomotors to carry the turtle’s burden.

In a centipede-type development one head moves towards a definite direction aided by a hundred feet all ambulating at the same time. To become a centipede instead of a turtle vainly competing with the rabbits of this world, we must first redefine development.’

Eduardo A. Morato, Asian Institute of Management, Manila.
French Socialist Party poster celebrating François Mitterrand’s ten years in the presidency and the Socialists’ abolition of the death penalty.